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AN  
HISTORICAL  
GREEK GRAMMAR

CHIEFLY OF THE ATTIC DIALECT

AS WRITTEN AND SPOKEN  
FROM CLASSICAL ANTIQUITY DOWN TO THE PRESENT TIME

*FOUNDED UPON THE  
ANCIENT TEXTS, INSCRIPTIONS, PAPYRI  
AND PRESENT POPULAR GREEK*

BY

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TO  
THE MOST HONOURABLE  
THE MARQUESS OF BUTE, K.T.

THE GENEROUS PATRON AND PIONEER  
OF  
GREEK CULTURE AND SCHOLARSHIP

THIS WORK IS INSCRIBED

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## PREFACE

THOUGH the Greek language in its classical period has been, ever since ancient times, a field of almost constant research and study, so that the grammars and treatises written on the subject, if merely catalogued, would fill up many bulky volumes, an 'historical' grammar, tracing in a connected manner the life of the Greek language from classical antiquity to the present time, has not been written nor even seriously attempted as yet'. The reasons are not far to seek. First, the origin and prehistoric stages of Greek are matters of vague speculation. Next, the so-called 'post-classical' or Alexandrian and Roman periods have been at all times overshadowed by their surpassing 'classical' predecessor. Then the post-Christian or Byzantine and mediaeval ages, far from meeting with any sympathetic interest on the part of classical students, have on the contrary at all times been branded with unmerited reproach and scorn. Finally, modern Greek has not even succeeded in assuming a clear and definite idea in the mind of classical scholars, or is often made the object of ridicule and discredit.

It is true that considerable interest has of late been awakened in 'post-classical,' Byzantine, and even modern Greek, and that a number of valuable articles and treatises have appeared

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<sup>1</sup> PKretschmer's recent volume *Einleitung in die Geschichte der Griechischen Sprache* (Göttingen, 1896) is not what the title professes to be. It is virtually an attempt to fix the original seat of the Aryan (Indo-Germanic) race in Europe and particularly in Germany (p. 60), and then an ethnological study of the various non-hellenic races (*Βάρβαροι*) which in prehistoric times occupied the countries north of Greece and Asia Minor. As a matter of fact, there is not a single paragraph in the book about the Greek language in its historical period.



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on special points; but the history of Greek remains still unwritten, and cannot be written without a previous thorough knowledge of popular Byzantine or, which amounts to nearly the same, of Neohellenic speech. It is obvious that the task of such a work devolves upon native Greek scholars (witness the labours of EASophocles, ΔΜαυροφρύδης, and GHatzidakis), such native Greek philologists as are equipped with classical education, trained in critical research, and, what is indispensable also, emancipated from national prejudices. I have ventured to undertake such an essay, and having devoted to it more than five whole years, now lay before my readers the fruits of my arduous and unremitting labours.

The plan and method of the work are simple. I have collected and critically sifted all information available, and eliminated, as far as possible, all theoretical speculations relating to the Indo-European and mythical stages of the language. On a similar principle I deemed it unsafe to enlarge on the Greek dialects, seeing that not only their actual number and mutual connexion are still matters of speculation, but that in many cases they have not even left adequate relics to illustrate their individual character. As a matter of fact, by the side of Attic they appear to have had but a temporary and local existence, and exerted no consequential influence on the subsequent history of the Greek language. These eliminations narrowed the sphere of my investigations principally to the Attic dialect. Not however to the Attic dialect of the fifth and fourth centuries B. C., as the term 'Attic' is generally understood to imply, but to that Greek which has been evolved out of the Attic dialect; and since the entire Greek language from its 'classical' period down to the present time forms an unbroken continuation of classical Attic, the scope of my research still remains wide, covering as it does the whole range from classical antiquity to the present time, and thus includes modern Greek. But referring here to modern Greek or Neohellenic, I must distinctly explain that by this term I understand the *popular speech* which survives in the mouth of the Greek nation, not the literary or artificial style, which, as far as it deviates from popular speech, has been partly transmitted through the literature, partly revived or created by Neohellenic scribes and journalists, and as such, though indispensable for

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practical purposes, possesses only a relative historical value<sup>1</sup>. I have considered or rather laid under large contribution popular Neohellenic speech, first because it constitutes a lineal and unbroken continuation of classical Greek, preserving all the fundamental features of ancient grammar, in its wide sense, and thus throwing much light upon many problems and innumerable details of classical Greek; next because, unlike prehistoric or Indo-Germanic Greek, with its conjectural data, modern Greek with its actual data forms a sure basis for scientific or critical research; finally, because this often misjudged language proves to be the oldest living tongue, and thus deserves far more consideration than any Romanic or Teutonic tongue, however old, can claim in matters of comparative philology.

My original plan was to adhere as much as possible to the methods and theories generally received in our leading grammars, adopting even the Erasmian pronunciation (to which, when an undergraduate in German universities, I had become a sincere convert), and merely to subjoin to each rule its post-classical and subsequent phases or vicissitudes. But I had not advanced far in my research when I began to light upon phenomena which would not fit in well with the received theories. And as these anomalies steadily increased in number, my old beliefs, especially that in the Erasmian pronunciation, grew weaker in proportion. For I now began to see clearly that many a theory, old as well as modern, enjoyed almost canonical deference not because of its intrinsic merits, but rather because of the absence of a better theory. It is in this way, and not by a preconceived plan, that the range and system of the present work gradually grew in my hands; and with my present experience, I am not sure whether it might not have been better still if I had gone even further in the direction of emancipation. For though I cannot claim to have everywhere established my own views to absolute certainty, I do not feel much surer of many a doctrine now generally accepted as an old established fact. For after all the grammar of the Greek language has not been written. The ancients

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<sup>1</sup> The proportion and mutual relation of the two forms of diction is synoptically illustrated in my *Modern Greek Dictionary* (London, 1895, John Murray), p. xiii f.

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began to write grammatical treatises on 'classical Greek,' that is on the artistic form of Greek which had perhaps at no time reflected faithfully the living language of the people. Those treatises on the one hand were conceived in a more or less philosophical (Stoic) spirit, and on the other considered only the artistic form of the language as portrayed in classical poetry and prose; or, to be more correct, they emphasized only such peculiarities and traits as were present in the standard poets and prose-writers of days gone by, but absent from the ordinary or 'common' Greek, in utter disregard of the actual speech of their time. These brief compendia then soon rose to canonical eminence, and so began to be copied generation after generation down to modern times, when the Greeks, with the capture of Constantinople, lost their national unity. Some learned fugitives among them then came over to western Europe and introduced the rudimentary Greek grammar inherited from their ancestors and laid the seeds of the 'Western' school. The first act of this school, still in its infancy, was to do away with the traditional pronunciation—which reflects perhaps the least changed part of the language—and then to declare Greek a dead tongue. In this way, being cut off from all direct connexion with ancient Greek, from all assistance and advantage offered by the surviving tongue, and finding utterly insufficient the traditional compendia handed over to them, they began to construct a Greek grammar on a novel basis, by laying under contribution the mute ancient texts and adapting their system to the principles and the spirit of their own tongues, that is to the principles of alien languages; just as we are now constructing a grammar of old Egyptian on the basis of the hieroglyphics and after the spirit of modern languages.

My deviation from the current system, however, must not imply that I have built my work upon the speculative principles adopted by recent philologists. For while these neo-grammarians can duly claim the credit of having overthrown the time-honoured but fundamentally erroneous theory that language is built up on a philosophical system, and that every grammatical phenomenon reflects an operation of the mind, they seem to me to be committing an equally serious mistake in another direction: for philosophy they have virtually substituted Indo-Germanic speculation, and in their zeal to

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prove or uphold the unity of the Indo-European imaginary 'Ursprache' or 'Grundsprache,' they are apt to emphasize the little that is generically common to the whole group, and overlook the innumerable specific differences and details which after all constitute the real individuality of each distinct language; so that younger or ordinary students are often tempted to reduce, by forced methods, every deviating detail back to some Indo-European principle. I have considered Greek in its distinct individuality, and striven to the best of my ability to search the causes of each phenomenon or anomaly rather within its own domain and history than embark in alien and often indemonstrable speculations.

As already indicated, my work is based essentially upon classical Attic, and so considers in a concise manner all essential points or rules contained in our school grammars. After the Introduction and the chapter on the Pronunciation which, I trust, will prove acceptable to many an earnest and unprejudiced student, I take up every grammatical phenomenon and follow its gradual evolution down to the present time. As a matter of course, where it has withstood the influences of all past times without notable change, my task has been comparatively easy, since I had either to attest its unbroken continuity through all ages by proofs taken from the intermediate periods, or merely to state the fact—when there could be no reasonable doubt—that the phenomenon under consideration still obtains in modern Greek, meaning of course the popular language of to-day, in particular southern speech as defined in the Introduction (c30 f.). In all other cases where the thread of continuity did not reach the present period, my task has been more difficult and often very arduous; for I had to search through each succeeding period either for its recovery or for its substitute. It often happened also (as e. g. in the case of the future, the infinitive, etc.) that its substitute was again lost sight of, and had to be retraced until I reached the ultimate terminus. It further occurred that I lighted upon such novel phenomena as appeared to be foreign to both the antecedent and subsequent ages. In such cases I had to ascertain whether it was a real novelty or a relic of ancient speech studiously excluded from the literary composition.

It will be seen then that my main object has been not to prove, or to attempt to prove, that ancient Greek is living in

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modern Greek, but to show how much of the former is still surviving in the latter, and how much has become extinct, endeavouring at the same time to indicate the period, cause, process, and other attendant circumstances of such a loss or change. As a matter of course, I do not presume to have said the last word on all or most of these points, seeing that, even in the case of modern Greek, I cannot be reasonably expected to master, in all its details, the entire vocabulary and grammar of every single Neohellenic dialect, and I shall not be surprised if future investigation should prove that many a phenomenon, designated by me as extinct or peculiar to a particular dialect, still survives in one or more localities of Greece or Turkey. All I can say is that I have carefully studied every detail, and that my constant aim has been to carry on my investigations in a spirit of absolute fairness and candour, without bias towards this or that form or stage of the language. I have therefore made no preferential distinction among classical, post-classical, Greco-Roman, Byzantine, and Neohellenic forms of the language, but throughout considered it in its unbroken continuity, where every single stage or form is entitled to the same regard and appreciation, whether it marks, in the literature, a stage of growth or decay. If I have enlarged more fully on the later periods, it is because these stages, being less explored, presented many points which were partly dark, partly new, partly debatable, and had to be established. Speaking of modern Greek in particular, it will be remembered that besides its intrinsic value for the history of Greek, it possesses the merit of having been the very language spoken by nearly all the commentators and copiers through whom classical literature has reached us. These 'Byzantine' scribes (excerptors, commentators, copiers, etc.), it is well known, often deemed themselves competent to slightly revise or correct the MS before them, and so studiously or unconsciously imparted to the texts copied or commented upon the spelling and diction or even the grammar of their own time, so that an editor or critic now cannot well afford to dispense with Byzantine or modern Greek. Let it be clearly understood then that if the nature of my subject has brought into evidence many similarities between ancient and modern Greek, it has been very far from my intention to plead the cause of the latter. Had



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I wished to do so, I should not have excluded from the sphere of my research the written style, but should, on the contrary, have selected this very form as the standard. The striking similarity then between ancient and this form of modern Greek would have served my purpose and, moreover, greatly facilitated my task. But, as already emphasized, I have not subordinated my work to any preconceived plan. I accepted the facts and results as they came, with complete equanimity, with equal gratification and pleasure, whether they tended to confirm or destroy existing prejudices.

In founding my work upon classical Attic, and discussing that phase of the language at a certain length, I may be charged with having embodied in the book much matter which is familiar to Greek scholars. This, however, cannot constitute a serious objection, since the book is intended not for the limited—very limited—number of specialists, but for the wider class of classical students, including clergymen, who would gladly have their memory refreshed by a summary repetition of half-forgotten details. This method was, moreover, the only practicable one in a work professing to give a synoptical and connected history of the language, for it thus brings out in a clearer relief the traits and relations of its various stages and vicissitudes. Besides it will be found that in numerous cases classical Greek receives new light from its post-classical and even modern phases.

To enumerate here all the new features of the work, or seek to justify them as well as some novel terms (e. g. phonopathy, metaphony, trisyllabotony, tonoclisia, synenclisis, antectasis, revection, secondary subjunctive for optative, etc.) introduced for the sake of precision or convenience, would lead to an unduly long excursus and serve no practical purpose. All these new points have been more conveniently explained in their proper places, and their nature and number can be easily traced through the copious indexes which have been prepared with great pains, and will, it is hoped, be found very serviceable for all purposes. The only point which requires some explanation here is the adoption of a few abbreviations indicated by the capital letters *ABGHMNPT* (see p. xiv and o3). The need for precision and convenience led me to divide the long life of the Greek language into periods larger in number and therefore

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narrower in extent than is generally the case in works on Greek history and literature. For I have rather preferred to assign a precise date to a grammatical phenomenon with the risk of occasionally erring in some detail, than to follow the usual broad periods and thus shelter myself behind such vague generalities as 'classical,' 'post-classical,' 'Byzantine,' or the like, terms which surely do not convey a quite definite idea. Whenever no precise date was obtainable from the general literature, from the inscriptions or papyri, in assigning to this or that period the first appearance, the spread, or the retreat of a phenomenon, I was guided by a combination of observations. Thus the occurrence of a neologism in one or more writers and its subsequent spread, its deprecation by the Atticists or by the grammarians, its presence in compounds or nicknames, constituted a fairly sure criterion of its having already been current in the living language of the time. Again its growing infrequency in literature, its absence from the unscholarly compositions, its misapplication by the scribes of the time, its frequent replacement by some synonymous neologism, its zealous vindication by the purists, appeared to me unmistakable signs of its decline or even disappearance from the spoken language.

Another point to which I desire to call attention is that I believe I have consulted, in almost every portion and detail, the latest authorities, and duly indicated their share of contribution to a theory adopted or discussed. But in a work covering such a wide space, and containing an immense number of details and references; a work which moreover embraces the living language of to-day, it may well happen that in some of my views I have been anticipated by others not expressly mentioned. In such a case, I believe myself entitled to leniency, especially if the omission lies within the period of modern Greek, because, this being my native language, it would be unreasonable and even pedantic to expect me to quote previous authorities—provided there were any—on minor points which can be readily and independently explained by any Greek endowed with some training and intuition.

To conclude, I am far from presuming to have adequately dealt with my subject. There may be cases of inconsistency, errors of judgement, and errors of fact. However, considering

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the nature of the subject, the heaviness of the task, and the multitude of details involved therein, as well as the scantiness of the material at hand, I venture to believe that, with all its shortcomings, the present work gives a fair picture of the history of the Greek language, and will possess as such a considerable amount of interest. At any rate, it represents the fruits of a long and arduous labour, a labour I have undertaken and performed throughout with earnest and unabated zeal in the interest of science and truth.

As the MS has been prepared, almost entirely, in the Reading Room of the British Museum, I gladly avail myself of the occasion to return my acknowledgements to its officials of every grade, for their friendly and ever willing assistance in all matters of inquiry. I further own my gratitude to several other personal friends, for their occasional help by way of suggestion or rectification, especially to Mr. William Wills, of the Inner Temple, for reading part of the proofs. Above all I desire to tender my grateful thanks to Miss C. C. Sandwith, a former pupil of mine in Crete, and now a proficient Greek scholar, who in times of great pressure very kindly volunteered to copy more than half the MS, and gave me the benefit of many a valuable suggestion.

I finally acknowledge my great obligation to Mr. Horace Hart, the Controller of the Oxford University Press, whose ungrudging willingness to have the entire MS set in type enabled me, during the print, to improve the book in every respect.

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## ABBREVIATIONS EXPLAINED

IN order to avoid repetitions and save room, the subjoined abbreviations in italic capitals have been resorted to (cp. o3). They point to the various periods during which a grammatical phenomenon was current. For obvious reasons, the periods thus indicated are to be taken only roundly and approximately. It is further to be borne in mind that the opening and closing parts of each period show only a sporadic occurrence of the phenomenon in question.

### A I.—CLASSICAL ANTIQUITY.—LITERARY STYLE.

Classical Attic period (500–300 B.C.)

### P II.—POST-CLASSICAL ANTIQUITY.—CHIEFLY LITERARY STYLE.

H Hellenistic period (300–150 B.C.)

G Greco-Roman „ (B.C. 150–300 A.D.)

T Transitional „ (300–600 A.D.)

### N III.—NEOHELLENIC TIMES.—POPULAR SPEECH.

B Byzantine (or N<sup>1</sup>, i.e. 1st Neohellenic) period (600–1000 A.D.)

M Mediaeval (or N<sup>2</sup>, i.e. 2nd Neohellenic) period (1000–1450 A.D.)

N 3rd Neohellenic or Modern period (1450–1800 A.D.)

[N<sup>4</sup> 4th Neohellenic or Restorative period (1800–pres. time).]

## ABBREVIATIONS ALPHABETICALLY ARRANGED :—

A denotes : classical Attic period or diction.

B	„	Byzantine	„	„
G	„	Greco-Roman	„	„
H	„	Hellenistic	„	„
M	„	Mediaeval	„	„
N	„	Neohellenic	„	„ (chiefly since 1000 A.D.)
P	„	Post-classical	„	„
T	„	Transitional	„	„

## SUPPLEMENTARY SIGNS.

‡ still fully surviving in present popular speech.

\* still surviving, but only partially or in a modification.

° extinct in Modern Greek (present popular speech).

† A.D.

± about.

\* conjectural form.

I<sup>st</sup>, II<sup>nd</sup>, III<sup>rd</sup>, IV<sup>th</sup>, etc., means 1st, and, 3rd, 4th, etc., century.

☞ In phonetic transcriptions the vowels *a e i o u* are to be pronounced as in *Italian*, and *j* as German *j* (English *y* in *yes, you*).

References in square brackets [ ] point to the footnotes.—See also p. 581.

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*ABC* ( $\pm$ XIV<sup>th</sup>), see *WWagner* in p. xxx.

*Akad. Wiss.*—Akademie der Wissenschaften, *Wien*.

— Akademie der Wissenschaften, *München*.

*Amer. Jour. Phil.*—American Journal of Philology, Baltimore.

*Amer. Phil. Ass.*—American Philological Association, Hartford.

*Arch. Glott.*—Archivio Glottologico Italiano, Roma, 1873, etc.

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*Protevangelium Jacobi* (III<sup>rd</sup>†), in CTischendorf's Evang. apocr. p. 1-50.  
*MPsellos* (1050†), JMigne, 122.  
*Pul.*, Πουολόγος (XIV<sup>th</sup>†), in WWagner's Carmina, p. 179-198.  
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*HRoehl*, see IGA.  
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*Span<sup>2</sup>.*, 'Αλεξίου Κομνηνοῦ ποίημα παραινετικόν (XIII-XIV<sup>th</sup>), in WWagner's Carmina, p. 1-27.

## II. NOTABLE P-N TEXTS QUOTED.

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v. 17, p. 105-121.
- G*Spata*, Diplomi Grechi, inediti, etc., Torino, 1870.
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- G*Synkellos* (805<sup>+</sup>), G*Dindorf*, Bonnae, 1829.
- S*ynesios* (430<sup>+</sup>), J*Migne*, 66.
- Test.* XII., Testamenta duodecim Patriarcharum, J*Migne*, 2.
- Th*dn.*, Theodotion (II<sup>nd</sup> c<sup>+</sup>), J*Migne*, 15.
- Theodoretos (457<sup>+</sup>), J*Migne*, 80.
- Theodoros *Lector* (525<sup>+</sup>), J*Migne*, 86, 1.
- Theodosios of *Scythopolis* (553<sup>+</sup>), J*Migne*, 86, 1.
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# HISTORICAL GREEK GRAMMAR

## INTRODUCTION.

01. IN all countries and at all times it has been observed that natural, local, social, and other manifold influences lead invariably to varieties of racial type, character, and language. This phenomenon manifested itself also in ancient Greece: her populations exhibited many well-defined differences in every respect. The Greeks themselves were struck by this fact, and sought to account for it by attributing their dissimilarities of race, character, and speech to a dissimilarity of origin. Accordingly they invented a mythological genealogy calculated to satisfy the popular mind. Three legendary heroes, they assumed, Aeolos and Doros, sons, and Ion, grandson, of Hellen, were the progenitors of all Greeks. Aeolos gave birth to a distinct race of Greeks, named after him Aeolians, Doros to another called Dorians, and Ion to that of the Ionians. Each race was naturally made to speak a distinct dialect: the Aeolians Aeolic, the Dorians Doric, and the Ionians Ionic. Some time after, the Ionic branched off, so they believed, and gave rise to a new dialect called Attic.

02. These beliefs, once settled in the popular mind, passed into history, and assumed the sanctity of a religious canon through all antiquity. They were accepted as a matter of unquestionable authenticity, and every particular phenomenon was adapted to this national legend. It is only since the beginning of the present century that philological and historical criticism has called these traditions in question, and eventually compelled classical students to give up the old theory so notoriously refuted by modern science. Indeed, when we found our researches on the critical examination of direct evidences (chiefly inscriptions) and other allied fields, we are forced to the con-



## 02-03.] CLASSIFICATION AND NUMBER OF DIALECTS.

clusion that the Greek language once formed not four (Aeolic, Doric, Ionic and Attic), but numerous dialects varying more or less considerably from one another. In point of fact, in prehistoric times and several centuries thereafter, each Greek region and community had a dialect of its own. At the same time these various dialects, when compared to one another, exhibit some common features which enable philologists to group them under two leading heads, the Non-Ionic and the Ionic. The chief criterion for this grouping is afforded by the observation that the Non-Ionic head, on the whole, shows 'long' α where the Ionic exhibits ι (though cp. 29; also App. ii. 6 & 14). Thus the assumed prototype Indo-European word, \*sistami 'I place,' sounded *ισταμι* among the Non-Ionic dialects, and *ιστημι* in the Ionic group.

03. The two groups of dialects referred to, as well as their varieties or subdivisions, may be roughly illustrated by the following classification.

### A. NON-IONIC or α-dialects.

- I. *Doric*: (1) Laconia; (2) Heraclia and Taras; (3) Messenia; (4) Argolis and Aegina; (5) Corinth and Corcyra; (6) Megaris and Byzantium; (7) Crete; (8) Melos; (9) Rhodes; (10) Achaia; (11) Doric isles of the archipelago (Anaphe, Astypalaea, Tenos, Cos, Calymna, etc.).

### II. Achaëic Dialects:

- A. Northern Greece: (1) Epiros; (2) Locris<sup>[1]</sup>; (3) Phokis<sup>[1]</sup>; (4) Aetolia<sup>[1]</sup>; (5) Acarnania<sup>[1]</sup>; (6) Phthiotis.
- B. (*Aeolic*) (1) Northern Thessaly<sup>[1]</sup>; (2) Elis<sup>[1]</sup>; (3) Arcadia<sup>[1]</sup> and Cyprus<sup>[1]</sup>; (4) Pamphylia; (5) Lesbos (*Aeolic*); (6) Boeotia.

### B. IONIC or ι-dialects.

- I. *Ionic*: (1) Decapolis; (2) Cyclades; (3) Euboea.

### II. ATTIC:

#### 1. CLASSICAL PERIOD (500-300 B.C.).

#### 2. POST-CLASSICAL PERIOD:

- (a) Hellenistic or Alexandrian Period (300-150 B.C.).  
 (b) Greco-Roman Period (150 B.C.-300 A.D.).  
 (c) Transitional Period (300-600 A.D.).

#### 3. NEOHELLENIC PERIOD (600-1900 A.D.).

- (a) Byzantine or First Neohellenic period (600-1000 A.D.).  
 (b) Mediaeval or Second Neohellenic period (1000-1450 A.D.).  
 (c) Modern or Third Neohellenic period (1450-1800 A.D.).  
 (d) Present or Fourth Neohellenic period (1800-1900 A.D.).

[1] Popular dialects of which we possess no representative literature, except inscriptions.

## ATTIC PERIOD (500-300 B.C.).

04. Whatever may have been originally the actual number of Greek dialects, it lies in the nature of language that local, political, social, and cultural factors should favour this or that dialect, and give it ascendancy over the rest, so as to eventually supersede them. In the case of Greek, it was at the outset—so far back at least as history can trace—the Ionic group which rose to pre-eminence and became the received language of early composition (Homer, cyclic poetry, Hesiod—then Herodotos, Hippocrates, etc.). On the other hand, the Dorian conquest ('Return of the Heraclids'  $\pm 1000$  B.C.) could not fail to lead, in progress of time, to the rise of a powerful rival in the spread of the Doric dialects. However, with the close of the VI<sup>th</sup> B.C., the dialect of Athens, the so-called Attic—one of the Ionic group—prevailed over all other sister-dialects, and eventually absorbed them<sup>[1]</sup>. It was the Attic, because Athens, particularly after the Persian wars, rose to absolute dominion over all the other Greek communities, and finally became the metropolis of all Greek races. Once having gained the hegemony, she leads in every line: science, art, literature, trade, manufacture, fashion, wealth, and all other political, military, social, and educational institutions are started and developed in Athens, and from Athens spread in all directions through the ancient world. The entire nation, in and out of Greece proper, streams, for purposes of business, knowledge, pleasure, etc., to the national metropolis. Younger people, also, eager for education, repair to Athens, as the universal or Panhellenic seminary of culture. Hence Pericles himself could well say of her: *ἐπιειρέχεται δὲ διὰ μέγεθος τῆς πόλεως ἐκ πάσης γῆς τὰ πάντα*. (Th. 2, 38.)

05. It is during this period of supremacy of Athens (500-300) that the Athenian or Attic dialect attained its highest stage of development. It is amply reflected in the contemporary works of Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, Aristophanes; the historians Thucydides and Xenophon; the philosophers Plato and Aristotle; the orators Demosthenes, Aeschines, Isocrates, Lysias, etc., then in numerous inscriptions of the time. The language of this period is also styled the *classical* or *Attic* Greek *par excellence*. But, speaking of Attic Greek, we must not infer that all Athenians and Atticized Greeks wrote and spoke the classical Attic portrayed in the aforesaid literature, for this

[1] This is evidently the meaning of [Xenophon] when he says in 'Αθην. Πολιτ. 2, 3, 8 οἱ μὲν Ἕλληνες ἰδίᾳ μᾶλλον καὶ φωνῇ καὶ διαίτῃ καὶ σχήματι χρῶνται, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ κεκραμένη ἐξ πάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ βαρβάρων. The first to retreat was Aeolic (hence later Greeks attributed to this dialect the then extinct digamma *f*), next Ionic, and last Doric. None of these dialects has left any traces in present Greek except Doric which still lingers in Tsacanic, then in a few solitary words elsewhere, as ἡ Μίλαρο (Crete) for ancient Μίλαρος.

Attic is essentially what it still remains in modern Greek composition: a merely historical *abstraction*, that is an *artistic* language which nobody spoke but still everybody understood (05<sup>b</sup> ff. 020 [2] & 20). Nor must we imply that, because the above writers have been styled classics by posterity, they were both the creators and finishers of Greek literature. They rather were the continuators and perfecters of a work relegated to them as a national inheritance. Their own productions, therefore, are both in matter and form emulous though free imitations of ancestral models<sup>[1]</sup>—lost to us—and as such reflect the genius, subject, practice, language, and technical treatment of preceding ages (29 ff. App. ii. 9 ff.) under the unavoidable influence of their own time. Accordingly what is generally styled the classical or Attic period marks not the start of a new era; it rather forms the crowning age of a glorious history, an age subsequently raised to ideal by its excellence over all posterity. The literary masterpieces of this period then do not represent the language as actually spoken at the time; they simply reflect the traditional or received style artistically tempered and adapted to the exigencies of the age<sup>[1]</sup>. For in ordinary intercourse both the educated classes and uneducated multitudes could not rise above the simple colloquial or popular speech, in many cases degenerating into a vernacular or even rustic idiom. The co-existence at all times of an artistic or literary style, and a colloquial or popular speech (to pass over the rustic idiom) with an intermediate conventional language, is a fact indisputably established by the force of logic, by historical investigation, and by modern analogies, as well as by daily experience.

05<sup>b</sup>. 'In Greek, more than in most other old languages, there was a difference between the artless or popular language and the literary, especially the poetical language (written and artificial dialects); a difference which, in view of our insufficient knowledge of the artless popular speech, we can only conjecture but not clearly define. For even the oldest Greek extant, the Homeric poetry, was an artificial dialect which exhibits forms of various times and widely different idioms commixed, and so can by no means have been the language of ordinary intercourse. This language then has influenced, in a more or less degree, the entire poetry of subsequent times. The mixture of the dialects having become, through the Homeric standard, a so-to-say constituent element of the poetical diction, appears to have been carried to greatest lengths in lyric poetry. Among the older prose writers, Herodotos and the oldest Attics show the

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[1] Hence the frequent sharp discrimination in Attic grammar between 'poetical' (also 'epic') and 'prose' Greek.—This also explains why Hesiod and Pindar, though Boeotians, have not written in their native dialect. Again, Alcaeos, Sappho, and the tragedians, though employing on the whole the received language of their country, frequently borrow Homeric forms, and the choric parts of the Attic plays are conventionally in Doric.

clearest difference from the colloquial language, though that difference cannot [?] have been very considerable. Towards the close of the V<sup>th</sup> B.C. a Panhellenic literary language, founded on the Attic dialect, came into existence, which gradually lost touch with the popular language.'—KBRUGMANN, *Gr. Gram.*<sup>2</sup> p. 21; so too p. 76 footnote.

06. But apart from these facts and considerations, it is within daily observation that no writer whatever uses the same diction both in writing and speaking. On the contrary, every penman makes it a special point to clothe his thoughts in a more or less elegant expression, and we all acknowledge that a literary composition is likely to meet with more favour on the part of its readers if it rises above daily common talk (020). Accordingly the classical writings of the Greeks, which excel in elegance of style and diction, are of necessity artistic and artificial productions different from the common and popular, as well as from the plebeian or rustic speech.

07. Facts, then, analogy, and modern experience, force us to the recognition, at all periods of Greek history, of a literary style, and a colloquial speech in the Attic or national language of Greece. It now remains to say a word on the literary productions extant of these two forms of language. In the case of the literary style the material at hand is very rich and surpassing; in fact, the whole Greek literature, the glory of ancient Greece, is composed almost exclusively in the literary diction. With regard to the colloquial or popular speech, it is hardly represented in the written monuments extant (cp. 020). This is a regrettable vacuum, but its occurrence is not surprising. For all colloquial compositions of the time, being of temporary and private character (private correspondence, notes, etc.), were committed to skins, leaves, wax-boards or tablets (*ceræ*, *πυξία*, *δελτία*), and papyri, which, being single copies, have all perished in the humid soil of Greece. But even if the material were of lasting substance, we must remember that every scribe, the moment he tries to commit his thoughts to writing, instinctively shapes them in a more or less artistic form and thus unconsciously rises to the conventional or literary style (05. 019). In these circumstances the colloquial or popular language, especially that of the classical period, has left, and could leave, no representative specimens to distant posterity.

#### HELLENISTIC PERIOD (300-150 B.C.).

##### *Greek becoming an International Language.*

08. With the close of the IV<sup>th</sup> B.C. a new era opens in the history of the Greek language. With the final subjection of Greece to the Macedonian rule her glorious days closed for ever. At the same time, the rapid and vast conquests of Alexander the Great in Asia and Egypt threw the East open to the Greek populations. Multitudes of them soon made their

way into the various territories of Asia, Egypt, North Africa, Southern Europe, Spain, France, the Euxine, in short, along the coasts of the Mediterranean and Black seas, in many cases penetrating into the far interior. The Greek language then, already Atticized, gradually conquered the whole ancient world, and became the medium of international communication. At the same time, the rapid expansion of the Hellenic race over alien regions naturally led to novel conditions: new Greek communities sprang up in Asia Minor (Smyrna, Rhodes, Antioch, Pergamon) and Alexandria, which soon competed with the metropolis for supremacy. The balance of culture and learning eventually shifted to the East, Alexandria becoming the principal centre of classical education and learning (hence this period is often termed the *Alexandrian period*).

09. The conditions created by such political and social changes are naturally reflected in the contemporary literature and language: the Greek populations which had settled abroad among alien races (such as Syrians, Persians, Egyptians, Ethiopians) as soldiers, colonists, tradesmen, and the like, formed only a minority among the natives. They had to accommodate themselves to altered conditions: novel (oriental) life, new avocations, new climate, foreign culture. Such changes in life, coupled with the absence of a national centre and a uniform or systematic education, called into existence a sort of colonial or *Levantine* Greek which soon began to tell on the language of the already declining metropolis in Greece proper, inasmuch as the colonial and foreign spirit asserted itself against the ancestral or classical culture. In this way a Panhellenic Greek sprang up which, while always preserving all its main features of Attic grammar and vocabulary, adopted many colonial and foreign elements and moreover began to proceed in a more analytical spirit and on a simplified grammar. This modified or cosmopolitan Greek is generally designated as the non-Attic or *Common* Greek (Κοινή or Ἑλληνικὴ διάλεκτος), that is, the generally received Greek (Panhellenic). It is this Panhellenic or *new Attic* that marks an already advanced stage in the direction of *Modern Greek*.

#### GRECO-ROMAN PERIOD (B.C. 150–300 A.D.).

010. From this time onward the Greek language departs farther from classical Attic under more and more varying conditions. In the first place, while the cultural and social competition between the new Greek commonwealths in the East and the ancient metropolis (Athens) of all Greeks was still in process, a foreign unwelcome master interposed: the Romans came upon the stage and put an end to the political independence of all Greek communities, both abroad and at home. However,

we must not imply here that Greek made room for Latin ; for the Romans, instead of Romanizing their Greek subjects, were Hellenized by them—a fact deplored by the Romans themselves.

Hor. Ep. 2, 1, 156: *Graecia capta ferum victorem cepit et artes Intulit agresti Latio*.—Ovid Fast. 3, 101 sq.: *nondum tradiderat victas victoribus artes Graecia*.—Liv. 34, 4: *iam in Graeciam Asiamque transcendimus omnibus libidinum illecebris repietas, et regias etiam atrectamus gazas; eo plus horreo ne illae magis res nos ceperint quam nos illas*. Cic. Arch. 23 *quod Graeca leguntur in omnibus fere regionibus, Latina suis finibus, exiguis sane, continentur*.—and ἀπολοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι τὰ πράγματα γραμμάτων Ἑλληνικῶν ἀναπλησθέντες, said Cato the elder (Plut. Cato Maj. 23, 3).<sup>[1]</sup>

011. On the other hand, it is equally true that the Roman administration, notwithstanding its surrendering to Greek culture and education, did not fail to influence the Greek language: a large number of words referring to Roman associations and novelties, especially official (administrative, military, and judicial) terms, social grades, titles and dates were adopted in a more or less Hellenized form. At the same time the Roman rule, essentially military as it was, reduced intellectual life and culture to a lower ebb, and thus on the one hand brought into disuse and oblivion a considerable portion of the Greek vocabulary, and on the other left freer play and scope to the colloquial or popular speech. Now as the language developed under such conditions and influences compared unfavourably with the Attic of the glorious olden times of Athenian hegemony, many scholars now, and after them the great majority of their successors, acting in a tacit conspiracy, endeavoured to check the further progress of this 'Common' (i. e. unclassical Attic) Greek and revive the ancient pure Attic, a circumstance which gave them the nickname of *Atticists*, i. e. 'purists.' Not originality, but *imitation* and *form*: *Κεῖται*; οὐ κεῖται;—was now the motto of all scribes<sup>[2]</sup>, and their general conspiracy systematically excluded from the literary compositions all the new elements daily cropping up, and thus prevented them from reaching posterity<sup>[3]</sup>. The effort and example of these purists, too, though criticized at first, gradually became a sort of moral dictatorship, and so has been tacitly if not zealously obeyed by all subsequent scribes down to the present time.

[1] Cp. also Senec. Consol. ad Helv. 6, 8; Juven. 6, 184; 15, 110; Quintil. 1, 1, 12; Sueton. Claud. 42; Aristid. 1, 294, 10; Acts 21, 37; Jos. B. J. 5, 5, 2; Epict. Frg. 53.

[2] Thus Aristides (Rhet. 2, 6) prides himself on being able to state that he has used not a word which is not sanctioned by classical writers: *περὶ δὲ ἑρμηνείας τοσούτων ἂν εἴποιμι, μήτε ὀνόματι μήτε ῥήματι χρῆσθαι ἄλλως πλὴν τοῦ ἐκ τῶν βιβλίων*.—See also FBlass Pron. 10 f.

[3] The actual state of public education at this period may be gauged by such documentary specimens as: (Gr. Urk. Berlin 13<sup>1</sup> [July 22, 289 A.D.], 22-23) εὐρησθίος ἀμμωνίς ἀπο χώρας νεβητῶν ἀξιοθεῖς υπαίρτατον γραμματα μετ' εἰδοσῶν ἐγγραφα υπαίρτατον (for Δυρρήλιος Ἀμμωνίς ἀπὸ χώρας Νεβιτῶν ἀξιοθεῖς ὑπ' αὐτῶν γράμματα μετ' εἰδόντων ἐγγραφα ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν), where the formal and standing phraseology of the signature by procurator would have led us to expect a more correct spelling even among the uneducated masses.

012. But despite this purist conspiracy of all post-classical scribes, which is amply illustrated in the Atticistic productions of the time, the unlearned inscriptions and papyri, especially those of a private character, show an essentially different complexion, which reflects, though dimly, the popular or colloquial language, and at the same time signalizes, as stated above (09), a distinctly advanced stage of modern Greek.

013. Generally speaking, in the literary productions of this period we can distinguish four different strata of the language: (1) The *Atticists*, who adhere rigidly to classical Attic, copying both its vocabulary and grammar (Dionysios of Halicarnassos, Dion Chrysostomos, Lucian, Aristides, Pausanias, Aelian, Himerios, Themistios, Libanios, Phrynichos, Moeris, etc.). (2) The *common* or *conventional* school consisting of writers who in their compositions follow the received or Panhellenic language, that is Attic with many concessions to the spirit of the times (Polybios [but cp. 1771, b], Diodoros, Plutarch, etc., also Josephos and Philon). (3) The *Levantine* group, represented by Asiatic Greeks and those Hellenized foreigners who in their compositions adopted the Greek language (many contemporary inscriptions and papyri, then the New Testament, less the Septuagint which is Rabbinic Greek). This Levantine group is sometimes wrongly termed the *Hellenistic*.—From these three schools which represent the *written* language, we must distinguish as (4): The *colloquial* or *popular speech*, which is discernible in the analytical spirit and modernized diction of the Common and Levantine Schools, and particularly in many of the contemporary inscriptions, and papyri. The last-named source, especially that of the papyri, is now being daily multiplied by discoveries in Egypt, where the dryness of the climate and the solidity of the temples and tombs afforded to MSS and other documents an everlasting shelter.

#### TRANSITIONAL PERIOD (300-600 A.D.).

##### a. *Christianization of the Greek language: Greek body, Christian soul, Modern Attire.*

014. In this transition stage of the Greek language, another agency, mightier than any previous one, manifested itself and remodelled its character: the conversion of the Greek race to Christianity. It was Christianity, indeed, which had the most revolutionary effects on the Greek history and culture. Christianity originated in Asia Minor, which was ruled by Rome but spoke Greek. It came not from abroad as a foreign invader and conqueror, but sprang up in the midst

of the masses as a friend and saviour. Once set in the hearts of the people, it became part of their race, part of their nature, and turned them not to subjects but to zealous agents. The classical or Hellenic spirit now makes room for new ideas and doctrines, new education and life. In their religious ardour and enthusiasm, the Greek multitudes abjure their ancestral beliefs, their history and literature, and therewith that part of their vocabulary which was associated with unchristian principles. The Greek temples are zealously transformed into Christian churches or deserted as haunted spots; the traditional customs and beliefs are abandoned and disowned; the reading of pagan authors, that is, of Greek literature altogether, is religiously shunned<sup>[1]</sup>; Hellenic colleges are abolished as pagan institutions; in short, the old Hellenism is Christianized in a modern spirit, and thus undergoes a process of transubstantiation.

015. The work of Christianity in the transformation of the Greek language received an additional impulse from another momentous factor: with the division of the Roman Empire into Eastern and Western, the seat of Greek culture and learning removed from Alexandria and Athens to ancient Byzantium, now rebuilt by Constantine the Great, and named New Rome (later Constantinople). Constantine himself having adopted the Christian faith (first Christian Emperor) raised it to a State Church and made New Rome a metropolis of the Eastern Empire, which was now composed chiefly of Christianized Greeks (cp. 025). The new capital was situated in the midst of many heterogeneous races and alien influences; the administration and court ceremonial were entirely novel; the spirit of the times was mainly religious and martial. All these influences affected daily life and imprinted on the language a peculiar and, as it were, composite stamp which is conventionally termed the *Byzantine* style.

016. To sum up, partly the Roman sway,—whether it proceeded directly from Rome proper as in the first centuries (145 B.C.—330 A.D.), or from New Rome, her Hellenized successor and rival in the East (025)—but chiefly the rapid transition from Greek culture to the ascetic fervour of Christianity, had the most consequential and permanent effects on the Greek language. Thousands of words and terms associated with science, literature, history, mythology (now called idolatry), philosophy, and all such vocabulary as was associated with God-forsaken paganism, passed into oblivion<sup>[1]</sup>. Even the name of ‘Hellen,’ the

[<sup>1</sup>] Clementine 4, 12 ἐγὼ τὴν πᾶσαν Ἑλλάδα κακοῦ δαίμονος χαλεπότην τὴν ὑπόθεσιν εἶναι νομίζω. Const. Apost. 1, 6 τί γάρ σοι καὶ λείπει ἐν τῷ νόμῳ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐν' ἐπ' ἐκεῖνα τὰ ἐθνομύθα ὁμήρης;



traditional and hereditary designation for a Greek, being now associated with heathen reminiscences, was repudiated, and the appellation 'Romaïos' (Ῥωμαῖος), that is, citizen of the Christian metropolis, New Rome, or 'Rome *par excellence*,' was universally adopted instead. In this way the formerly copious stock and vocabulary of the Greek language was now considerably reduced and modified in a Christian and modern spirit.

*b. The Church saving Literary Greek from Extinction.*

017. Here, however, misunderstanding must be guarded against. It is true that Christianity while ousting paganism obliterated Hellenic culture and with it remodelled the Greek language. But on the other hand a reaction followed: once Christianized, the Greek language found a mighty support and shelter in the *Christian Church*. Not that the latter was in actual sympathy with the Hellenic language as such, but for other practical reasons. Apart from the very momentous fact that the Old Testament had been translated from the Hebrew into the conventional or Atticizing Greek (013), the then international or cosmopolitan language, the very founder of Christianity (presumably) and His Apostles (certainly) had preached and written in Greek; the New Testament, the foundation and fountain-head of the Christian faith, had been promulgated in Greek; the early ecclesiastical writers and Church Fathers had devoutly imitated the Biblical diction; in short, the Christian Church had been founded upon the conventional and universal Greek of the time. In these conditions it was a foregone conclusion—nay, it was almost pre-ordained—that all subsequent religious compositions should be guided by the sacred language of the Church, whose diction and grammar, having once received a canonical sanction, continued as a fixed standard, appropriate to the lofty and earnest subject, to influence in every way Christian posterity.

018. It might be reasonably objected here, that secular writers of the Christian era, whose number is considerable, though Christians themselves, were not, by any means, compelled by religious considerations to frame their compositions after Biblical or patristic Greek. This is true, but, as already explained (010ff.), for pagan or secular compositions, the old classical Attic diction, sanctioned as it had been through all previous ages, still stood as the only model and standard for all composition. Thus it came to pass that all literary compositions produced since the Christianization of the Greek race, if religious in their character, were adapted to ecclesiastical Greek; if secular in their tenour, were moulded on the classical language. As a matter of course, either form goes back to the same original, classical Attic (019).

## NEOHELLENIC PERIOD (600-1900 A.D.).

*a. Byzantine Period (600-1000 A.D.).*

019. With its Christianization, the Greek language had entered on the path of distinct modernization. We have already seen that, since the Roman dominion, ancient culture had made room for Christian worship, and education for ascetic renunciation. This state of things naturally led to general ignorance and darkness, a circumstance which greatly loosened the mutual touch previously existing between the literary style and the colloquial or popular speech, and thus left an unhampered course to the latter. It might have even led to a complete disconnection and separation between the two forms, had not the literary language already permeated the popular idiom. For it will be remembered that, just as classical Attic had served as a model for all pre-Christian antiquity, so ecclesiastical Attic succeeded and continued as a fixed and sacred standard for all post-Christian literature. As a matter of fact, ecclesiastical Attic was now the diction of every reading book; ecclesiastical Attic was the language of the ritual daily read and heard in the Greek Church; ecclesiastical Attic was the diction of all school-books, the entire course of education being religious in its spirit and bearing. Likewise the official language of the Emperor and his court, that of the vast administration, of the law courts and the numberless clergy, was essentially ecclesiastical or modernized Attic. Even the language of the uneducated masses was crammed and infused with an immense amount of phraseology recognizable as ecclesiastical expressions, official terms and standing phrases. In short, all compositions as well as polite language were moulded after the same pattern: the ecclesiastical or modernized Attic. It is true that, in his daily life and intercourse, every Greek was at liberty to speak the colloquial language or even his own dialect; but as soon as he proceeded to commit his thoughts to paper, he was compelled to follow some grammar (07). Now there was but one grammar: the Attic. It was Attic grammar that every penman, whether highly or poorly educated, had learned. Attic grammar then naturally suggested the traditional orthography and vocabulary associated with it (25<sup>e</sup>). It must be also borne in mind that education was limited almost to the clergy—the great majority of penmen since Christian times—who read chiefly, if not exclusively, the Bible and so knew it by heart. These monks and priests, then, whether they treated religious subjects or secular matters, gave them a scriptural colour. They made it a pious duty to copy or imitate the sacred language of the Church. From whatever quarter then we may start we always gravitate towards the same central fountain—the Attic grammar and stock (018). Thus

there was at all stages of the Greek language, since classical antiquity, a general conspiracy of agencies in favour of the Attic dialect, which caused nearly the whole Greek literature, whether pre-Christian or post-Christian, to be clad in a more or less artificial Attic attire varying only with the degree of the individual education of each scribe.

020. Under these conditions it is not surprising if the colloquial speech is hardly represented in literature in its genuine form. It never obtained recognition or favour among the educated set of writers (05 ff., 25 ff.). On the contrary there has been at all times a general prejudice against it, and the writers and scribes of the time made it a special point of honour and pride to make the least possible concessions to the popular vocabulary and grammar. It is true that the spirit of the popular language breathes through all post-Christian compositions, still in every case it is very carefully disguised under the veil of classicism. It is only now and then that we light upon a purely popular expression which has forced its way into the text owing to its untranslatable nature, but even then it is branded as 'common,' that is, exceptionable or vulgar, and the author intimates to us his reluctance and aversion to such 'vulgarisms.' A curious specimen of such Greek, exhibiting the literary style mixed with colloquialisms, may be adduced here as an illustration. It is a satire against the Byzantine Emperor Maurice, in the year 600 A.D. (Theoph. 283, 19-23.)

Εὗρηκε τὴν δαμαλίδα ἀπαλὴν (καὶ τρυφερὰν)  
καὶ ὡς τὸ καινὸν ἀλεκτόριν ταύτῃ (ἐ)πεπῆδησεν <sup>[1]</sup>,  
καὶ ἐποίησε παιδία ὡς τὰ ξυλοκούκκουδα,  
καὶ οὐδεὶς τολμᾷ λαλῆσαι, ἀλλ' ὅλους ἐφίμωσεν.

Ἄγιέ μου ἄγιε, φοβερὲ καὶ δυνατέ,  
δὸς αὐτῷ κατὰ κρανίου ἵνα μὴ 'περαίρηται,  
κάγώ σοι τὸν βούν τὸν μέγαν προσαγάγω εἰς εὐχὴν.

021. This specimen of mixed Greek, which represents two languages blended into one common stock, or rather one language embodying, like a composite picture, the features of two languages <sup>[2]</sup>, is very characteristic. Taken in connexion

[1] The reading of the text is ταύτῃ πεπῆδησεν, both against the metre and the construction of the word. The form ἐπεπῆδησεν (ἐπιπῆδω) is required both by the dative ταύτῃ and the sense. Op. Arist. H. A. 5, 2, 4. Plut. ii, 512 D. Alchem. 35, 15.

[2] Similar characteristics are discernible in almost all literary productions dating since the VI<sup>th</sup> of our era. Whether they are based upon the classical dictionary and grammar, or upon the popular speech, they do not mirror the actual state of the language. In the former case, which embraces well-nigh all literature down to the XI<sup>th</sup> and the greater part produced since, the language, looked at from the standpoint of grammar and vocabulary, is essentially Attic, while in its spirit and character it reflects the popular or colloquial speech; virtually it may be literally paraphrased into modern Greek. On the other hand, all compositions which profess to be founded on the popular language are infused with a literary vocabulary and phraseology so considerable that they are anything but exponents of the actual speech. In

with the Alchemistic texts and some more serious or pretentious writings of the time, like those of a Callinicos (450 A.D.), the two Vitæ Epiphaniï, Malalas (560 A.D.), Leontios of Neapolis in Cypros (620), Joannes Moschos (620), the Chronicon paschale (630), Theophanes (810), Constantinos Porphyrogenetos (950), Theophanes continuatus (960), and others, leave no doubt that the popular language at this time had very closely approached that of the present day. This was also to be expected not only from the general character of the preceding or transitional literature, but even from that of the New Testament and such of its sequels as the Didachê and the Testamenta XII Patriarcharum.

022. It has been argued that the political history of the Greek race during the Middle Ages had sweeping effects on the Greek language, and that the Slav invasions since the VII<sup>th</sup> gave the finishing stroke to ancient Greek. This part of Greek history, it is alleged, records the sad fact that Slavs<sup>[1]</sup>, Franks, Venetians, and Turks succeeded one another in the formerly classical soil of Greece, and have swept away all features of Greek culture and language left behind by the Roman sway. Each foreign race, it is assumed, naturally imparted the stamp of its régime to the language of its Greek bondsmen, so that the final product of this successive or periodical havoc was the submerging and extinction of the original language. In other words, all the above heterogeneous elements were blended together and produced a bizarre idiom, the 'Romaic' or modern Greek. This line of reasoning, however, so fair in its semblance, does not stand the test of critical research. It is founded upon a superficial comparison of modern Greek glossary with ancient Greek lexicon, that is upon a parallel of the vocabulary of present *popular* speech with the *artificial* diction of classical literature (05 f. 032), and not, as it should be, upon a comparison of present Greek *grammar* with ancient Greek *grammar*, the true test in the critical or scientific study of language. Now such a comparison will easily show that present (popular) Greek preserves almost faithfully the phonology, in all its essentials the morphology or accidence, and to a considerable extent the syntax of ancient Greek (031): three unmistakable criteria of its being a lineal descendant and direct representative of ancient Greek. Were it a new, that is a distinct or separate language, formed, as erroneously believed, during the above stormy times, it would inevitably represent the result or conglomerate of all their heterogeneous influences; it would be an essentially Franco-Slavonic idiom, as English is Anglo-Saxon, and thus preserve only such Greek (chiefly lexical) elements as English does preserve Celtic relics. But the results before us tell a very different story. They plainly show that, in its character and

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fact, it may be safely contended that, with the exception of the popular songs and the epic story Erotocritos of the Cretan poet Cornaros, no literary production worthy of note, whether ancient or modern, reflects the colloquial language of the time in its pure and genuine form.

[1] In passing by the invasions previous to this time, of the Goths (396-7), Bulgarians (540), and Slavs (581), I neither ignore nor dispute these historical facts, but the presence of the above races in Greek territory was too transient; in point of fact, these incidents mark mere predatory incursions which could not leave lasting or perceptible traces on the Greek language. This is also proved by the fact, that there is not a single Slav word in modern Greek, which can be traced back to the presence of Slavs in Greece (1040, c, c & [2]).

structure, present Greek is still genuine Greek, and, in all its essentials, can be traced back to ancient times. The phenomenon too, though very remarkable, finds its explanation in the natural law that the language of the more civilized race remains supreme, whether that race be the conqueror or the conquered<sup>[1]</sup>. Now the culture of all foreign rulers of Greece—Romans, Goths, Slavs, Franks, Venetians, Turks—was certainly inferior to that of their contemporaneous Greeks, especially in reference to language. For, to begin with the Romans, they were a nation of great racial strength and military genius, but of avowedly inferior culture, as compared with their Greek subjects. Accordingly they received more from, than they imparted to, the Greek language, since it was already far richer and more cultivated than theirs (010. 025). They imposed on it only such a vocabulary as was peculiar to their superiority, or new to the Greeks; that is to say, a vocabulary expressive, as we have seen, of Roman associations and novelties, especially official and administrative terms or titles (011. 023).

023. The Roman dominion was succeeded by the Byzantine Empire, which was an essentially Greek régime. For even the emperors themselves, though originally Roman, soon adopted not only the Christian faith in its original Greek form, but also the Greek language and nationality (015); nay, they identified themselves so much with the Greek race and cause, that they even disclaimed all connexion with old Rome, and carried on against her a constant religious war. Now what were the characteristic features of this Byzantine period apart from its devotional spirit (019)? Religious strifes and military struggles. The religious hatred which ensued between the Roman or Latin and Greek Churches (and remains alive to the present time) has kept the Greek and Latin races, through all times, apart from each other, or rather, in constant antagonism, so that neither (old) Rome nor her Romanic descendants (Franks and Venetians) succeeded in converting Greece to their faith, or in influencing her language in any perceptible degree. As to the Latinisms—military, judicial, and administrative terms originally adopted from the Romans—so far as they had not been Grecized, they were naturally displaced by a corresponding Byzantine—that is, Greek—vocabulary, Greek being the language, not only of the people and the administration, but of the emperors themselves, who frequently even aspired to eminence in Greek literature (015. 028).

#### *b. Mediaeval Period (1000-1450 A.D.).*

024. With the opening of the next or Mediaeval period, we are faced all at once by all those changes which had been effected since Christian times by a long and gradual but hitherto latent process: here we witness the complete modernization of the language. A whole series of compositions, especially metrical, are written in undisguised 'modern Greek.' This is the more significant as the earliest of these specimens (Spaneas, Theodoros Prodromos, Michael Glykás, etc.) were composed by 'learned' scribes or champions of ancient Greek, and at a time noted as the period of zealous reaction in the spirit of classicalism (028). The language of these productions

<sup>[1]</sup> A striking illustration of this law is afforded by Roman history. From the I.<sup>st</sup> B.C. to the IV.<sup>th</sup> A.D. Rome was the mistress of Gaul and Spain on the one hand and of Greece on the other, yet with very different results. For while she succeeded in completely Romanizing the Gauls and Spaniards, in Greece she was Hellenized by her subjects (010).

## TURKISH RULE AND ITS EFFECTS ON GREEK. [024-027.]

then marks not the beginning, as commonly believed, but the completion of the process which since classical antiquity had been leading to 'modern Greek.'

**025.** The Greek terms of administration, titles, and military grades, introduced by the Byzantine régime, had a peculiar history. In the capital (Constantinople), and those eastern provinces which escaped all foreign dominion during the Middle Ages, they remained in full force and continuous use as late as the XIV<sup>th</sup>, when the Turks came upon the stage. In Greece proper, however, the Byzantine terms were expatriated, and replaced by a new vocabulary of the feudal régime of the Franks, chiefly bearing on chivalry and gallantry. Still, these extraneous and alien novelties, which had nothing to do with common life and thought, never struck root in the character of the Greek people, so that, through popular unconcern and time, they soon passed into oblivion. Similar considerations apply to the succeeding dominion of the Venetians, whose Romanish institutions, like those of their predecessors, never became popular in Greek provinces. They also substituted their own (Italian) terminology—military, administrative, nautical, commercial—for those of the Franks; but dissimilarity of race, and religious antagonism between Rome and Constantinople, or between the Roman and Greek Churches, kept the two races apart, or rather in antagonism, and prevented a free intercourse and influence of real consequence (023). A striking illustration of the failure which attended the efforts of Venice—the most civilized and mighty of all foreign rulers in Greece—to assimilate her Greek subjects, may be found in the present state of Crete. That island remained under the Venetian dominion, and formed a dependency of admirable organization—it was called the Kingdom of Crete (*Regno di Candia*)—for an unbroken series of more than 450 years (1210-1669)<sup>[1]</sup>, yet with all that, hardly any native Cretan Romanist is to be found on the island, and the Cretan vocabulary of to-day does not preserve fifty words which can be traced directly back to the Venetian domination<sup>[2]</sup>.

### *c. Modern Period (1450-1800 A.D.).*

**026.** The subjugation of the Greeks to the Turkish rule had a peculiar effect on the Greek language. The Turks had no affinity with either their predecessors (the Byzantines at Constantinople or the Venetians in Greece) nor with their Greek subjects, but were totally alien in race, religion, and culture. Their policy also was directed, not to assimilate their bondsmen (for which they neither cared nor had capacity), but mainly to keep down their Christian subjects, and extort from them the greatest possible material benefit. The Greek Church was even respected, for fear lest her numerous and powerful flock might be pushed into the arms of the Western Christian powers, the formidable foes of the Turk. Hence the Sultans not only spared, but also recognized, the Patriarch of Constantinople as the 'spiritual head' of all Christians in his dominions, so that the Greek Church exercised a sort of national authority and power.

**027.** The appearance and establishment of Turkish rule in Europe—much as it may have proved obnoxious to civilization and the Christian

[1] In Greece proper the Venetian dominion lasted only half as long.

[2] This is the more striking when we remember that Crete has not since changed masters more than once, for it has passed from the Venetians directly to the Turks, her present rulers, who cannot claim a civilization superior to that of their predecessors.

cause—looked at from a Greek point of view, appears less fatal than any other foreign régime might have proved, since, notwithstanding its barbarous character, it has proved less injurious to the cause of the Greek Church and language. For, having an aversion to all European civilization and religion, the Sultans fenced their empire against all access from Europe, and thus barred out all Western influence on their subjects. This policy, though obstructing the progress of the Greeks in proportion to the Western Europeans, had a beneficial effect on their language, inasmuch as it guarded it against Western (Romanic) influence. Again, the open contrast and hostility between the Christian faith of the Greeks and the Mohammedan religion, kept aloof the Christians who looked for comfort and salvation in their Church. Be it further remembered that the Greeks of the time, degenerate though they were, still preserved a degree of culture and education superior to that of their Mohammedan masters. In point of fact, they had hardly anything to learn from them, save some novel administrative terms and a small vocabulary referring to oriental dresses, meals, and other Asiatic novelties. The grammar and main stock of the Greek language was not materially affected, since the Greeks, having been left to themselves, continued to pursue their ancestral vocations as agriculturists, tradesmen, artisans, shepherds, priests, or monks, and employed the very same implements and means as they had inherited from time immemorial. At the same time it was inevitable that this stationary condition, which barred out the influx of foreign elements into the Greek language, led to another serious evil: a gross ignorance ensued, and the remains of education, science, and knowledge, which had been preserved from the previous times, now came to an end. All the terms then representative of such cultural notions were forgotten, so that the *vocabulary* sustained a further depletion and change. On the whole, however, in grammar and spirit, the language remained purely Greek; and in lexicon, essentially Greek, for the reasons given above (023).

028. Under these conditions, the Greek of to-day, as spoken by the people (not the *abstract*—scholarly and journalistic—Greek, which is ancient Attic modernized), is a direct survival and development of classical Attic, impoverished and simplified in a modern spirit, and under the unavoidable influence of various agencies, mostly internal and peculiar to Greek history. These may be briefly summed up here. Classical Attic, having once attained its fullest development, furnished post-classical antiquity and posterity with a surpassing and inexhaustible literature, extending into almost every line of thought and action. This advantage secured for it an absolute supremacy and authority in the ancient world: it made it first a standard or national, then an international—though always an *abstract*—language (05). When the period of Greek sway had gone, instead of vanishing with the glory of its native soil, it met with exceptionally favourable chances: no superior or even equal culture followed in Greek lands to supersede and extinguish it; all races which occupied its classical territory, however strong and mighty in military genius, proved inferior in culture. Hence the Greek language has successfully resisted all foreign predominance. Looked at also from the internal point of view, it withstood, more successfully than any other language, the mighty stream towards rapid change and modernization. This singular phenomenon is due to various factors peculiar not only to the nature of the Greek language (cp. 32<sup>c</sup> ff. 81. App. i. 9), but also to the Greek history.

To begin with, the Atticists (B.C. 200-100 A.D.) were the first to raise the standard of classicism, and their efforts did not fail to further the cause of the language, by influencing all subsequent writers. Second in order, but foremost in importance, is the mighty support which it received from the Greek Church. Whatever may have been the motives which actuated her, it is indisputable that her shield proved a veritable palladium for the language. Another impulse which also furthered considerably the cause of the language is to be found in the revival of classicism at the imperial court of the then metropolis (Constantinople), during the reign of the Comneni (1050-1200) and Palaeologoi (1260-1450). The literary taste and ambition of these emperors, and their zealous and commanding efforts to enforce, through the administration, ancient Greek upon common life, did not fail to refresh and enliven the language. The fourth and last agency need not be emphasized: I refer to the regeneration of Greece, which has naturally led to the revival of the language. In point of fact, the national zeal displayed by the present Greeks during the last seventy years, though not always in the right direction, has already made up for well-nigh all lexical losses sustained by the ancient vocabulary during the last twenty centuries<sup>[1]</sup>.

028<sup>b</sup>. It results from the foregoing sketch that the history of ancient Greek literature is not the history of the ancient Greek language, and likewise, the history of modern Greek literature is by no means the history of the modern Greek language. Ancient Greek literature—an artistic product of psychological action and mental reflexion—begins for us with Homer and closes conventionally with the end of paganism, its subsequent continuation being a merely artificial and scholastic reproduction of ancient models. In the same way the ancient Greek language begins with the origin of the Greek race and closes virtually with the present day, or, so far as it differs from present speech, with the end of paganism. This inter-relation of literature and language is more pronounced in the case of modern Greek. For the history of *modern Greek literature*—i.e. of those compositions which reflect popular speech—opens as late as the twelfth century A.D., whilst the history of the *modern Greek language* is virtually as old as the history of ancient Greek, or, considered in its distinctly modern form, goes at least as far back as the origin of Christianity.

029. In its present stage, that is not in its abstract or literary form, but as *actually spoken by the uneducated masses* during the last hundred years, modern Greek consists of a great number of dialects and idioms which are distinguished from one another principally by lexical varieties. At the same time their phonology is not quite identical throughout, but varies more or less according as a locality lies further south or north. A line drawn along the 38th degree of northern latitude would (according to GHatzidakis 342) divide all dialects into two general groups: the *northern*, which would comprise Continental Greece, Euboea, Epirus, Thessaly, Macedonia, Thrace, Pontos, and the northern Sporades (Asia Minor); and the *southern*, which would consist of the Peloponnese (Achaia excepted), Megara, Aegina, the Cyclades (except Tenos, partly also Andros), Crete, Chios, Cyprus,

[1] It may be computed that more than 40,000 new words have been coined within the last 100 years either to supplement the reduced stock, or to replace the foreign element. As a matter of course, a very great number of these new formations were never naturalized, but after a short life passed into oblivion.



Rhodes, up to the southern Sporades (Asia Minor), then Southern Italy, especially Otranto and Bova (Byzantine settlements of the VIII<sup>th</sup>-X<sup>th</sup>), which last, having been cut off from all other Greek dialects since the XI<sup>th</sup>, in some respects preserve the pre-mediaeval morphology and vocabulary of modern Greek.

030. The fundamental difference between the two groups lies in the higher or lower stress of accent, inasmuch as the more north we proceed, the stronger the stress becomes, at the expense of unaccented syllables, and conversely the more south we return the less the difference becomes between accented and unaccented syllables. Accordingly in southern speech all syllables, whether stressed or unstressed, are well defined and almost isochronous (half long), whereas in the northern dialects the effect of the strong expiratory or dynamic accent has been to lessen the stability of the unaccented parts of the word, whether following (post-tonic) or preceding (pre-tonic), that is to reduce unaccented vowels to a minimum, often even to nil. The chief vowel sounds affected by this northern phonetic principle are *i*, *u*, *e*, *o*, in that southern *unaccented e* and *o* are reduced to short *i* and *u* respectively, and southern *i* and *u* frequently swallowed altogether<sup>[1]</sup>. The natural consequence of this phonetic tendency is that, while southern speech, like ancient Greek, is averse to consonantal accumulations (123), and in case of need even develops interconsonantal vowel sounds, dropping also any final consonants except *σ* and *ν*;—the northern dialects generally, but especially those of Macedonia (e.g. Velvendos) show a decided fondness for consonantal sounds, whether initial, medial, or final, and drop weak vowels (146 ff.). Thus southern *ἐρημος* 'deserted' in northern speech changes to *ἐρ'μους* or *ἐρ'μους*, *δουλεύω* 'work' to *δ'λεω* or *δ'λεύου*, *σκυλί* 'dog' to *σκ'λι* or *σκ'λί*, *νερό* 'water' to *νιρό*, *παιδι* to *π'δι*, *κουνοῦπι* 'gnat' to *κ'νοῦπ*, *θυμός* 'wrath' to *θ'μός*, *λιβάδι* 'meadow' to *λ'βάδ*, *κοιμούμαι* 'sleep' to *κ'μούμ*, *σηκώνω* 'lift' to *σ'κώνου*, *πουλῶ* 'sell' to *π'λῶ*, *κεφάλι* 'head' to *κ'φάλ*, *ποτάμι* 'river' to *πουτάμ*, *κάνετε* 'you do' to *κάνιτι*, *ἐγώ* 'I' to *ιγώ*, *ἐμεῖς* 'we' to *ιμεῖς*, *με* 'me' to *μί*, *μή* 'don't' to *μέ*, *βουβός* 'dumb' to (*β'βός*) *βός*, *στουπνί* 'flax' to (*στ'πι*) *σ'πί*.—In other words, the reduction to a minimum or disappearance of unaccented *i*, *u*, and the change of unaccented *e* *o* to *i*, *u*, have altogether transformed the language, the ancient rich sonantism (124) having made room for a new and odd sonantism, and the ancient poor consonantism (123 f. 169) for a strange succession of consonants, whereas the declension and conjugation, so richly developed in ancient times, now appears strangely reduced and almost unrecognizable. Thus northern (Macedonian) speech changes southern *ὁ λόγος* to *οὐ λόγους*, *τοῦ λόγου* to *τ' λόγ*, *τοὺς λόγους* to *τ'ς λόγ'ς*, *ὁ κλέφτης* 'thief' to *οὐ κλέφτ'ς*,—*θελω* 'will' to *θέλου*, *πουλοῦμεν* 'we sell' & *ἐπουλοῦμεν* to *π'λοῦμ*, *πηδάτε* 'you jump' & *ἐπηδάτε* to *π'δᾶτ*, *ἐλέγετε* to *λ'έγιτ*, *ἐγύρισε* to *γ'ύρ'σ*, *θα πουλήσετε* 'you will sell' to *θα π'λήσ'τ*, *θα πουλήσου* 'they will sell' to *θα π'λήσ'ν*.—*Τ'ν ἄλλ' τ' μέρα καθούνηταν ἡ γ'ναῖκα τ' μι τοῦ κέν'μα'ς τοῦ κατέφλ'ου μὴ ἄλλ'ς γ'τόν'σ'ς κ' ντοῦσ'ν*, for southern

[1] As a matter of course, these phonetic peculiarities of northern speech are modern and have nothing in common with the reputed ancient 'quantity', otherwise the process would have affected the entire Greek phonology and led to the disappearance of all the formerly 'short' vowels. In all likelihood, the phenomenon is traceable to foreign influence, the more so as Albanian phonology shows striking analogies (cp. G Meyer in G Gröber's *Grundriss*, i. 812 f.).

τὴν ἄλλην (τὴν) ἡμέρα' ἐκάθεντο' ἡ γυναῖκα του με τὸ κέντημα 'ς τὸ κατὰ-  
φύλο με ἄλλες γειτόνισσες κ' ἐκέντα.

031. We see then that, from a phonological point of view, the northern and southern groups, especially towards their extreme boundaries (e. g. Velvendos in Macedonia—Crete), exhibit a very marked difference of sonantism (124). It is further evident that the geographical position of the several localities, their isolation or their vicinity to foreign races, their political and internal history, have, to a greater or less extent, conduced to shape the idioms at present spoken in the various Greek communities. That these various dialects have not the same historical value needs no special comment. Thus while northern speech has been influenced by alien (Albanian, etc.) phonology, the dialects of Pontos and South Italy bear unmistakable traits of Turkish and Italo-Venetian influence. Now as phonology in every language is intimately connected with morphology, it inevitably follows that the grammar of the above specified (northern, Pontic and Italian) dialects has been, within Neohellenic times, considerably affected by extraneous influences. At the same time, a careful examination of the southern group will show that, for various reasons, these dialects have withstood foreign influence with far greater success than the northern, and so preserved the ancient phonology, substantially also morphology and syntax (022), with such (chiefly morphological and syntactical) changes and vicissitudes only as would be inevitable from the nature of the case and the culture or spirit of the time. It is for these reasons that students of the post-classical and subsequent history of Greek, in looking for information in the present stage of modern Greek, should direct their attention not so much to the northern as to the *southern* group of Neohellenic dialects.

[032. As an appendix to this introduction, it may be well to remind young students of a fundamental error often committed by investigators of modern Greek. These Neo-grecists are apt to rashly draw an unqualified parallel between *classical Greek*, in its artistic as well as artificial form, taught through the Attic grammar (05-06), and *present popular speech*, especially northern. And the evil is aggravated by the practice of representing present popular speech in its *phonetic* spelling, while retaining *etymological* or *historical orthography* for ancient Greek (25<sup>e</sup>). The natural consequence of this comparison is the creation of such a wide chasm between classical and modern Greek as to render the former almost irrecognizable in the latter. This method, however, is utterly misplaced and misleading. A phonetic parallelism between the ancient Greek of the texts and the popular speech of to-day would be justified only under the three following assumptions: that the pronunciation of classical Greek (V-IV<sup>th</sup> B.C.) had been incontrovertibly the Erasmian; that the ancient Hellens wrote and spoke the same language, that is they used the same vocabulary and grammar whether they wrote or spoke; and above all that they followed the principle of phonetic spelling. Now as these premises can never be established, to contend that classical θεός (allegedly ϑεός) has degenerated to θιός, παλαιός (παλαιός) to παλιός, δίκαιος (δικαίος) to δικίω, or δικός, ἡ γλυκεῖα and τὰ γλυκιά to ζλυκιά, καὶ ἄν to κὶ ἄν, ὁποῖος (hoποῖος) to σπχιος or σπχος, μία to μυιά, ἀλλοῖος to ἀλιός, etc. is not only to disregard ancient phonology—that is the characteristic phenomenon of synaloephe (synizesis, contraction, crasis, elision, etc.), so common even in classical *compositions*,—but to ignore the very physiology and actual structure of language. No doubt

modern popular Greek is *the* form to be considered in an historical and critical study of the Greek language, but to apply historical orthography to the ancient period and phonetic spelling to the modern, introducing even novel and alien symbols into ordinary texts, is to forget the elementary fact that such a parallelism would distort any language, whether we should compare two different ages of it or the written and spoken forms of the same period. Take as instances the following specimens of *modern* French, German, and English, as given phonetically by HSweet (Primer of Phonetics, pp. 92, 100, and 81 f.).

*French.*

parle vu frañsæ? əŋ pə. ʒaŋ se ʒyst ase pur mœ fæær koŋ-  
praɑŋdrh. il lœ parl kuramaŋ. il ekri l frañsæ kœm sa prœprh laaŋg.  
kœl œœr æt il? il æ trwæz œœr e dmi. save vu si ʒit œœr oŋ deʒa  
sœne? vule vuz ataɑŋdr əŋ eŋstaŋ?

Parlez-vous français? Un peu. J'en sais juste assez pour me faire com-  
prendre. Il le parle couramment. Il écrit le français comme sa propre langue.  
Quelle heure est-il? Il est trois heures et demie. Savez-vous si huit heures ont  
déjà sonné? Voulez-vous attendre un instant?

*German.*

:oo :zeestu, :fœlær :moontn:fain! -tsum :letstn :maäl -auf :mainə  
:pain, :deen :iç :zoo :maŋə :mitærnaxt -an :diizm :pult herangə:vaxt!  
'dann :y:bær :byçærn -unt pɑ:piir, :tryyp:zeeljær 'froynt! er:ʃi:st :duu  
:miir. 'ax, 'kœnt -iç :dox -auf :bærgəshœən -in :dai:nəm 'liibn liçtə  
'geen, -un 'bærgəshœlə -mit 'gaistørn 'fveebm, -auf :vi:zn -in :dai:nəm  
'demær 'veebn, -fon 'alœm :visnskvalm ent'laadn -in :dai:nəm 'tau  
gə:zunt -miç 'baadn.

O sähest du, voller Mondenschein! zum letztenmal auf meine Poin, den ich  
so manche Mitternacht an diesem Pult herangewacht! dann über Büchern und  
Papier, trübsel'ger Freund! ersiehst du mir. Ach! könnt' ich doch auf  
Bergeshöh'n in deinem lieben Lichte gehn, um Bergeshöhle mit Geistern schwe-  
ben, auf Wiesen in deinem Dämmer weben, von allem Wissensqualm entladen,  
in deinem Thau gesund mich baden!

*English.*

:pijpl 'juws -tə :piŋk -ʃi :æp -wəz -ə :kaɪnd -əv 'flæt 'keɪk', -wiʃ -ʃə  
'si: -əl 'raund -it'; -bət -wi: 'nou 'nau -ʔət -its 'ri:əl; 'raund', :laik -ə  
'bəl—'not 'kwaɪt :raund', -bət -ə :lɪtl 'flætnd', :laik -ən 'orɪŋz'.

People used to think the earth was a kind of flat cake, with the sea all round  
it; but we know now that it is really round, like a ball—not quite round, but  
a little flattened, like an orange.

-ən 'ɪŋglɪsmən -wəz 'wəns 'trævlɪŋ -ɪn 'tʃaɪnə' -huw 'kudnt :spi:jk  
'tʃaɪnɪz'. -wen 'deɪ' -hi: -wəz 'dai:nɪŋ -ət :sem 'ɪtɪŋ:haus', -ən -ʃə  
'weɪtə 'brɒt -ɪm -ə 'mɪjt 'paɪ'. -əz -ɪj -wəz 'veri 'hɛŋgrɪ', -hi: 'et -ɪt  
'æp', -ən 'tɒt -ɪt 'veri 'gud', -bət -ɪj 'kudnt :meɪk 'aʊt :whɒt -ɪt -wəz  
'meɪd -ov'. -sou :wen -ʃə :weɪtə :keɪm -tə :kliær ə'wei', -hi: 'pɔɪntɪd  
-ət -ʃi 'emti 'paɪdɪf, -ən 'kwækt -laɪk -ə 'dæk'. -ʃə 'weɪtə -ət 'wəns  
'fuk -ɪz 'hed', -ən 'baakt -laɪk -ə 'dɒg'. -ən sou -ʃi :ɪŋglɪsmən 'njuw  
-ɪd -bi:ɪn 'dai:nɪŋ -on 'dɒgzflɛʃ.

033. It is therefore absolutely unscholarly, or arbitrary and mis-  
leading, to contrast modern Greek (especially northern) in its phonetic  
spelling, with ancient Greek (especially artistic) in its historical  
orthography before we have gained a full insight into the actual  
phonology and grammatical structure of classical and subsequent  
'ancient' Greek. To contribute something in that direction is one  
of the primary objects of the present work.]

# PART FIRST.

## PHONOLOGY.

### I. PHONETIC SYMBOLS AND THEIR SOUNDS.

#### A. SCRIPT (ALPHABET).

##### SHORT HISTORY OF THE GREEK LETTERS.

1. **ALTHOUGH** there is every probability that, as far back as the earlier part of the XVI<sup>th</sup> or XV<sup>th</sup> B.C., the then inhabitants of Greece were acquainted with an aboriginal system, however crude, of pictographic or even alphabetic writing (AJEvans in Jour. Hell. Stud. xiv. 270-372), archaeology and classical scholarship are generally agreed that the Greek alphabet handed down to us was received from the Phoenicians, most probably before the XII<sup>th</sup> B.C. This is borne out not only by tradition (5), but also by the significant fact that as regards form, name, and order, the two alphabets show a striking correspondence.

2. (1) א 'aleph' (ox), Α ἀλφα; (2) β 'beth' (house), β βῆτα; (3) γ 'gimel' (camel), γ γάμμα; (4) δ 'daleth' (door), Δ δέλτα; (5) ε 'he' (window), ε εἰ (? cp. 9°; later ε ψιλόν); (6) ς 'vau' (nail), ζ δίγαμμα; (7) ז 'zayin' (?), ζ ζῆτα; [(8) ח 'cheth' (fence), θ ἥτα?]; (9) ט 'teth' (serpent?), θ θῆτα; (10) י 'yod' (hand), ι ἰῶτα; (11) כ 'kaph' (palm), κ κάππα; (12) ל 'lamed' (ox-goad), λ λάβδα; (13) מ 'mem' (water), μ μῦ (μῶ); (14) נ 'nun' (fish), ν νῦ; [(15) ס 'samekh' (prop?), ξ ξῖ]; (16) ע 'ayin' (eye), Ο οῦ (? cp. 9°; later ο, still later δ μικρόν); (17) פ 'pe' (month), ρ ρῆι (ῥῖ); [(18) ש 'tsade' (?), σ σαρπί]; (19) ק 'goph' (ape?), Φ κόππα (Q Latin); (20) ר 'resh' (head), ϱ ῥῶ; (21) ש 'shin' (tooth), Ϻ σίγμα; (22) ת 'tau' (cross), Τ ταῦ.

3. These Phoenician symbols are traceable in the oldest Greek inscriptions recovered up to the present time, which go as far back as the middle of the VII<sup>th</sup> B.C. There is, however, one important difference between the Phoenician and the Greek systems. While the former has no signs for vowels, and a great variety of aspirate and sibilant consonants, the latter, even in its earliest specimens found, shows an already fully developed vowel-system, and contents itself with one sibilant and one aspirate representative respectively. Thus the Greeks probably evolved out of the Phoenician consonants *aleph*, *he*, *yod*, *ayin*, the vowels α ε ι ο, and moreover invented υ (5), as a twenty-third letter. On the other hand, the Phoenician symbols ς, Φ, Ρ, Η, fell into desuetude as letters (11) and remained only as numeral ciphers, namely *rau* ς or 4, or otherwise *digamma* Ϝ (i. e. double gamma, now shaped Ϟ)=6; *koppa* Φ or Ϟ (now shaped Ϛ)=90; and *tsade* Ϟ or *san* Μ (now shaped Ϟ or Ϛ) and since *M* miscalled *σarpa* from *N* σάν

### 3-4.] GREEK LETTERS AND ALPHABETS.

π, i.e. like a π) = 900; so too Η which lingered the longest in the form of Η (as a rough breathing?) was retained in Α as cipher for 100 (cp. 11. 616). Again for the sounds χ θ φ the Greeks at first resorted to the digraphs ΚΘ ΤΘ ΠΘ (Thera, Melos), then gradually devised their monoliteral successors Χ Θ Φ respectively (6. 12).

4. Together with the letters, the Greeks adopted from the Phoenicians also the retrograde mode of writing from right to left. Accordingly the earliest Greek characters look to the left. Somewhat later the direction is βουστροφηδών (plough-wise), that is to say the lines proceed alternately from right to left, and from left to right. But before the close of the VII<sup>th</sup> B.C. the practice of writing all the lines from left to right had been initiated. The Greek characters therefore appear, in this archaic period, looking now to the left and now to the right, according to the direction of writing.

4<sup>b</sup>. The absence of all engraved monuments and inscriptional records in Greece from the XIII<sup>th</sup> to VIII<sup>th</sup> B.C. does not necessarily imply that the Greeks were unfamiliar with the art of writing. This absence is the natural concomitant of the then *tribal* and erratic condition of the Greeks, a condition quickened first by the Doric invasion, then by the colonial dispersion which kept the Greek races in continuous stir. In view of this state of things, which rendered uncertain the nearest future of every community<sup>[1]</sup>, the Greeks of this period, like their trade-pursuing predecessors, the Phoenicians, had neither opportunity nor desire to record on stone their public or private affairs. Nevertheless, the practice of the art of writing among the Greeks through the above tribal period is sufficiently borne out by the following data.

(1) The presence of the Homeric poems, and the high age attributed to them by all antiquity.

(2) The very frequent occurrence in them of *metrical position* between two consecutive words—with frequent interpunctuation—which presupposes the use of the *eye*, and cannot be well explained on the phonetic principle.

(3) The direct mention in the Iliad of writing (Z 168 f.): ἐπορεν δ' ὄγε χήματα λυγρὰ | γράψας ἐν πίνακι πηκτῶ. (Cp. ib. 176. 178. H 175. 187. 189.)

(4) The existence of schools in various Greek townships during, if not prior to, the VII<sup>th</sup> B.C. (Aelian V. H. 7, 15), and the impossibility of school instruction without *written* texts.

(5) The presence, even in the earliest Greek inscriptions, of the non-Phoenician characters υ φ χ ψ, which are Greek inventions, falling within the tribal period, at any rate previous to the XIII<sup>th</sup> B.C.

(6) The testimony of Herodotos to the effect that he saw at Thebes a Greek inscription dating from remote antiquity—Hdt. 5, 59 ταῦτα ἡλικίην εἶη ἂν κατὰ Δάϊον τὸν Λαβδάκου (about the XIII<sup>th</sup> B.C., according to the legendary chronology; at any rate considerably earlier than the Trojan war).

(7) The express mention, in an Elia inscription of the VII<sup>th</sup> B.C. (ESRoberts 365), of an *anciently written* law (IGA 110. 111) τὰ [ς]καῖα κα[τ] τὸ γράφος τὰρχαίων εἶε κα.

[1] Of this tribal condition the following vivid sketch is given by Thucydides in ch. 1. 2: φαίνεται ἡ νῦν Ἑλλὰς καλουμένη οὐ πάσαις βεβαίως οἰκουμένη, ἀλλὰ μεταναστάσεις τε οὖσαι τὰ πρότερα καὶ ῥαδίως ἕκαστοι τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἀπολείποντες βιαζόμενοι ὑπὸ τινων δει πλείονων. τῆς γὰρ ἐμπορίας οὐκ οὐσης, οὐδ' ἐπιμυγνύντες ἀεὶς ἀλλήλοισι οὔτε κατὰ γῆν οὔτε διὰ θαλάσσης, νεμόμενοί τε τὰ αὐτῶν ἕκαστοι ὅσον ἀποζῆν καὶ περιουσίαν χρημάτων οὐκ ἔχοντες οὐδὲ γῆν φυτεύοντες, ἀδελον δὲ ὅποτε τις ἐπελθὼν (καὶ ἀτειχίστων ἅμα ὄντων) ἄλλος ἀφαιρήσεται, τῆς τε καθ' ἡμέραν ἀναγκαῖον τροφῆς πανταχοῦ ἂν ἡγούμενοι ἐπικρατεῖν οὐ χαλεπῶς ἀπανίσταντο, καὶ δι' αὐτὸ οὔτε μεγέθει πόλεων ἰσχυον οὔτε τῇ ἄλλῃ παρασκευῇ.

(8) The presence in the VII<sup>th</sup> b. c. (in Crete, Thera, Melos, Attica, etc.) of public and private inscriptions, nay even long codes (Gortyn law of 12 columns with about 12000 letters), and other public ordinances, all of which presuppose a reading public.

5. The earliest Greek inscriptions show that, in its primitive stage, the Greek alphabet was incomplete and deficient, very often also incongruous. This circumstance plainly indicates that the Phoenician alphabet found its way into the various Greek communities not all at once, but by degrees, at various intervals, and by various private channels<sup>[1]</sup>. This is moreover confirmed by the fact that several symbols crept into the various localities in different forms and with different phonetic values<sup>[2]</sup>, and explains the phenomenon that the system of earlier inscriptions exhibits a variety of local or 'epichoric' alphabets (10). In their archaic stage these epichoric alphabets have one common feature among them, that they all show the Phoenician letters from *a* to *τ*, and moreover *υ* as a Greek addition (3). But in the case of *ϕ* *χ* *ψ*, they exhibit several peculiarities, in that, so far as they do not ignore these symbols altogether (as does Melos, Thera, Crete), they use them in a different order and phonetic value, viz. *ϕ* *χ* *ψ* or *χ* *ϕ* *ψ*, a confusion which apparently arose from the then current mode of reading either from the left or from the right (4). It is this inverse order and phonetic difference that led archaeologists to divide the Greek alphabets (apart from those of Melos, Thera, Crete) into two broad groups: an *eastern* (Ionian), which comprises Asia Minor, the islands of the Aegean Sea, the Bosphorus, Macedonia, the Ionian islands, then Corinth, Megara, Argos; and a *western*, which comprises middle Greece (except Attica), Euboea, Thessaly, the Peloponnesos, and Italy (including Rome, which received her alphabet from the Chalcidian colonies in Italy; whereas *Attica* occupies an intermediate place.—The eastern group uses phonetically *X* as *χ*, *Ψ* as *ψ*, and the Phoenician samekh *Ξ* as *ξ*; the western employs *X* as *ξ*, *Ψ* as *χ*, and either ignores *ψ* or expresses its sound by a new symbol *✕*. Again, the Attic alphabet, like the eastern group, uses *ϕ* and *X* as *φ* and *χ*, but shows no *ξ* nor *ψ*, these sounds being expressed by the digraphs *XΣ* and *ϕΣ* (6. 12).

6. The Attic alphabet, which is represented chiefly by Athens, shows, in its archaic stage, this deficiency as compared with the eastern or Ionian group, that it lacks the symbols *η* and *ω*, their place being supplied by *E* (which stood both for *ε* and *η*) and *O* (which stood both for *ο* and *ω*) respectively, and the consonants *ξ* and *ψ*, their place being supplied—since the time when *KH* and *PH* had been replaced by the simple *X* and *ϕ* (3)—by the digraphs *XΣ* (*KΣ*) and *ϕΣ* (*ΠΣ*) respectively (5).

[1] According to ancient tradition recorded by Herodotos (5, 58 f., so too Plut. ii. 738 κ) and Diodoros (3, 66 f. quoting Dionysios of Miletos; then 5, 74, 1), it was imported first to Boeotia (W. Larfeld 501, suggests Delphi) through the Tyrian Cadmos (hence in Hdt. 5, 58 *Καδμήα* or *Φοινικία γράμματα*, cp. also CIG 3044 *δε ἀν' Φοινικία ἐκκοψέι* sc. *γράμματα*. Jos. Apion. 1, 2. Clem. A. 5 tr. 1, 306. Bekk. An. 781. 783, 20. Hesych. s. v. *Φοινισίους γράμματα*), and thence it spread all over Greece. Victorin. vi. (H. Keil), 23, 14; 196, 13. Audaux 325, 1. Pliny N. H. 7, 56 (57), 191. Cp. also Tac. Ann. 9, 14.—See also Bekk. An. 781 ff.

[2] Thus *λ* generally = *ν*, but in Melos = *β*; *ϙ* in Delos and Elis = *β*, but in Rhodes, Megara, Phocis, etc. = *γ*, and in Crete = *π*; *λ* generally = *γ*, but in Paros = *λ*; *Β* or *ϙ* generally = *β*, but in Corinth and Coreyra = *ε* or *η*; *□* or *⊠* generally = *λ*, but in Elis = *ω*; so *⊥* in Tarent = *λ*, but in Rhodes = *λ*; *Χ* generally = *χ*, but in Cyrene, etc. = *ξ*; so *+* in Euboea and Boeotia = *ξ*.

## 6-9.] FORMS OF SCRIPT—TABLE OF LETTERS.

It was only in the latter part of the fifth century B.C. that these symbols found their way into the ordinary composition, and only in the year 403 B.C., during the archonship of Eucleides<sup>[1]</sup>, that they were officially admitted into the received or Attic alphabet (27 ff.). Consequently all literary productions written prior to the middle of the V<sup>th</sup> B.C. must have been composed in the old Attic alphabet, that is without  $\eta$ ,  $\omega$  (also without  $\xi$ ,  $\psi$ ); they must have shown—and so inscriptions actually do show—E wherever we are now wont to read either  $\epsilon$  or  $\eta$ , in most cases also  $\epsilon\iota$ ; and O wherever we are now wont to read either  $\omicron$  or  $\omega$ , in most cases also  $\omicron\upsilon$  (12).

7. As a matter of fact, previous to and during the adoption of the above (scholastic) orthography at Athens:—

E stood for  $\epsilon$ ,  $\eta$ ,  $\epsilon\iota$ ; and O for  $\omicron$ ,  $\omega$ ,  $\omicron\upsilon$ ;

so that:—

ΒΟΛΕ	stood for βολή, βουλή, βούλει (cp. Pl. Crat. 420 c).
ΕΥΤΥΧΕΣ	„ εὔτυχες, εὔτυχείς (σύ, οἱ), εὔτυχής, (εὔτυχῆς), ἡτύχεις.
ΛΟΓΟΣ, -ΟΝ	„ λόγος, λόγους, -ον, λόγων.
ΔΟΛΟΝ	„ δόλον, δοῦλον, δόλων, δούλων, δουλοῦν.
ΕΛΘΟΜΕΝ	„ ἔλθομεν, ἔλθωμεν.
ΠΡΟΧΟΝ	„ πρόχουν (τήν), πρόχων (τῶν), προῦχον (προέχον, προείχον), προύχων (προέχων).

8. Assuming then that an Attic scribe had to write down the following sentence: τοῦτο μηχανώμενος ὅπως ἂν ἀρξῇ ἐκβάλλων ἄλλους ψήφῃ δήμου<sup>[2]</sup>, he would have probably written in the 'scriptura continua' (25<sup>o</sup>. 79) and spelt:

(a) Previous to and during the VIII<sup>th</sup> B.C.:

WYOLAZABWBYA MAWOTBWO MAMOMABYBMCTO+O+\*]  
EKBALON(BWBFBOZΔE MO]

(b) During the VI<sup>th</sup> B.C.:

\*TOTOMEXANOMENOSOTPOC ANAPXCEIAΛOC EK  
OMEDIAΦE CΦNOΛAB

(c) During the V<sup>th</sup> B.C.:

\*TOTOMEXANOMENOSOTPOC ANAPXCEIAΛ(Λ)OY C  
EKBALONΦCEΦOIDE MO.

(d) During the IV<sup>th</sup> B.C.:

\*TOY TOMHXANOMENOSOTΠΩC ANAPXHIAΛLOYCEK  
B A Λ Λ O N Ψ H Φ Ω I Δ H M O Y

### SYNOPTICAL TABLE OF THE LETTERS.

9. Since the time of the Eucleidian spelling reform (6) the Greek alphabet (δ or ἡ ἀλφάβητος from ἄλφα βῆτα) has shown twenty-four letters. Their form, as printed in books, is conventional and dates from the middle ages (cp. 8).

[1] For the history of this orthographic change see App. ii. 12 [2].

[2] The sentence is not altogether classical (though cp. Pl. Phaedr. 239 B), but may conveniently serve to give a rough idea of the striking changes which took place during the pre-Eucleidian and archaic stages in the case of the most characteristic symbols.

CHARACTERS.						NAME.	PRONUNCIATION.	
Ancient.				Modern.			(see 24-69.)	
Primitive.	Classical Attic, Vth-IVth B.C.	Uncials, IVth A.D.	Minuscules, since IXth A.D.	Capitals.	Minuscules.	—	Traditional and in most printed classical.	Etymian, adopted since 1500 A.D.
Α	Α	Α	α	Α	α	ἄλφα	a	ā ā
Β	Β Β	Β	β	Β	β	βῆτα	v	b
Γ	Α Γ	Γ	γ	Γ	γ	γάμμα	gh, i	g
Δ	Δ Δ	Δ	δ	Δ	δ	δέλτα	th (ð)	d
Ε	Ε Ε	Ε	ε	Ε	ε	εἶ, εῖ (ψιλόv)	e	ē
Υ	(Υ Φ)			Φ	Φ	βαῦ, δίγαμμα	lost	lost
Ζ	Ζ	Ζ	ζ	Ζ	ζ	ζῆτα	z	ts
Η	Η	Η	η	Η	η	ῆτα	i	ē
Θ	Θ	Θ	θ	Θ	θ	θῆτα	th (p)	t
Ι	Ι	Ι	ι	Ι	ι	ιώτα (ι)	i	ī, i
Κ	Κ Κ	Κ	κ	Κ	κ	κάππα	k, k	k
Λ	Λ Λ	Λ	λ	Λ	λ	λά(μ)βδα	l	l
Μ	Μ	Μ	μ	Μ	μ	μῦ	m	m
Ν	Ν	Ν	ν	Ν	ν	νῦ	n	n
Ξ	Ξ Ξ	Ξ	ξ	Ξ	ξ	ξῦ, ξεῖ	ks	ks
Ο	Ο	Ο	ο	Ο	ο	οῦ, ὀ (μικρόν)	o	ō
Π	Π	Π	π	Π	π	πεῖ (πῖ)	p	p
Φ	(Φ)				ρ	κόππα	lost	lost
Ρ	Ρ Ρ Ρ	Ρ	ρ	Ρ	ρ	ῥῶ	r	r
Σ	Σ Σ	Σ	σ	Σ	σ	σίγμα (σάν)	s	s
Τ	Τ	Τ	τ	Τ	τ	ταῦ	t	t
Υ	Υ Υ	Υ	υ	Υ	υ	ὕ (ψιλόv)	i	u, ū
Φ	Φ Φ	Φ	φ	Φ	φ	φεῖ (φῖ)	f	f
Χ	Χ	Χ	χ	Χ	χ	χεῖ (χῖ)	kh, ch	ch
Ψ	Ψ	Ψ	ψ	Ψ	ψ	ψεῖ (ψῖ)	ps	ps
Ω	Ω	Ω	ω	Ω	ω	ῶ (μέγα)	o	ō



## 9<sup>b</sup>-13.] NAMES OF LETTERS—PRE-EUCLEIDIAN SYMBOLS.

9<sup>b</sup>. All twenty-four letters (which are conceived as indeclinable neuters) still survive in *N* with the sounds assigned to them in the last but one column. (For some dialectal discrepancies see 24<sup>c</sup>.)

9<sup>c</sup>. The ancient names of ε ο υ ω are εἶ οὖ ὤ ᾧ respectively <sup>[1]</sup>. The terms εἶ ψιλὸν (Zosimos 4, 13) and ὤ ψιλὸν mean *simple* (i.e. monoliteral) ε and ὤ, in contradistinction to the biliteral homophones αἰ—υἰ, εἰ, οἰ. The latter names originated during *G* in the need of facilitating orthography when dictating to pupils and MSS copiers. For similar reasons ὀ was called ὀ μικρὸν, i.e. *small o*, as distinguished from ᾧ μέγα, i.e. *large ω*. On the same principle *N* often designates ι as ἰ μικρὸν (ἱμικρον), and η as ἠ μεγάλη. (For a different view see KEASchmidt 48-75.) On the names εἶ and οὖ for ε and ὀ see App. ii. 10.

9<sup>d</sup>. Also the ancient names of the letters are still preserved in *N*, but those ending in -α are now often conceived as feminines (cp. 261. 338), as: τὸ γάμμα (348. 369), τὸ ἐψίλο\* (so!) τὸ μῦ, νῦ, ξῦ or ξεῖ, τὸ δμικρο\*, τὸ πεῖ, ῥῶ, τὸ σίγμα (348. 369), τὸ τᾶ (not ταῖ i.e. ταῖ 219), τὸ ὑψίλο\*, τὸ φεῖ, χεῖ, ψεῖ, τὸ ᾧ μεγάλο\*,—but τὸ & ἡ ἀλῖφα (131) τὸ & ἡ βῆτα, τὸ & ἡ δέλτα (131), τὸ & ἡ ζῆτα, τὸ & ἡ ἦτα, θῆτα, ἰῶτα, κάππα, λάβδα (247 f.).—Note further that the initial syllable alone (probably suggested by τὸ μῦ, νῦ, ξεῖ etc.) is also popular as an indeclinable neuter, as: τὸ δ, τὸ βῆ, γᾶ, δέ, ξ, ζῆ, θῆ, κᾶ, λᾶ, σί.

10. The four columns figuring as *ancient* in the preceding page, give the average form of characters as found in the inscriptions and MSS. However, many of these characters exhibit a variety of forms accord ing to the locality and time. (5 & [2].)

11. In the above list of letters two symbols have been inserted and marked as 'lost': ταν (βαῦ) or from its shape *f* digamma (διγάμμα, i.e. double gamma, which might possibly represent a relic of a pre-Phoenician indigenous system of writing; cp. 1), then koppa (Q). Both disappeared in the earlier stage of the language (3), but left some traces in a few dialects. Besides *f* and Q, another symbol ἰ (yod or jod) is assumed for the phonetic development of the *i*-sound in primitive Greek, but as it has left behind no direct traces, its former existence is simply deduced from cognate fields and kindred languages (cp. 29 f. 123. 209 ff.).—None of these lost signs lived to play a part in the 'classical' and subsequent history of the language, and if they are considered in modern grammars, it is because they afford a theoretical explanation to a number of grammatical phenomena.

12. Previous to the V<sup>th</sup> B.C. most of the Greek communities had no complete alphabet, but used to represent several sounds by one and the same symbol (6). Thus in the early Attic alphabet, the sound of ε η ει was represented by simple E; that of ο ω ου by O; φ primordially by ΠH, later by Φ; χ primordially by KH, later by X; ξ by KΞ (XΞ); ψ by ΠΞ (ΦΞ); θ also apparently by TH. Accordingly in archaic Attic the symbol H performed two distinct functions: on the one hand, it stood for the aspiration *h*, and on the other, represented the second constituent of φ χ θ, then symbolized by the digraphs ΠH KH TH respectively (3. 6). This expedient was to some extent resorted to in several localities even after the general reception of the complete (Ionic) alphabet in 403 B.C. (6. 23).

13. Final sigma has since *M* assumed the 'conventional' form σ, as: σεισμός.

[<sup>1</sup>] In Plato's time still ε ὀ ὤ ᾧ: (Crat. 393 D) τῶν στοιχείων ὁλοθα ὅτι ὀνόματα λέγομεν, ἀλλ' οὐκ αὐτὰ τὰ στοιχεία πλὴν τεσσάρων, τοῦ ε καὶ τοῦ γ καὶ τοῦ ο καὶ τοῦ ω. But also τὸ ἰ as CIA iv. 431 before 340 B.C. (Cp. 29<sup>c</sup> [2].)

14. In a compound word, the modern form of final *ς* is sometimes used, at the instance of HStephanus (then FWolf), at the end of a constituent, as *δυστυχής, προσφέρω*.

15. Capital letters are now *conventionally* used: (1) after a full stop; (2) at the beginning of a quotation; (3) as initials in proper names (and their adjectives). (8.)

### CLASSIFICATION OF LETTERS.

16. Of the twenty-four Greek letters seven (*α ε η ι ο υ ω*) are *vowels* (*φωνήεντα*) and the remaining seventeen *consonants* (*σύμφωνα*).

16<sup>a</sup>. From its remotest traceable period down to the closing decades of the V<sup>th</sup> B.C., the Attic alphabet shows only five vowel symbols: *α ε ι ο υ*, which evidently represent (for the earlier antiquity at least) the five normal sounds *a e i o u*, corresponding to the Latin and *N* vowel-system. This paucity of vowel sounds<sup>[1]</sup> finds its physiological explanation in the fact that, unlike most modern languages, especially English and German, Greek was a polysyllabic and inflectional language, and thus could confer upon its lengthy words a distinct individuality and perspicuity without resorting to the phonetic differentiation, that is to the development of the rich and variegated qualitative and quantitative phonology observable in the monosyllabic and uninflectional languages.

16<sup>c</sup>. As a polysyllabic and essentially inflectional language, *N* preserves the five vowel sounds *a e i o u* of early Greek (16<sup>b</sup>. 124; cp. 35<sup>b</sup> & 144).

### VOWELS.

17. The seven vowels are traditionally classified and called respectively:

*ε, ο* short (*βραχέα*);

*η, ω* long (*μακρά*);

*α, ι, υ* variable (also *doubtful, common, δίχρονα*, even *ἑγρά, ἀμφίβολα, μεταβολικά*, Sext. adv. gram. 621, 19; cf. also Schol. Dion. Thr. in Bekk. An. 800 f.). (88.)

17<sup>b</sup>. The symbols *η* and *ω*, in numerous cases also *ι*, originated at school as mere compensatory marks, to represent positional or 'thetic' *ε* and *ο*. As time went on, however, their systematical application caused them to be considered as regularly long vowels (28 f.). Hence the term 'long' is to be taken not phonetically but *technically* (metrically and grammatically), in that *η, ω, ᾶ, ῖ, ῥ*, as well as the diphthongs (20), represent a length due to the effect either of antecasis or of the ictus (29). Again, any vowel not long in this sense is conventionally called 'short'<sup>[2]</sup>. See 86 ff. and App. ii. 9-15.

18. In certain combinations, the vowels *ι* and *υ* act as consonants (32<sup>b</sup>, 3-51. 78<sup>b</sup>). This phonetic by-function, however, never caused them

[1] Hence Sextus' just reproach to the grammarians (adv. gram. 625, 14): *τυφλόττουςιν οὖν οἱ γραμματικοὶ καὶ τὸ ἀκολουθεῖν αὐτοῖς οὐ συνορῶσι λέγοντες ἰσθὰ φανάεντα τυγχάνειν. ΠΕΝΤΕ ΜΟΝΩΝ ΟΝΤΩΝ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΗΝ ΦΥΣΙΝ* (cp. 29<sup>cc</sup> [2]).—As to modern languages, in his Primer (p. 20 f.) HSweet enumerates *thirty-six* elementary vowel-sounds, eighteen of which are present in English alone.

[2] Compare Priscian 1, 3, 7, 10: 'vocales apud Latinos omnes sunt ancipites vel liquidæ, hoc est quæ facile modo produci modo corripri possunt: sicut etiam apud antiquissimos erant Graecorum ante inventionem *η* et *ω*, quibus inventis, *ε* et *ο*, quæ ante ancipites erant, remanserunt perpetuo breves.'

to be reckoned among the consonants also, the theorists being guided by the prevalent (vocalic) character of the symbols in question (19<sup>b</sup>). In the same way the Roman grammarians, copying their Greek masters, invariably classed *I* and *V* among the vowels, notwithstanding the fact that these letters very frequently acted as consonants *j* and *v* (19<sup>b</sup>, 51). [As is well known, the consonantal forms *j* and *v* date only since *M.*]

#### DIPHTHONGS (30).

19. Two vowel-sounds fused into one make a diphthong (δίφθογγος). In Greek such diphthongs arise only when one of the vowels *a* *e* *o* or their post-Eucleidian associates *η* and *ω* (all of which are styled *prepositive vowels*, φωνήεντα προτακτικά) is followed by *ι* or *υ* (called *postpositive vowels*, φ. ὑποτακτικά); further the combination of the two postpositives *υι*. (App. ii. 2, *d.*) And according as the postpositive vowel is or is not sounded, the diphthongs are called proper (κύριαι) or spurious (καταχρηστικάί, 20<sup>c</sup>) and written as follows:—

a. Proper diphthongs: *αι* (*ae* 19<sup>a</sup>) *ει* *οι*

*αυ*

*ευ*

*ου*

*ηυ*

*ωυ*

b. Spurious diphthongs: *α* *η* *ψ* *υι* (for *υ*).

19<sup>a</sup>. In early Greek the diphthong *αι* was written *ae*, and the change of *ae* to *αι* seems to have been suggested by the analogy of *ει*, *οι*, *υι*, where *ι* is established as the only postpositive vowel (20<sup>b</sup>). That the case is so appears:—(a) from the present pronunciation of *αι* as *e*, which, considering the peculiar principles of Greek phonology (32 ff.), could not have resulted from *a + ι*; (b) from Latin *ae*, the exact and regular equivalent of *αι*; (c) from the express testimony of ancient authorities, as Terent. Scaurus, 16, 10 (HKeil, vii): '*antiqui quoque Graecorum hanc syllabam (ai) per ae (i.e. ae) scripsisse traduntur*'; (d) from the frequent occurrence of *ae* for *αι* in early Corinthian, Boeotian, and even Attic inscriptions, as: 'ΑΕθρα (Attica) PKretschmer 126. ΑΕθων, 'ΑθανΑΕ'α, ΠερΑΕόθεν (Corinth), ib. 33 f. 'ΑΕσχρώνδας, ΛαρισΑΕ'ων, Λυσαν'ΑΕ, 'ΑΒΑΕόδωρος, 'ΑμεινοκλείΑΕ, ΠολυμίδαΕ, etc. GMeyer § 113. FBlass Pron. 56 f. ESRoberts 222 f. OHoffmann ii. 368<sup>[1]</sup>—It follows on the one hand that in the spurious diphthong *α* the *ι* subscript is hystero-geneous and spurious, and on the other that the casual occurrence in earlier Latin of *ai* for *ae* does not actually represent the old spelling, as commonly held, but rather points to an attempt to imitate the Greek fashion of replacing *ae* by *αι*. Mar. Victor. 14, 1 (HKeil, vi): '*ae syllabam quidam more Graecorum per ai scribunt.*' (For another imitation see 53.)

19<sup>b</sup>. Properly or historically speaking, the term 'diphthong' originated in the combination *δίφθογγος συλλαβή*, and thus meant a vowel-pair forming one syllable. The question, therefore, as to what the ancient Greeks meant by a diphthong, considered from a phonetic point of view (that is whether it consisted of two successive but distinct vowel *sounds* or of two successive *vowels* blended into one simple sound), is inseparable from the definition of a 'syllable' by the ancients, as well as from the actual pronunciation of such diphthongs in antiquity. While referring the latter point to the section of pronunciation

[1] It is the influence of this *ae* that seems to account for the few solitary cases of *oe* for *oi*: Χοερίλος 'Αθήν. iv. 213; Κροεσος, Μοερίχος, Κοερανός, Δαμεινέρος, Διανύσοε Πολυαράτος, GMeyer<sup>1</sup> § 116.—To assume here, on the strength of Latin *oe*, that *oi* also was originally spelt *oe*, would be unsafe considering that Latin systematically shows *e* postpositive for Greek *ι* postpositive. (Cp. 53.)

(30 ff.), we find that the ancients give a diphthong a monophthongal value, that is a simple sound. [Arist.] Poet. 20 συλλαβὴ ἐστὶ φωνὴ ἄσμος (read ἄσμος, i. e. μονόσημος<sup>[1]</sup>), σύνθετος ἐξ ἀφώνου καὶ φωνῆν ἔχοντος. Dion. Thr. in Bekk. An. ii. 632 συλλαβὴ ἐστὶ κυρίως σύλληψις συμφώνων (v. l. συμφώνων) μετὰ φωνήεντος ἢ φωνήεντων, ὅσον κάρ, βοῖς· καταχρηστικῶς δὲ καὶ ἡ ἐξ ἐνὸς φωνήεντος, ὅσον α, η. Schol. Dion. Thr. ib. 819 συλλαβὴ ἐστὶ σύλληψις συμφώνων μετὰ φωνήεντος ἢ φωνήεντων ἢ φ' ἓνα τόνον καὶ ἐν πνεῦμα ἀδιακτάτως ἀγομένη. That this was actually the received view among ancient professional grammarians, appears also from its literal adaptation to Latin: Priscian i. 44 (HKeil) 'syllaba est comprehensio literarum consequens sub uno accentu et uno spiritu prolata; abusive tamen etiam singularum vocalium sonos syllabas nominamus, possumus tamen et sic definire syllabam: syllaba est vox literalis quae sub uno accentu et uno spiritu indistincte profertur.' Though we have no earlier technical definition of the syllable than that of Aristotle given above, the term συλλαβή occurs from Aeschylus downwards. Aesch. Sept. 468 ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΩΝ ἐν ΣΥΛΛΑΒΑΙΣ. Pl. Crat. 390 ε τὰ ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΑ καὶ τὰς ΣΥΛΛΑΒΑΣ, so ib. 424 B. Theaet. 203 A αὖ μὲν ΣΥΛΛΑΒΑΙ ΛΟΓΟΝ ἔχουσι τὰ δὲ ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙΑ ΛΟΓΟΝ. ib. 6. So Dem. 24, 70. Aeschir. in Ctesiph. 140. A close examination of the above passages and a study of the G-B grammarians will show that the expression συλλαβή generally applied to the external or concrete symbols (25<sup>c</sup>). Accordingly the term *diphthong* (εἰσφογγ-ς sc. συλλαβή) also applied from the outset rather to the eye than to the ear<sup>[2]</sup>, and thus virtually meant 'a biliteral vowel-sound,' the consonantal by-function of *i* and *u* having been left out of account (18. 32<sup>b</sup>. 78<sup>b</sup>). The very same phenomenon is still more strikingly witnessed in Latin, where, though very frequently acting as consonants, the letters *I* and *V* are never classed among the consonants (18).

20. The -adscript or subscript of the spurious diphthongs originated, in many cases at least, as a prosodic mute mark, in that the vacancy left by a lost sound was, for rhythmical purposes, indicated by schoolmasters and rhythmicians with a stroke analogous to our sign of the apostrophe. This stroke then came to be annexed in the form of a mute *i* to the preceding vowel. Hence 'the mute *i* was written, as far as it was written, in the same line with the rest of the letters [hence it is termed, adscript]—and it is not until manuscripts of the VII<sup>th</sup> A.D. that we meet with *i* written a little higher or a little lower (*ai*, *au*), not until those of the XII<sup>th</sup> with *i* subscriptum' (FBlass, Pron. 50. Cp. Kühner-Blass i. 62, 2-3).

20<sup>b</sup>. All diphthongs, whether proper or spurious, are theoretically *long* (17<sup>b</sup>)—except final *ai* and *oi*, which, so far as they do not close the secondary subjunctive [optative], count short. (705; cp. 525<sup>b</sup>.)

20<sup>c</sup>. The diphthongs *q* *η* *ω* which in the inscriptions and earlier MSS figure as (AE)AI HI OI and (ae)ai ηι ωι, are called spurious (καταχρηστικάι, 19<sup>b</sup>), because their *i* has no phonetic value of its own nor does it affect the sound of the preceding *a* *η* *ω*, but is absolutely mute. This is borne out—to pass over the precepts of the ancient grammarians (as Dion. Thr. in Bekk. An. 639, 13)—by many facts the principal of which are: (a) In A metre the spurious diphthongs *q* *η* *ω* are, unlike the diphthongs proper, never dissolved into their constituent elements *ai* *ηi* *ωi*, but are invariably treated as simple vowels. (b) In the Attic (also Thessalian, Aeolic, and Ionic) inscriptions the *i* is, ever since the VI<sup>th</sup>, very often either omitted (Kühner-Blass i. 183 f.), or wrongly added, as: τδ for τῶι HRöhl 503 twice;

[1] For the term *μονόσημος* see Mar. Victor. de rhythmo 2 (vi. 42, 17, HKeil) and BWestphal Theorie<sup>2</sup> i. 209 f. This palaeographic misreading of ἄσμος occurs three times in the above chapter of Pseudo-Aristotle where he defines the σύνδεσμος and ἄρθρον, and has naturally taxed the ingenuity of the editors.

[2] Schol. in Dion. Thr. ii. 803 εἰσφογγαὶ λέγονται ἐπεὶ διὰ τὸ δύο φθόγγων συνίστανται· φθόγγοι δὲ καλοῦνται κατὰ μουσικὸν λόγον τὰ γράμματα. Choer. 520, 25 (TGaisford) εἰσφογγαὶ λέγονται διὰ τὸ ἕκαστον αὐτῶν ἔχειν δύο φωνήεντων φθόγγους· φθόγγους γὰρ λέγομεν ἐνταῦθα τὰ φωνήεντα, καὶ ἐκφωνῶνται καὶ μὴ ἐκφωνῶνται. (25<sup>c</sup>.)

δήμω for -μω, ἐν τῷ πρόνεφ, τῇ πόλει, ταμία for -ία, λήρθεθ for -θη, ἔπην for -τη, πάθην for -θη, etc. (KMeisterhans<sup>2</sup> 52, 12; ΘΠαπαδ. 302-349; FBlass Pron. 45 ff.; OHoffmann i. 186 f. ii. 439 ff.)—τῷ θεῷ, ἡλφεται, Κολωνήθεν, νεφετέρω, ὀπίσσω, γυμνασίης, φιλοπονίας (KMeisterhans 53, 13; cp. GMeyer § 35); ἐκ τῶν ἰδιῶν. τῶν ψηφῶν CIA iv. 630 b (34 B.C.); Gr. Urk. Berlin 260 (+90) ἀπέχαι, ἐκδώσαι, ἔσται, χεῖρ κατακεχωρισμένη. (c) Strabo testifies that many systematically dropped the ι of these spurious diphthongs, because it has no sense whatever: 14, 41 πολλοὶ χωρὶς τοῦ ι γράφουσι τὰς δοτικὰς καὶ (add ὑποτακτικὰς), ἐκβάλλουσι δὲ τὸ ἔθος φυσικὴν αἰτίαν οὐκ ἔχον.

20<sup>d</sup>. For the genesis and phonetic value of the ι-subscript, see 20 & 29 ff.

20<sup>e</sup>. Associated with the practice of discarding the ι adscript (now subscript) is apparently the widespread phenomenon in the inscriptions, of freely dropping any intersonantic ὑποτακτικὸν ι (29), a case which naturally occurs most frequently in the endings -αιος, -ειος, -οιος (-ηιος, -αιος). Here ι seems to act as a compensatory mark or as a mere divisor between heterosyllabic vowels (29. App. ii. 9-15.). Cp. Ἀθηναία & -νάα, ἐλαία & ἐλάα, αἰεὶ & αἰεί,—ἀ(ι)ετός, Πειρα(ι)εύς, Ἀλα(ι)εύς, δουρε(ι)ά, ἰερε(ι)α, πολιτέ(ι)α, χρέ(ι)α, ὑγίε(ι)α, πλέ(ι)ος, τέλε(ι)ος, ἐπιτῆδε(ι)ος, στο(ι)ά, πο(ι)εῖν, κἀ(ι)εῖν, κλά(ι)εῖν, κατεαγῦ(ι)α, ὀργυ(ι)ά, ὕ(ι)ός, λῶ(ι)ον, σῶ(ι)ος, σω(ι)ῶ (= σώσω), ἀνδρῆ(ι)ος, Ποσειδε(ι)ῶν, χρο(ι)ά, δ(ι)α or ᾠ(ι)α, Αἰνέ(ι)ας, Αἰνε(ι)ᾶται, γραμματέ(ι)ον, Θησε(ι)ον, etc. (KMeisterhans<sup>2</sup> 24 ff. 31 f. 44 f. 46 f.)—so further, in the 'scriptura continua' (25<sup>c</sup>) many cases of crasis, as: (κα[ι]εργα, originally καεργα, 19<sup>a</sup>) κἀγά, (κα[ι]εμοι or καεεμοι) κἀμοί, (κα[ι]εῖτα or καεεῖτα) κἀτα, (κα[ι]εν or κα[ι]εν) κἀν Mitth. xxi. 249, 6. etc., expressions which, owing to their frequency, became standing formulae. Compare further (μο[ι]εδύκει) μοῦδύκει (Ar. Vesp. 34), (στο[ι]εστι) σοῦστι (Aesch. Eum. 913), (δουνα[ι]αν) δουνάν (Ar. Lys. 45), etc.

20<sup>f</sup>. Conversely, the licence with which intervocalic ι was dealt with could not but lead to the misconception that it might be inserted between any two non diphthongal vowels as a mere ornamental adscript (29 ff.), as: ἀμφιδέ[ι]α, ἐ[ι]αν, ἐ[ι]αυτοῦ, βασιλέ[ι]α, Ζέ[ι]α, δέ[ι]ηται, Σοφοκλέ[ι]ους, νε[ι]ώς, Λε[ι]αντίδος, οἰνοχό[ι]η, Βο[ι]ηδρομίων, Ὀ[ι]ῆθεν, Χλό[ι]η (KMeisterhans<sup>2</sup> 35 ff. 45 f.)

21. Each of the two vowels ι and υ, when it is not postpositive and thus does not form with a preceding vowel a diphthong, is marked with two dots placed over it (ι̇, υ̇). This is called *diacresis* (cp. 158), as: Αχαῖα, αὔλος.

21<sup>b</sup>. In this book a simple vowel or a diphthong will be generally called by the common name *sonant* (cp. Diom. 422, 8, HKēil), for brevity's sake.

#### CONSONANTS.

22. The seventeen consonants (16) are commonly classified according to the following table:

	Guttural (velar, palatal)	Dental	Labial
Smooth (tenues)	κ	τ	π
Middle (mediae)	γ	δ	β
Aspirate (aspiratae)	χ	θ	φ
Nasals	γ	ν	μ
Sibilant or Spirant		σ	
Liquids		λ	ρ

23. The three consonants ζ ξ ψ, commonly but wrongly called 'double,' are *compound*: ζ being generally taken as equivalent to δσ (cp. 20<sup>b</sup>. 69), ξ to κσ, ψ to πσ. (cp. 5 f. 12. 23<sup>b</sup>.)

23<sup>b</sup>. The ancient classification of the consonants is thus summed up by Sext. adv. gram. 621 f. τῶν συμφώνων τὰ μὲν ἡμίφωνα ἔστι κατ' αὐτοὺς (i. e. τοὺς γραμματικοὺς, or rather Στοικοὺς) τὰ δὲ ἄφωνα. καὶ ἡμίφωνα μὲν ὅσα δι' αὐτῶν ῥοίζων ἢ σιγμὸν ἢ μυγμὸν ἢ τινα παραπλήσιον ἦχον κατὰ τὴν ἐκφώνησιν ὑποτελεῖν πεφυκῶτα, [p. 622] καθάπερ τὸ Ζ Θ Λ Μ Ν Ξ Ρ Φ Χ Ψ, ἢ, ὥς τινες, χαρὶ τοῦ Θ καὶ Φ καὶ Χ, τὰ λειπόμενα ὀκτώ. ἄφωνα δὲ ἔστι τὰ μήτε συλλαβὰς καθ' ἑαυτὰ ποιεῖν δυνάμενα μήτε ἦχων ἰδιότητας, αὐτὰ δὲ μόνον μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων συνεκφωνούμενα, καθάπερ Β Γ Δ Κ Π Τ, ἢ, ὥς ἔνιοι, καὶ τὸ Θ Φ Χ. καὶ μὴν κοινῶς τῶν συμφώνων πάλιν τὰ μὲν φύσει δασέα λέγουσι τὰ δὲ ψιλὰ. καὶ δασέα μὲν Θ Φ Χ, ψιλὰ δὲ Κ Π Τ. μόνον δὲ φασὶ τὸ ρ ἐπιδέχεσθαι ἐκότερον, δασύτητα καὶ ψιλότητα. λέγουσι δὲ τινα τῶν συμφώνων καὶ διπλᾶ, καθάπερ τὸ Ζ Ξ Ψ. συνεστηκέναι γάρ φασὶ τὸ μὲν Ζ ἐκ τοῦ σ καὶ Δ, τὸ δὲ Ξ ἐκ τοῦ κ καὶ σ, τὸ δὲ ψ ἐκ τοῦ π καὶ σ. (Cp. also 55.) So too Priscian ii. 11, 13 (HKeil) 'sciendum tamen quod hic quoque error a quibusdam "antiquis Graecorum grammaticis" invasit Latinos, qui φ et θ et χ semivocales putabant, nulla alia causa nisi quod spiritus in eis abundet, inducti.' So too 9, 12. Victorin. vi. 6, 15. Diom. i. 422, 2. (Cp. 25 [1] b. 56, 8 & [1].)

## B. PRONUNCIATION.

24. The pronunciation of ancient Greek in the manner of the present Greeks had been traditionally accepted at all times, before and through the middle ages, as a matter of unquestionable fact. The first objections to it were raised towards the beginning of the XVI<sup>th</sup>, the principal arguments brought against it being three: (a) its striking incongruity with the Latin—the then academic and international language—in such words as ἐκκλησία (pronounced *ekklesiá*), ἡθικός (*iethikós*), ἀλφάβητος (*alphávitós*), as compared with their Latinized forms *ecclésia*, *ethice*, *alphabétum*; (b) that it sounded many sonants alike (η, ι, υ, ε, ι, ο, υι = ε; ε, αι = ε; ο, ω = ο); and (c) that such an orthographic variety presented practical difficulties. A bitter controversy ensued and soon divided Greek scholars into two hostile camps, the one led by Desiderius Erasmus and the other by JReuchlin, and called *Erasmians* and *Reuchlinians* respectively<sup>[1]</sup>; they are also frequently

[1] The Erasmian pronunciation was not propounded but tentatively suggested by Erasmus in a dialogue between a bear and a lion, entitled *De Hecta Latini Graecique sermonis pronuntiatione*, published first at Baale (also Paris) in 1528, and the origin of the doctrine receives a curious illustration in the account given by Gerard Jan Voss (or 'Vossius' 1577-1649), a leading Dutch professor and zealous promoter of Erasmianism. In his *Aristarchus sive de Grammatica* (Amsterdam, 1635), this earnest scholar explains how Erasmus came to write his now famous dialogue (*quo modo Erasmus scripserit dialogum de recta pronuntiatione*) by the following narrative:

'I believe that it is known to few in what circumstances Erasmus was induced to write on the correct pronunciation. Therefore I have deemed it best to subjoin the account which I possess written, some time ago, on a piece of paper by the hand of Henricus Coracopetraeus, a most learned man and well known to scholars. It reads as follows:—"I have heard M. Rutgerus Reschius, who was professor of Greek in the Busleidan (Buslidiano) College at Louvain, and my preceptor of revered memory, relate, that he was in the Liliensian School for about two years at the same time as Erasmus, who occupied an upper room, while he had a lower one; that Henry Glareanus (Henricus Loritus, a Swiss scholar, born at Glarus (1488-1563), whence his surname Glareanus), having

## 24.] ERASMIAN AND TRADITIONAL PRONUNCIATION.

designated as *Etacists* and *Itacists* (or *Iotacists*), according as they pronounce  $\eta$ —the cardinal point of dispute—like *e* or *i* (iota). It must not be implied, however, that the new or Erasmian school substituted a different pronunciation for each single letter: in the great majority of cases it adhered to the traditional or 'modern Greek' (as it has been called since) pronunciation, viz. in the case of  $\alpha, \epsilon, \iota, \omicron, \omicron\upsilon$  (= *u*);  $\kappa, \lambda, \mu, \nu, \xi, \pi, \rho, \sigma, \tau, \psi$ ; substantially also in the case of  $\phi, \chi, \zeta$ . The dispute at present turns mainly on the aspiration ('), which is unknown to *N*; on the 'quantity,' of which *N* makes no account but pronounces all sonants absolutely isochronous and half long (except in position, 137, App. ii. 1 & [2]); and on the pronunciation of the diphthongs  $\alpha\iota, \epsilon\iota, \omicron\iota, \upsilon\iota, \alpha\upsilon, \epsilon\upsilon$ , of the vowels  $\eta, \omega, \upsilon$ , and of the consonants  $\beta, \gamma, \delta, \phi, \chi, \theta$ , inasmuch as—

$\alpha\iota$ is sounded <sup>[2]</sup> by		Erasmians $\alpha + i$ ,	by modern Greeks $e$ in 'emit'
$\epsilon\iota$	"	"	$e + i$ " " $i$ or English $\bar{e}$
$\iota\iota$	"	"	$\omicron + i$ " " $i$ " " $\bar{e}$
$\upsilon\iota$	"	"	$\ddot{u} + i$ " " $i$ " " $\bar{e}$
$\alpha\upsilon$	"	"	$\alpha + u$ " " $av$ or $af$ } (51)
$\epsilon\upsilon$	"	"	$e + u$ " " $ev$ or $ef$ }
$\eta$	"	"	$\bar{e}$ " " $i$ or English $\bar{e}$
$\upsilon$	"	"	$\ddot{u}$ (or $u$ ) " " $i$ " " $\bar{e}$

arrived at Louvain from Paris, was invited by Erasmus to dine at the College; and on being asked what news he brought with him, he said—which was a story he had made up on the journey, inasmuch as he knew Erasmus to be inordinately fond of novelties and wondrously credulous—that some native Greeks had arrived in Paris, men of marvellous learning, who made use of a pronunciation of the Greek tongue entirely different from that generally received in these parts; for instance, they called  $\beta$ , instead of *Vita*, Beta, and  $\eta$ , instead of *Ita*, Eta;  $\alpha\iota$ , instead of  $\alpha\epsilon, \alpha\iota$ ;  $\omicron\iota$ , instead of  $\iota, \omicron\iota$ ; and so on; that on hearing this Erasmus wrote soon afterwards the *Dialogue* on the right pronunciation of the Latin and Greek tongues, in order to appear himself the inventor of the matter (ut videretur huius rei ipse inventor), and offered it to the printer, Peter of Alost, for printing; but, as the printer declined, either because he was engaged in other work, or at any rate because he said he was not able to produce it as soon as was desired, Erasmus sent the treatise to Froben at Basle, by whom it was immediately printed and published. Erasmus, however, having found out the trick (practised upon him), never afterwards used that method of pronouncing, nor did he direct those of his friends, with whom he was more familiar, to follow it. In proof of this M. Rutgers used to show a scheme (*formulam*) of pronunciation written by the hand of Erasmus himself—a copy of which is still in my [Voss's] possession—for the use of Damian de Goes, a Spaniard, which in no way differed from that which learned and unlearned use everywhere for that language." (Signed) Henricus Coracopetraeus Cuccensis [Henrik Ravensberg van Kuik] Neomagi [Nijmegen] 1569, the eve of St. Simon and St. Jude [27th of October].

This incident then explains on the one hand why Erasmus did not treat the subject in a direct and earnest manner, but put the discussion into the mouth of animals, and on the other accounts for the fact that he continued to abide by the traditional (or modern Greek) pronunciation of Greek to the end of his life. The whole subject bearing on the genesis and history of the Erasmian doctrine is ably and lucidly set forth by JGennadios in the *Nineteenth Century* (vol. xxxviii f.), to whom I am indebted for the above extract.

[7] As a matter of course, regard is had here to that Erasmian pronunciation only which Erasmians believe to be the ancient and correct one (as advocated, for instance, by Professors EVArnold and RSConway in their pamphlet bearing the rather misleading title: *The 'restored'* [meaning the 'genuine Erasmian'] *Pronunciation of Greek and Latin*, Cambridge, 1895), not to that which they actually practise, since this is English in English-speaking countries, German in Germany, French in France, and so forth. This inconsistent Anglo-German pronunciation therefore is entirely disregarded here.

# SOURCES FOR DETERMINING PRONUNCIATION. [24-25.]

β	is sounded by	Erasmians	b	by modern	Greeks	v (b)
γ	"	"	g	"	"	gh (ɣ) or English gh (y)
δ	"	"	d	"	"	ð or th in 'then'
φ	"	"	p + h	"	"	f
χ	"	"	c + h	"	"	kh or ch (x)
θ	"	"	t + h	"	"	th in 'thin'

24<sup>b</sup>. Add, for the sake of completeness, that some Erasmians give ζ the complex sound of *ds*, while Greeks pronounce it invariably as a simple voiced *z* in *zeal* (69). Conversely, while Erasmians sound γ κ χ invariably as guttural *g k ch*, Greeks pronounce them so before consonants and *a o u* only, but before the palatal vowels *e i* they palatalize them to *ɣ i x* (54<sup>b</sup>. 60. 91).

24<sup>c</sup>. As a matter of course, a few *N* dialects, in particular those which lie in, or border on, alien races, show some phonetic discrepancies. Thus, to leave aside the peculiar phonology of northern speech (029 ff.), Tsaconic expresses θ by τ (instead of σ, as in ancient Laconic, 56<sup>c</sup>), while South Italian has replaced γ δ θ ψ ξ by Italian *g d l(s) dz fs* (031. 174<sup>b</sup>. 184<sup>b</sup>. 187<sup>c</sup>). In a similar way, the Pontic idioms have adopted the sonants *d ð u* from the Turkish.

25. The criteria and other data which at the present time each school adduces in support of its doctrine are : linguistic and dialectal parallels; etymologies; the process of contraction and crasis; information derived from the works of ancient writers, in particular the old grammarians; plays on words (puns); imitations of the cries of animals; transcriptions from and into Latin; and above all the orthographical confusion occurring in the spelling of the inscriptions and old papyri. It is obvious, however, that the great majority of these tests, notably the linguistic and dialectal parallels, etymologies, cases of contraction and crasis (156 ff.), imitations of animal cries, and most of the transcriptions into and from Latin, are unsafe and often misleading, especially in the case of the sonants. Nor is the information derived from ancient writers and theorists more valuable, seeing that in most of their remarks—which are incidental—these authorities do not so much consider the actual pronunciation as they do the concrete *script* (25<sup>c</sup>), as fixed by historical spelling (25<sup>o</sup>). In the case of the grammarians, moreover, it must be borne in mind that they are post-Christian scribes (excerptors, commentators, copiers) and cannot speak with authority of the pronunciation of 'classical' Greek. As a matter of fact, their precepts and theories on this point are just as worthless as is their information about Homer's authorship and personality <sup>[1]</sup>. Be it further remembered that, as they are not actual

[1] Compare HSteinthal<sup>3</sup> i. 256 f. Even the best of these theorists and critics are often trifling with their subject. Thus, to pass over Plato's 139 curious or puzzling etymologies in *Cratylus*, Dionysios of Halicarnassos, if correctly reported, evinces a strange predilection for long vowels over short vowels (cp. also 69 & [1]).

a. De Comp. 19, p. 162 (Sch.). τούτων δὴ (τῶν φωνηέντων) κρατίστα μὲν ἐστὶ καὶ φωνὴν ἰδίστην ἀποτελεῖ τὰ τε μακρὰ καὶ τῶν διχρόνων ὅσα μὴ κινεῖται κατὰ τὴν ἑσφοράν, οἱ πολλὸν ἡχέεται χρόνον καὶ τοῦ πνεύματος οὐ κατακόπτεται τὸν τόνον· χεῖρω δὲ τὰ βραχέα ἢ τὰ βραχέως λεγόμενα οἱ μικρόφωνα τε ἐστὶ καὶ σπαθοῖζει τὸν ἦχον. αὐτῶν δὲ τῶν μακρῶν εὐφανότατον τὸ α ὅταν ἐκτείνηται λέγεται γὰρ ἀναγομένου τοῦ στόματος ἐπὶ πλείστον καὶ τοῦ πνεύματος ἀνω φερομένου πρὸς τὸν οὐρανόν. [p. 164] δεύτερον δὲ τὸ η ὅτι κάτω περὶ τὴν βάσιν τῆς γλώσσης ἔρειδε· τὸν ἦχον ἀκόλουθον (read ἀκάλυτον, cp. Arist. Quint. 54, 17 τῶν φωνηέντων τὰ μὲν ἀκώλυτον προφερόμενα τὸν ἦχον), ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀνω, καὶ μετρίως ἀναγομένου. τρίτον δὲ τὸ ω· στρογγύλλεται τε γὰρ ἐν αὐτῷ τὸ στόμα καὶ περιστέλλει τὰ χεῖλη, τῇ τε πληγῇ τὸ πνεῦμα περὶ τὸ ἀκροστόμιον ποιεῖται. ἐστὶ δὲ ἦττον τούτου τὸ υ· περὶ γὰρ αὐτὰ τὰ χεῖλη συστολῆς γενομένης ἀφιολόγου πνίγεται καὶ στενός



grammarians but mostly commentators of *classical* texts, they hardly consider orthoepy (25<sup>c</sup>), and that moreover they speculate too much and represent phonology not even as it was in their own time, but as it ought to be or could be in their judgement and taste.

25<sup>b</sup>. *Grammar*, as now generally understood—the art concerned with the principles and rules of language in speaking and writing—was viewed differently among the ancients. For, as already intimated (c. 5 ff. c. 25), the spoken or colloquial language was, even in *A*, hardly considered by writers, and utterly ignored by theorists or ‘philologists.’ With the ancients then the study of language was the philosophical etymology of words. When in the course of time the Stoics took up the subject of philosophical or higher grammar and finally the term *γραμματική* made its appearance, it was conceived as the art dealing with the *γράμματα*, or *litteratura* (as the earlier Romans rendered it), that is with the *written* compositions of ‘classical’ antiquity. Hence the technical definition given by the ‘oldest grammarian,’ Dionysios Thrax (1<sup>st</sup> B.C.), is *Γραμματική ἐστὶν ἐμπειρία τῶν παρὰ ποιηταῖς καὶ συγγραφεύσιν ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ λεγομένων*, that is ‘grammar is the knowledge of the usual subject-matter and diction found in the (classical) poets and prosaists’ (cp. Sext. adv. gram. 611 ff.), and is literally repeated by the Romans, *Grammatica, quae a nobis litteratura dicitur, scientia est eorum quae a poetis historicis oratoribusque dicuntur ex parte maiore* (Varro in Mar.

ἐκπίπτει ὁ ἦχος. ἔσχατον δὲ πάντων τὸ *ι* [p. 166] περὶ τοὺς δδόντας γὰρ ἡ κρήνησι τοῦ πνεύματος γίνεται μικρὸν ἀνοικομένου τοῦ στόματος καὶ οὐκ ἐπιλαμπρυνόντων (ἐπιδασυνόντων;) τῶν χειλέων τὸν ἦχον. τῶν δὲ βραχέων οὐδέτερον μὲν εὔηχον, ἦττον δὲ δυσηχὲς τὸ *σ* δίσησι γὰρ τὸ στόμα κρείττον θατέρου, τὴν δὲ πληγὴν λαμβάνει περὶ τὴν ἀρτηρίαν μᾶλλον.

b. Following this strange principle that the euphony of a sound is in proportion to its volume, Dionysios further enumerates (ib. p. 166) λ μ ν ρ c and z ξ ψ as semi-vowels (23<sup>b</sup>) of which z ξ ψ are double, and then declares (p. 168): ἐκάστων δὴ τούτων κρείττω μὲν ἐστὶ τὰ διπλὰ τῶν ἀπλῶν, ἐπειδὴ μείζονά ἐστι τῶν ἑτέρων καὶ μᾶλλον ἐγγίζειν δοκεῖ τοῖς τελείοις· ἦττω δὲ τὰ ἀπλὰ διὰ τὸ εἰς βραχυτέροις αὐτῶν τόνοις συνάγεσθαι τὸν ἦχον.—And regarding the mutes he naturally considers the aspirates far the best (p. 176): κράτιστα μὲν οὖν ἐστὶν ὅσα τῷ πνεύματι πολλῷ λέγεται, δεύτερα δὲ ὅσα μέσῳ, κακίω δὲ ὅσα ψιλῷ. ταῦτα μὲν γὰρ τὴν αὐτῶν δύναμιν ἔχει μόνην, τὰ δὲ δασέα καὶ τὴν τοῦ πνεύματος προσθήκην, ὥστε ἐγγὺς τοῦ τελειότατα εἶναι ἐκεῖνα. (Cp. also 69 [1].)

c. Still more absurd is Dionysios' contention that the earnestness and dignity of Thucydides' and Plato's diction consist in the rhythmical succession and alternation in them of metrical feet. c. 18, p. 232 & p. 236.

d. Dionysios' taste as to the relative euphony of the vowel-sounds is evidently shared by Hermogenes the rhetorician. In his *Περὶ ἰδεῶν τῶμ. α'* p. 291 (LSpengel), the latter argues that no word is sonorous unless it fills the mouth: λέξις δὲ σεμνὴ πᾶσα μὲν ἡ πλατεία καὶ διογκούσα τὸ στόμα κατὰ τὴν προφορὰν ὥστε ὅλον στομάζειν καὶ ὅπερ ἐπιτηδεύουσι τινες, τοῦτο ἀναγκάζεσθαι ποιεῖν τῇ φύσει τῶν λέξεων αὐτῶν. τοιαῦτα δὲ καὶ ἄλλαι μὲν τινες, ἱεραῖος δὲ αἱ τῷ α καὶ τῷ ω πλείστω (read πλείστα) χράμεναι, ὡς πού καὶ ὁ Πλάτων [Phaedr. 244 D] τὴν οἰανιστικὴν φωνιστικὴν φησὶν ὀνομάσαι τινὰς ἀποσεμνύνοντας τὸ ω. καὶ περὶ τοῦ α λέγουσι· ἂν τι τοιοῦτον. ὁ γὰρ Θεόκριτος ἀχθόμενός τινα πεποίηκε δωμαζούσας γυναιξὶ διὰ τὸ πλατύνειν τὴν φωνήν, τῷ α τὰ πλείστα χρᾶμεναι. μάλιστα δὲ τὰ στοιχεῖα ταῦτα, τὸ ω καὶ τὸ α, διαίρει τε καὶ διογκοῖ τὸν λόγον εἰ κατὰ τὰς τελευταίας εἴη συλλαβάς τῶν λέξεων, ὅλον ὁ μὲν δὴ μέγας ἡμεῶν ἐν ὄργανῳ Ζεὺς πτηνὸν ἄρμα. Δεύτεραι δὲ σεμνότητος λέξεις αἱ διὰ τοῦ ο στοιχείου κατὰ μόναν (ἢ) εἰς τι μικρὸν καταλόγουσαι, ὅλον Ὁρόντης, καὶ αἱ ταῖς μακραῖς τε καὶ διφθόγγους πλεονάζουσαι, καὶ αἱ τὰ τελευταῖα ἐν ταῖς ἔχουσαι, πλὴν τῆς α διφθόγγου. καὶ εἰ καθ' αὐτὸ δὲ τὸ ἐτιβοῖτο, ἥκιστα σεμνὴν ποιεῖ τὴν λέξιν πλεονάσασαν. συστέλλει γὰρ μᾶλλον καὶ σεσηπνῆναι ποιεῖ, διογκοῖ δὲ οὐδαμῶς τὸ στόμα. (Cp. 20<sup>b</sup> [3].)

Victorin. i. 1, 6 = HKeil vi. 4). The various parts of such a grammar were, according to the said Dion. Thrax : (1) ἀνάγνωσις ἐντρίβης κατὰ προσφθίαν ; (2) ἐξήγησις κατὰ τοὺς ἐνυπάρχοντας ποιητικοὺς τρόπους ; (3) γλωσσῶν τε καὶ ἱστοριῶν πρόχειρος ἀπόδοσις ; (4) ἐτυμολογίας εὐρεσις ; (5) ἀναλογίας ἐκλογισμός ; (6) κρίσις ποιημάτων. And these requisites of a 'grammarian' are thus defined by his scholiast : (μέρος) διορθωτικόν (i.e. correcting one's own copy), ἀναγνωστικόν, ἐξηγητικόν, κριτικόν ; and by the Romans : *grammaticae officia constant in partibus quattuor, lectione enarratione emendatione et iudicio* (Diomed. ii. 426 HKeil).—These principles were more or less adhered to by all ancient and Byzantine 'grammarians' down to very recent times. (Cp. 02 & Preface p. vii f.)

25<sup>a</sup>. Another very important point, which cannot be too strongly impressed upon the student, is this. While nowadays a written composition is intended first for the mind, next for the ear, and last for the eye of the reader, in their writings the ancient Greeks had regard mainly to the permanent part of the language, that is to the mind and to the eye, heeding but incidentally the acoustic side of the diction. Hence they wrote all words in a continuous line—a mode of writing called now *scriptura continua*—and this unbroken line they often treated, especially in verse, as a text unit, sometimes even subjecting it to the phonetic principles applicable to a single word. Accordingly when we peruse ancient texts for information as to the phonetic value of a letter, syllable, word, accent, and the like, we must ascertain whether the informant refers—

(1) To its *grammatical function* ; (2) to its external form, that is to the script as it appears to the eye (19<sup>b</sup>), the commonest case ; (3) to its *sound*. Compare Sext. adv. gram. 621 καὶ δὴ τριχῶς λεγόμενον τοῦ στοιχείου, τοῦ τε γραφομένου χαρακτήρος καὶ τύπου, καὶ τῆς τούτου δυνάμεως, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος, προαγέτω νῦν ἡ ζήτησις μάλιστα περὶ τῆς δυνάμεως (grammatical function). αὕτη γὰρ καὶ κυρίως στοιχεῖον παρ' αὐτοῖς (i.e. τοῖς γραμματικοῖς or Στωϊκοῖς) προσηγύρεται. Cp. Arist. de part. anim. 2. 16, 660 a 2, 3, 1, 661 b 14 : —olla πρὸς τὴν γένεσιν τῶν γραμμάτων οἱ πρόσθιοι τῶν ὀδόντων συμβάλλονται. See further 19<sup>b</sup>. 41. 203<sup>b</sup>. 851 f. & App. i. 6 [1] & 19, g. 'In fact in this entire theory (of vowels and their classification), writing rather than sound has evidently been the guide.' FBlass Pron. 19 f.

25<sup>d</sup>. In face of these facts, the only safe criteria for the determination of the pronunciation of ancient Greek are the contemporary inscriptions and papyri. But even here we must draw a line of distinction between public and private documents, inasmuch as official and literary productions preserve the *etymological* and *historical* spelling, whereas private records (inscriptions on stone or on vases ; sepulchral, votive, and honorary memorials ; correspondence ; notes, etc., on papyri), being the work of unscholarly artisans, are of especial value to us as throwing a sidelight on the actual state of the language.

25<sup>e</sup>. In order to realize the full significance of the *etymological* or *historical* orthography, be it remembered that, in ancient times : (1) grammar was the foundation of all education and the indispensable companion of every scribe. Sext. adv. Gram. 607, 41 ἀπὸ νηπιότητος σχεδὸν καὶ ἐκ σπαργάνων γραμματικῇ παραδιδόμεθα, ἔστι τε αὕτη οἷον ἀφετηρίον τι πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἄλλων μάθησιν. (2) Every public place teemed with inscriptions which served as orthographic standard and guide ; and (3) not only all current school-texts (τὰ παρττόμενα) had to be copied accurately and in the received uniform spelling, but, what is most important, in the majority of cases, a reader was also a more or less professional copier, inasmuch as he had to copy his own reading matter. In point of fact, the ancients were more familiar with the received or historical orthography than is the case with us nowadays, and Quintilian could well say (Inst. Orat. 1, 7, 11 & 30) ; *orthographia quoque consuetudini servit*. Cp. 717 [1].

## I. PRONUNCIATION OF THE SONANTS.

26. The absence of  $\eta$  and  $\omega$ , and the multiple value of E and O previous to the adoption of scholastic spelling (6 f. 12), clearly indicate our starting-point and the proper method of investigation to be adopted: as long as the vowel symbols  $\eta$  and  $\omega$ , together with their combinations  $\eta$  and  $\varphi$ ,  $\eta\nu$  and  $\omega\nu$ , did not exist, they cannot claim a sound of their own (29<sup>b</sup>). Even after their adoption it came to pass, in consequence of the tenacious adherence of the Athenians to their ancestral (historical) spelling, that the old orthography continued to be used, for a considerable time—sporadically down to the III<sup>d</sup> B.C., and in the case of  $\epsilon$  and  $\eta$  down to Byzantine times,—side by side with the new system (cp. 41), so that, during 450–300 B.C., we are confronted by a constant confusion of these symbols as well as their combinations with their predecessors.

This confusion may be illustrated by the following specimens:

1. E and EI are very frequently interchanged from the VI<sup>th</sup> to the latter part of the IV<sup>th</sup> B.C. Thus stands—

a. E for (original) EI:  $\delta\lambda\acute{\epsilon}(\sigma\upsilon\upsilon)$  (beside  $\delta\lambda\epsilon\acute{\iota}(\sigma\upsilon\upsilon)$ ),  $\Pi\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\iota\delta\omicron\varsigma$ ,  $\epsilon\chi\sigma\alpha\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\varphi\alpha\tau\omicron$ ,  $\text{Ἡρακλέδης, κῆται, Μενεκλέδης}$  (FBlass 30 note 3; cp. also 4);  $\text{Ποτεδάω}$  (over thirty times, PKretschmer 34);  $\kappa\alpha\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\delta\omicron\kappa\epsilon\varsigma$ , ib.;  $\Phi\epsilon\delta\acute{\iota}\lambda\alpha\varsigma$  IGA 91;  $\Phi\epsilon\delta\acute{\iota}\omicron$  ib. 504 (on Attic vases, PKretschmer 109 f.);  $\text{Πεθόνεος}$  for  $\text{Πειθόνεος}$  (OHoffmann ii. 132).—For hysterogeneous EI (29 ff.):  $\text{Ἑστιαῖς, Ὀτρυνᾶς, πρυτάνες}$  CIA ii. 872 (341–340 B.C.);  $\nu\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ ,  $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha\iota$ ,  $\Delta\acute{\iota}\epsilon\varsigma$ ,  $\pi\rho\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\beta\epsilon\varsigma$ ,  $\delta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\acute{\omicron}\nu$ ,  $\mu\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\delta\alpha\acute{\iota}\nu$ ,  $\alpha\pi\omicron\delta\omega\acute{\omicron}\nu$  (KMeisterhans<sup>1</sup> 5 f. & 16),—not to mention the frequent case where  $\epsilon$  is followed by another vowel, as:  $\text{Ἡείος}$  (for  $\acute{\epsilon}\omega\varsigma$ ) on a  $\Lambda$  red-figured vase (PKretschmer 136),  $\acute{\epsilon}(\iota)\acute{\alpha}\nu$ ,  $\delta\omega\pi\epsilon(\iota)\acute{\alpha}$ ,  $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon(\iota)\omicron\varsigma$ , etc. etc. (see 20<sup>a</sup>).

b. EI for E, rarely:  $\epsilon\chi\theta\omicron\lambda\acute{\omicron}\nu$  CIA ii. 2836;  $\epsilon\acute{\chi}\chi\epsilon\iota$  for  $\acute{\epsilon}\chi\chi\epsilon\iota$ , ib. 3004.  $\text{Μέμωνων}$  for  $\text{Μέμωνων}$  on a  $\Lambda$  red-figured vase, PKretschmer 136. Cp. 20<sup>a</sup> f.

2. E and H interchange times without number from the V<sup>th</sup> B.C. down to the IX<sup>th</sup> A.D. (42 f.).

a. In the Attic inscriptions the two symbols are written interchangeably, but  $\epsilon$ , as the ancestral representative (29 ff.), occurs far more frequently for  $\eta$  than conversely. For the period anterior to the III<sup>d</sup> B.C. see KMeisterhans<sup>1</sup> 26<sup>[1]</sup> (also GMeyer<sup>2</sup> 88 f. and FBlass 31 f.)—and add among other instances of  $\epsilon$  for  $\eta$ :  $\text{Τερίβαζος χρυστός}$  CIA ii. 4172 (III<sup>d</sup> B.C.); CIA iii. 281:  $\text{Ιερίως | Διός Σωτήρος | καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς Σωτήρας}$ . CIA iii. add. 1114<sup>a</sup>  $\text{Εὐφέμου}$ . CIA iii. 1144, ii. 15  $\text{Εἰρηναιός}$ . 2036  $\text{Τερμασσεύς}$ . 2063  $\text{Εἰσιδὸς Ἀναΐου}$ . 2856  $\text{Νικησὼ Μενεστράτου Περργαμένη}$ . Gr. Urk. Berlin 261<sup>2</sup>, 26 f.  $\text{ἵνα διακονᾷσι ἑμὶν for -νῆσιν ἡμῖν}$ .

b. H for E from the beginning (V<sup>th</sup> B.C.):  $\text{Φιλοφώνη}$  UKöhler in Mitth. x. p. 363.  $\text{Ἡροφίλη}$  ib.  $\text{Κλεομένης}$  ib. 364.  $\text{Ισσηλῆς}$  CIA ii. 2731.  $\text{Ἡλένη}$ ,  $\text{Ἡος}$  ( $\text{Ἑως}$ ),  $\text{Ἡκηβόλα}$ , PKretschmer 98.  $\text{Μηλίτη}$  id. 107.  $\text{Λήσβιος}$  CIA ii. 3134 (III<sup>d</sup> B.C.),  $\text{Δημοσθένης}$  ib. 1081, 48, iii. (37–54 A.D.),  $\text{τεθῆαμα}$  Louvre Pap. 41 (160 B.C.);  $\text{Ἡος}$  (for  $\acute{\epsilon}\omega\varsigma$ ) ib. 53, 9, 39 f.— $\text{Ἡνοχος}$  (for  $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\text{-}$ ) Gr. Urk. Berlin 92, 7.

[<sup>1</sup>] Compare id. p. 15, 6, b 'η kann bis 250 n. Chr. noch mit ε verwechselt werden' adducing many inscriptional vouchers from 117–269 A.D. [but for  $\text{Μιλέσις}$  read  $\text{Μιλέσιος}$ ].—FBlass 36 'These sounds ( $\eta$  and  $\epsilon$ ) also are, it is true, frequently confounded by the papyri, and on the latter as well as on inscriptions  $\epsilon$  no less than  $\eta$  is used for the  $\epsilon$  arising from  $\alpha$ ' with reference to Louvre Pap. No. 1 where 1  $\text{πυροειδῆς}$  (for  $\text{-δῆς}$ ), twice; 11  $\text{ολεσῆως}$ ; 12  $\text{δισκοειδῆς \& σκαφοειδῆς}$ ; no. 40  $\text{ἀπελλάγην}$ ; 47, 15  $\text{ἡζήμοισαι}$ . Bull. Corr. Hell. ii. 341  $\text{Μηλίστινον}$  and  $\text{Ἐμπήδου}$  (Delos).—Add:  $\text{εὐξῆσεν}$  CIA iv. 630 b (34 B.C.), 18;  $\text{εὐσάβειαν}$  Gr. Pap. Br. Mus. p. 29, 4 (161 B.C.);  $\text{μητρός}$  CIG 4763.  $\text{βροματῆς}$  4788.  $\text{ἐπίσμεον}$  5839, etc. etc.

3. H and HI—see above, 20<sup>c</sup>.

4. EI and H interchange frequently: ἡμχόνει for -χώνη on an Attic vase of the VI<sup>th</sup> B.C. (PKretschmer 143), ἀφείκε CIA ii. 811, c, 19 (323 B.C.); so too Bull. Corr. Hell. xiv. p. 163, 13-21 (beside δῆμην); εὐδοκῶσαι Jour. Hell. Stud. Megalopolis 126 (III<sup>rd</sup> B.C.); ἀφείκατε FKenyon Class. Texte p. 62 (III<sup>rd</sup>); Ἀσκληπείον FKenyon Gr. Pap. Br. Mus. pp. 25 & 28 (161 B.C.). See also 37 & 52.

5. EI and HI interchange times without number from the time of the adoption of η down to the I<sup>st</sup> B.C., as: κλεῖς and κλῆς, κλεῖζω and κλῆζω, λειστής & λμστής, Πεντελεαῖος & -λμκός, Ἀρστωδῆς & -σῆδης, ἀγαθὴ τύχη & -θῆ. τύχη, εἴπα & εἶπη, εἰρήθ & ἥρ. δοκεῖ & δοκῆ, μηνύσεις & -σις, Ἀργείος & -γῆος, τε-τρήρεις & -ρης, γραμματεῖ & -τῆ, πόλει & -λη, etc. (KMeisterhans<sup>2</sup> 28-31, 131, 136). ἐν τεῖ βολεῖ CIA ii. 50, 3 (beside 17 ἐν ἀκροπόλῃ) (372 B.C.); ἐν τεῖ βολῆ, ὅς ἀν δοκῇ αὐτῇ, δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ, τεῖ βουλεῖ, τῇ βουλῇ, etc. in CIA ii. 114 (343 B.C.); τρίται καὶ εἰκοστῇ τῆς πρυτανείας, τῇ βουλεῖ, ἰδίᾳ καὶ κοινῇ, ἀγαθ[ῇ] τύχη CIA ii. 186, 19-26 (322-1 B.C.); ἐνάται (bis), τεῖ τῶν προγόνων καὶ τεῖ τῆς ἀδελφῆς προαιρέσει, ἐν τεῖ συμμαχίᾳ, ἀγαθῇ τύχη, ἐν τεῖ συμμαχίᾳ τεῖ Λακεδαιμονίων (beside ἐν στήλῃ) CIA ii. 332 (270-260 B.C.).—For a synopsis see 28, b.

6. O for OT occurs most frequently from the VI<sup>th</sup> down to the III<sup>rd</sup> B.C. viz.

a. For hysterogeneous ου (29. 34<sup>1</sup>): μισθόντα (570 B.C.), ἐλθσαν (445 B.C.), ὅτοροῖς, ἐνοικόντων (378 B.C.), τῶνομα κριθ (400-350 B.C.), Μαλθακίῳ (270-262 B.C.), φαλίῳ. Ἀριστίῳ, Εὐνύχῳ, Ἀρχεστράτῳ, Καλλίπῳ, προσώπῳ, etc. etc. (KMeisterhans<sup>2</sup> 6 & 21; FBlass 32.)

b. For original ου (29): βῶν (439 B.C.), τότο (for τούτου), τότων, seven times (415 B.C.), τότο, τότων three times (414 B.C.), Σποδίας, ὀδέ for οὐδέ (after 400 B.C.), ὄς for οὐς, ὄκ, ὀδένα, ὄποτε, ὀθένα (all from 398 to 357 B.C.), (KMeisterhans<sup>2</sup> 49; FBlass 32); τοσῶτα, τότῳ, τότων, ὄπο ἀν, Ἐφῆμ. ἀρχ. 1388-9 p. 1 f. (396 B.C.). πλῶτος, on an Attic vase of about 450 B.C. (PKretschmer 109); Προκρόστης (beside -κρού- id. 232).

c. But owing to its distinct sound as u, OT stands neither for o nor for ω (27).

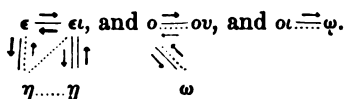
7. O and Ω interchange occasionally from the first appearance of Ω to the end of the III<sup>rd</sup> B.C., thence indiscriminately down to the present time. For 450-200 B.C. see KMeisterhans<sup>2</sup> 5, b, and 19: Λεωντίς often (beside Λεωντίς) 370-317 B.C. (KMeisterhans<sup>2</sup> note 113); εἰς Σάμων CIA ii. 808<sup>a</sup>, 130 (326 B.C.), μωμειῶν (for -μειῶν) Mitth. x. 363; τὸν ἔγγονων, παραγγελλέτοσαν Ἐφῆμ. ἀρχ. 1884-5 p. 137, 11 & 14. στάχυος CIA ii. 2762. λιπὼν for -πών CIA 2836 (± 300 B.C.); Θεοδώσῃ CIA 3216. Γνώμη CIA 3580. Αὐσίῳνι (beside Αὐσίῳνι) Ἐφῆμ. ἀρχ. 1886 p. 158, 103; 264; 291; even αὐτῶν for αὐτοῦ (!) CIA ii. 578, 23; conversely εὐταῖν CIG 2909.—On Attic vases of the V-IV<sup>th</sup> B.C. mark Διφιλωος (beside -λος), Διώνυσος, Ἀλκίμαχος, καλῶς, Περσωφάτα, Κυμοδόκη, οἰνώμοος, Κάνθαρος, Ὀλυσσεύς, PKretschmer 106 f.

a. In the early papyri the instances of confusion between o and ω are innumerable. Thus in Gr. Pap. Br. Mus. we find: Μακεδόνος, 26, 2 & 29 (163 B.C.); and in two specimens of 162 and 161 B.C. respectively ἔχωντος 10, 6; ἀπιδόκα 30, 5. διαδῶχῳ 11, 31. Δωρίων μεταλαβόν 10, 12. ὁ προσσητός 11, 34. ἐπό-μνημα ἔχων ὑπογραφὴν 11, 35 f. δομάτων 32, 8. ἀποδόκα 25, 20; 26, 19. ψομῶν πολοῦσι 25, 18; 26, 16. νεότερον 25, 8. ἐπίδοκα 24, 4. χειρογραφησάτοσαν 24, 34. ἐνεσθῆτος 23, 25 (beside ἐνεσθῆτος 26, 13). ἀναγοτῆς 23, 23. παρεχω-μένας 20, 28. εὐγνωμων (for -μων) 28, 18. ἐδῶθῃ 28, 16, etc. etc. Similar and equally numerous cases of confusion are found in the Louvre Papyri of the same period, as [165 B.C.]: μεῖζων, ἔχων for ἔχον, ὤκαετηρίδα, ὦ for δ, τῷ αὐτῷ τρώκα, ὠράται, κῑκῶν for -λόν, μεθοπορινός, etc. FBlass Pron. 35, note 5.

8. OI and ΩI interchange very frequently, as: τῶι δήμῳ (± 300 B.C.), τῶι ἱερῷ (300 B.C.), κομοῖδι (IV<sup>th</sup> B.C.), KMeisterhans<sup>2</sup> 52, GKaiβel 38, τῶι δήμῳ τῶι Διονύσῳ, τραγοῖσι beside six instances of αἱ Ἐφῆμ. ἀρχ. 1884, 69 ff. (where moreover two examples of o for ου, and εἰ invariably for η). Ἀξιόχοι Ἐφῆμ. ἀρχ. 1886, 149, 56. τῶι for τῷ ib. 69. Τιμασιθείῳ ib. 238. Ἀριστόνῳ ib. 254. Ἡρόδα, Κερδῶν, FBlass 45 f. Conversely στεφανοῖ for -νοῖ Bull. Corr. Hell. iii. 120, 12. (IV<sup>th</sup> B.C.), οἰκοσίτωσι CIA ii. 834<sup>b</sup>, ii. 24 (329-8 B.C.), ἐκάστῳσι CIA ii. 258 (304 B.C.), ὠνορχῇ CIA ii. 403 (III<sup>rd</sup> B.C.); cp. FBlass 45 f.

## 27-28.] INTERCHANGE OF VOWELS AND DIPHTHONGS.

27. The above direct evidence (all from inscriptions and papyri) could be easily multiplied, but the specimens given may suffice for our purpose. The whole phenomenon may be conveniently illustrated by the following synoptical diagram in which the arrows indicate the direction of interchange, the black lines the frequency of this confusion, and the dotted lines its infrequency.



From this diagram then, which gives a synoptical survey of the frequency and direction of the 'misspelling' occurring in the inscriptions of the VI<sup>th</sup>—IV<sup>th</sup> B.C., we see that the 'misuse' of  $\epsilon$  for  $\eta$  and  $\epsilon\iota$ , and the 'misuse' of  $o$  for  $\omega$  and  $ov$ , are by far commoner than conversely. But what is more striking is that while  $\epsilon$  very frequently stands for  $\eta$  and  $\epsilon\iota$ , the latter two symbols are rarely interchanged; and in the same way, though  $o$  is often misused for  $\omega$  and  $ov$ , the latter two symbols are hardly interchanged (26, b, c). In face of these facts, it would be very unsafe or uncritical to draw conclusions as to the pronunciation, in the V<sup>th</sup>—IV<sup>th</sup> B.C., of the above sonants from their frequent or casual interchange in the inscriptions, before we have first investigated and detected the cause and process which have been at work in producing this irregular phenomenon.

28. It is commonly held, especially among Erasmians, that the official adoption of  $\eta$  and  $\omega$  in 403 B.C. was due to the crying need of expressing by these specific symbols primarily *new sounds* which had in the course of previous times developed out of E and O respectively, and then a difference of *quantity* [see the following note]. This theory, however, though sanctioned by long and general belief, cannot stand the scrutiny of either historical investigation or close reasoning, as Appendix II will show, and the following considerations corroborate.

a. In adopting  $\eta$  and  $\omega$  as vowel-symbols, the Athenians must have had in mind either a *phonetic* (i.e. qualitative or quantitative), or a *theoretical* (metrical and grammatical) principle; that is to say the adoption of  $\eta$  and  $\omega$  can have been intended to graphically symbolize either pre-existing specific *sounds*, hitherto imperfectly or not at all represented, or *metrical* and *grammatical* phenomena developed in the course of time. Now the former assumption is precluded by many and weighty considerations. In the first place, had there been developed, prior to the Euclidean spelling, any new sounds for which the original five sonants  $\alpha$ ,  $\epsilon$ ,  $\iota$ ,  $o$ ,  $(o)ov$ , were inadequate, there is no plausible reason why Athens, the foremost leader in thought and action, who then teemed with writers, philosophers, painters, sculptors, musicians, architects, etc., who moreover, in view of her mixed (chiefly Ionic and Doric) dialect (04), could not be reproached with great exclusivism, should have been so slow and tardy in contriving or borrowing new and specific symbols for these sounds, the more so as she had already contrived so many *musical* notes. If  $\eta$  and  $\omega$  had been adopted as representatives of specific *new sounds*, is it possible that such an event should have been passed over in silence by all ancient authorities? (App. ii. 12[2].) It is also unaccountable how, if

once adopted to represent specific and real sounds,  $\eta$  and  $\omega$  did not meet with immediate popularity—as did  $\xi$  and  $\psi$  from the very outset—and did not remain sharply distinct, precluding all confusion with other sonants (cp. 27. 41). To argue therefore with FBlass (Pron. 25) that ‘ $\eta$  and  $\omega$  were adopted to express the open  $e$  [i.e.  $\bar{e}$ ] and open  $o$  respectively,’—sounds which avowedly disappeared very soon afterwards, that is even before Aristotle’s time and before the symbols for them had met with general reception—but that ‘none the less these symbols were now retained for different (“quantitative”) purposes’<sup>[1]</sup>, is to my mind a rather feeble and improbable theory. For if phonetic distinction had become by this time, and not before 403 B.C., a *conditio sine qua non* which necessitated the retention of  $\eta$  and  $\omega$  as marks for a long  $e$ -sound and a long  $o$ -sound respectively, there can be no reason why no recourse was had to the natural expedient suggested by the then surviving poetical (Homeric) method of doubling the vowels, but on the contrary, double vowels should have been by this time systematically abandoned. Is it probable that ignorant scribes and stone-cutters should have never been misled by their ear and so substituted  $\epsilon\epsilon$  for ‘long’  $\eta$ , and  $oo$  for ‘long’  $\omega$ ? Or is it possible to conceive a long  $u$ -sound ( $ou$ ) without the presence of a parallel short  $u$ -sound? Be it further observed that if  $\eta$  and  $\omega$  denoted or came to denote the quantitative length of  $e$  and  $o$  in *actual speech*, it is rather strange that they should not immediately meet with general acceptance as representatives of long  $e$  and  $o$ , but should do so only at a period (350–200 B.C.) which clearly marks the beginning of the disappearance of quantity. Even the very name  $\acute{\omega}$  μέρα (though later) is irreconcilable with ‘quantity,’ which would have certainly suggested  $\acute{\omega}$  μακρόν. Add finally the very significant fact that the spurious diphthongs  $\eta\epsilon$  and  $\omega\iota$  ( $\eta$  and  $\psi$ ), in which  $\eta$  and  $\omega$  virtually did the work of quantity, are almost indiscriminately replaced by  $\epsilon\epsilon$  and  $\alpha\alpha$  respectively (26, 5 & 8).

b. In these diphthongs where the  $\epsilon$  is mute and thus necessarily throws upon a  $\eta$   $\omega$  the entire work of quantitative distinction, the Attic as well as Ionic and Doric inscriptions and papyri show throughout antiquity an almost indiscriminate interchange of  $\epsilon\epsilon$  with  $\eta\epsilon$ , and  $\alpha\alpha$  with  $\omega\iota$  (in the case of  $q$  there was no occasion for confusion). Thus the words  $\kappa\lambda\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ ,  $\pi\alpha\rho\sigma\acute{\iota}\alpha$ ,  $\lambda\epsilon\iota\tau\upsilon\rho\gamma\epsilon\iota\upsilon$ ,  $\lambda\eta\sigma\tau\acute{\eta}\varsigma$ ,  $\lambda\rho\sigma\epsilon\acute{\iota}\delta\eta\varsigma$ ,  $\epsilon\rho\epsilon\chi\theta\acute{\epsilon}\nu\iota\varsigma$ ,  $\pi\epsilon\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\alpha\kappa\acute{o}\varsigma$ ,  $\delta\gamma\alpha\theta\acute{\eta}$   $\tau\acute{\upsilon}\chi\eta$ ,  $\pi\acute{o}\lambda\epsilon\iota$ ,  $\gamma\rho\alpha\mu\mu\alpha\tau\acute{\epsilon}\iota$ ,  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\pi\eta$ ,  $\acute{\alpha}\rho\acute{\epsilon}\theta\eta$ , etc., taken as representatives of their class, appear spelt: during 400–300 B.C. rather with HI than with EI; during 300–200 B.C. rather with EI than with HI; and during B.C. 200–100 A.D. rather with HI than with EI (26, 5). In particular we find that, even in the ‘public’ A inscriptions, the dative of the 1st and 3rd declensions and the subjunctive show the following interrelation in the use of HI and EI respectively:

	1st declension.		3rd declension.		subjunctive.	
During	$\eta\epsilon$	$\epsilon\epsilon$	$\eta\epsilon$	$\epsilon\epsilon$	$\eta\epsilon$	$\epsilon\epsilon$
B.C. 370–300	188	44	20	17	18	15
„ 287–200	105	208	—	—	6	15
„ 170–100 A.D.	54	133	—	—	10	3

(See MHecht ii.; cp. KMeisterhans<sup>2</sup> 28–31 & FBlass Pron. 44–50.)

29. Now let us turn to the *theoretical* (metrical and grammatical) principle. It will be shown elsewhere (123) that the character of archaic Greek well justifies us in assuming a richer consonantism for the primitive

[1] FBlass Pron. 25: ‘The distinction between H and E,  $\Omega$  and O was originally one of quality, and the only qualitative distinction which can have been intended is that which the Italians make prominent both in pronunciation and in grammatical writing in the case of these two vowels, and only these, namely the distinction between open and closed  $e$  and  $o$ . The quantitative distinction came to pass accidentally and secondarily,’ etc.—And 31: ‘distinction of quantity cannot be regarded in this case [of  $\epsilon$  and heterogeneous  $\epsilon\iota$ ] or elsewhere in ancient times as the cause of difference in writing.’ These are of course mere assertions based on a subjective opinion, not on facts. Cp. 29 ff.

stage of the language than appears in *A*, and that the loss of consonants had led to a corresponding change in the language. When therefore (in the VII<sup>th</sup>-VI<sup>th</sup> B.C.) a spirit of national education awoke and the ancestral literature—then all in *verse*—was adopted as the basis of the educational system, schoolmasters found that the current texts had been affected by the loss of the aforesaid consonants and thus exhibited certain metrical anomalies, which had to be removed in the interest of their pupils. Accordingly teachers and commentators began to mark the affected syllables with conventional signs. In Achæic or Aeolic (οζ) countries the conventional marks resorted to were either a doubling of the succeeding consonant (ξιμμ, δλοφύρρω, κρίνω, κτίννω, φθέρρω, χέρρων, ξέννος), or an epenthetic ι, the latter being intended as a visible but mute guide suggested by the ι adscript (20<sup>e</sup> ff.). In this way, original α ε ο, when occurring before a lost sound, came to be written α ι ε ι α, and thus led to these *hystero*genous or *compensated* diphthongs which naturally retained for a time the phonetic quality of their simple parents α ε ο, as : τὰς ἀρχαῖς for τὰς ἀρχαῖς, παῖς for \*παντς, λύσας for \*λυσαντς, μέλας for μέλανς, φαῖσι for \*φανται, ἔς for \*ἐνς (ἐῖς), τοῖς for τόνς (τούς), ἐχοῖσα for ἐχονσα, μῖσα for \*μουντς, φέροισι for \*φερονται (197. 202. 211 ff.). Actuated by similar considerations, the Ionians also adopted certain marks, viz. the Achæic ει, then ου for Achæic α, while α was retained unaltered, as : φαινός, ξείνος, εἵνεκα, τοὺς νόμους, μούσα, ἔχουσι, but πᾶσα, μέλας, φασί. In the same way Doric dialects adopted η (identified with ΕΙ) for ε (ἡμὶ for \*ἔσμι, ἦς for ἔνς = ἐῖς), and ω (Ω) for Achæic οι or Ionic ου (τὼς νόμος, μῶσα). At last Athenian schoolmasters also saw the expediency of such conventional symbols and so adopted the Ionic ει and ου for compensated or thetic ε and ο. In this way, every postpositive ι, especially when prevocalic—therefore every intersonantic ι—came to be confounded with ι adscript intended to graphically symbolize some lost sound (consonant), and thus effect or indicate metrical position in the form of 'natural' length. The consequence of such a confusion was that the said ι began to be freely dropped or freely inserted (20<sup>e</sup> f.). For fuller particulars see App. ii. 9-15.

29<sup>a</sup>. The relative influence of theory (prosody) and physiology on the orthographic system developed, even in the dialects, ever since historical times, is strikingly illustrated by the various methods adopted in Achæic (especially in its Boeotian form), the most conservative of all dialects. Here we find : (1) originally positional or 'thetic' α developed first into αι (τάλαις, ταῖς δίκαις), then either yielded to Attic α (τάλας, τὰς δίκας), or was phonetically transcribed to η (= ε : χήρ for χεῖρ, πῆδα for παῖδα); (2) originally thetic ε developed first into εῖ (τίθειμ, πατέρ, μεί), then either yielded to (Ionic-) Attic η (τίθημι, πατήρ, μή), or was phonetically transcribed to η (χήρ, φέρην) or by ι (= ει : ἱμ, ἱράνα); (3) originally thetic ο developed first into οῖ (τοῖς πέπλοις, μοῖσα, φέροισι), later replaced by ω (τῶ, δάμω, ἀνθρώπων), then either yielded to (Ionic-) Attic ου (= u : τοὺς πέπλους, μούσα, φέρουσι), or was phonetically transcribed by the simple u-symbol υ (καλῦ, τῷ ἄλλω, τῷ δάμω, μῦσα, φέρουσι) :—a mode of spelling which found its way also into the received or panhellenic orthography (36).—All these modes and stages of spelling are amply represented in the respective inscriptions.

b. The process just delineated shows then that the above resultant diphthongs are not original but *hystero*genous (*spurious*), and so cannot, in their first stage, claim a sound different from that of their simple predecessors. However, as in process of time they came to be systematically applied, it was inevitable that pupils and general readers should have gradually confounded them in every respect, and that from reading the confusion passed into common life. (Cp. 29<sup>e</sup>. App. ii. 12.)

29<sup>b</sup>. Regarding the adoption of the symbol η as a separate vowel, the promoters of the spelling reform were evidently animated by the wish to remove all ambiguities and anomalies in matters of law (GGrote Gr. Hist. vi. 524 ff.), and more particularly to simplify the reading at school and elsewhere of the national literature, then chiefly metrical, and to

this end merely sanctioned the conventional system already initiated and developed at school. Accordingly that particular  $\epsilon$  was transcribed by  $\eta$  which, though not diphthongized to hysteroogeneous  $\epsilon$  (29), appeared in verse as 'long' (usually under the ictus, 89); or, to put it another way, that  $\epsilon$  was transliterated by  $\eta$ , which in the other principal dialects already figured as  $\eta$ , and furthermore that  $\epsilon$  which in Doric (and Achæic) corresponded to  $\alpha$ , but in Ionic already appeared as  $\eta$ , except after  $\epsilon$  i  $\rho$  where the Doric (and Achæic)  $\alpha$  had established itself in Attic and so was retained, e. g. :

Panhellenic: ἰψιλόσ, κληδών, γήρας, πατήρ, εὐγενής, μῖν, φρήν, δοτήρ, ἐξήκοντα, ποιῶσα, ποίμα, χρῆμα, χρήσω, ἦκα, βέβλημαι, ἔμαι, ἔσβην, εἶν, λίγς, etc.

Attic and Ionic: πλὴν (Doric πλάν), μῆν (μάν), βάδην (βάδαν), μάχην (μάχα), ἡλακᾶτη (ἀλακάτα), μῆμη (μῆμα), σκηνή (σκανά), πλεγγή (πλεγά), νῆσος (νάσος), κῆρυξ (κᾶρυξ), μήκος (μᾶκος), στρατηγός (-αγός), τήκω (τάκω), δόξης (δόξας), σεμνότης (-τας), etc.

But Doric and Attic: χώρα (Ionic χώρα), νεανίας (νενηνίας), σοφία (-ίη), θώραξ (θώρηξ), κρατήρ (κρητήρ), τραχύνω (τρηχύνω), πράσσω (πρήσσω), πειράσσομαι (πειρήσσομαι), θέατρον (θέητρον), ἀπείδρα (-δρη), γραῦς (γρηῦς), κέκραμαι (κέκρημαι), λάβρα (-βρη), λιάν (λίην), etc.

29<sup>c</sup>. The rapid spread from the outset of the symbol  $\eta$ —not as H (= h) but as an additional symbol or new letter (with a new name, 72)—was apparently due to various causes: unlike its associate  $\epsilon$ , it prevented phonetic confusion with original and real diphthongal  $\epsilon$ i; it was thought to graphically symbolize its progenitor, H being taken for a combination of EI (or EE?); and it had also become widespread, apart from Ionic, in Doric and Achæic, including the adjacent Boeotian (cp. χῆρ for χεῖρ, κᾶνος for ἐκείνος, τρῆς for τρεῖς, φέρην for φέρειν, ἄπον for εἶπον, ἤχες for εἰχες; φιλήτω for φιλεῖτω, Κλεισθένης for Κλεισθένης, Ἡράκλειτος for -κλειτος, ἦς for εἰς, ἔστηλαν for ἔστειλαν, ἄπυρος for ἡπυρος, &c.). This frequent concurrence of  $\eta$  and  $\epsilon$ i then inevitably led to a confusion, and obscured the special use for which either new symbol had been intended, the Athenian public at large imagining that  $\eta$  had been introduced as a monoliteral and convenient phonetic equivalent to its biliteral predecessor and associate  $\epsilon$ i<sup>[1]</sup>. Now as  $\epsilon$ i by that time had assumed the sound of  $\epsilon$  (34), it happened that  $\eta$  began to be popularly read like  $\epsilon$ , while among theorists and trained readers it must have retained, for a considerable time, the sound of its predecessor E (cp. 29. 48). In other words, H was technically intended for 'long'  $\epsilon$ , but popularly mistaken for  $\epsilon$ i, which  $\epsilon$ i by this time was pronounced as  $\epsilon$ .

29<sup>cc</sup>. As expected, the innovation could not fail to cause confusion between the old and new system. At the same time the novel symbols were regarded, for a long time (41), as a sort of aliens and mere graphic alternatives for the ancestral  $\epsilon$  and  $\omicron$  respectively<sup>[2]</sup>. This circumstance also accounts for the striking phenomenon that, whereas the primordial and traditional E and O are used times without number for  $\eta$  and  $\omega$  respectively, the latter, having originated as concrete marks of compensated  $\epsilon$  and  $\omicron$ , and so being subservient chiefly to specialists, are on the whole rarely misused for the former (27). It is only since G times that H and  $\Omega$  have been completely identified with E and O respectively, and thus very often take their place (26, 2 & 7).

<sup>[1]</sup> Compare Pl. Crat. 418 c οἱ μὲν ἀρχαιοτάτοι ἡμέραν (ἡμ-?) τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκά- λουν, οἱ δὲ (ὑστερον) εἰμέραν, οἱ δὲ νῦν ἡμέραν. Cp. 41.

<sup>[2]</sup> Hence in an Attic inscription of the IV<sup>th</sup> [before 340] B.C., found on the Acropolis (CIA iv. 4321, 3 f.)—which has nothing to do with stenography— $\nu$  is called the *fifth* of the vowels, τὸ δὲ πέμπτον τῶν φωνηέντων T—an expression which obviously excludes  $\eta$  and  $\omega$  from the list of proper letters. Even in an Ionic abecedarium of the V<sup>th</sup> B.C. (ESERoberts p. 19), the symbols  $\eta$  and  $\omega$  are absent. Cp. 16<sup>b</sup> [1].



29<sup>d</sup>. To sum up, in Greek sonantism, as exhibited in classical Attic, the so-called long vowels and in the greatest majority of cases the diphthongs *ei* and *ou*, represent not original, physiological or specific sounds; they are heterogeneous and accidental symbols portraying prosodic phenomena developed within historical antiquity, but previous to the IV<sup>th</sup> B.C. The successive stages of this evolution can be distinctly traced in the case of *ei* and *ou* by their spelling in the contemporary inscriptions and, under direct Greek influence, in the early Latin orthography also. Here we can distinguish four broad phases of spelling: the primitive, the scholastic, and the phonetic, out of which arose the fourth or received (post-Euclidian) orthography current in our texts. See App. ii. 9-15.

<i>Primitive.</i>	<i>Scholastic.</i>	<i>Phonetic.</i>	<i>Received.</i>
I. E	El or H	El or I	El
ἐχεν	ἐχεν, ἐχην	ἐχεν, ἐχιν	ἐχεν
ἐς (ἐνς)	ἐς, ἦς	ἐς, ἰς	ἐς
πρέσβες	πρέσβεις, -βης	πρέσβες, -βις	πρέσβεις.
χρεά	χρεία, χρηά	χρεά, χρία	χρεία
devos	deivos	divus	divus
vecos	veicos	vicus	vicus
	sei, seive (εἰ, εἴτε)	si, sive	si, sive
II. O	OY or Ω	OY	OY
βῶς	βοῦς, βῶς	βοῦς	βοῦς
τότο	τούτου, τῶτω	τούτου	τούτου
—	oncia	uncia	uncia
—	plous	plus	plus
	ioudex	iudex	iudex

29<sup>e</sup>. The foregoing historical facts show plainly enough that, at the time of their adoption, the vowel symbols *η* and *ω* had no phonetic value of their own, but served as mere technical (metrical or grammatical) varieties of *ε* and *ο* respectively. It is evident then that the gradual development of the Ionic orthography initiated prior to the VI<sup>th</sup> B.C. and finally adopted or legalized by Athens in 403 B.C., originated not in the need of symbolizing pre-existing sounds, but in the need of symbolizing metrical phenomena. In other words, the new or scholastic spelling was not the result of previous phonetic growth, but the very *cause* of the subsequent (post-Euclidean) phonetic system. It is therefore misleading to start from the assumption, for primordial Greek, of sounds which were *not* symbolized, and to treat them as concrete tests by the side of the old symbols for phonetic research is surely a false method.

### *The Diphthongs in particular (19 ff.).*

30. The diphthongs *ai*, *ei*, *oi*, *ui*, *av*, *ev* (*ην* occurs only as augment and *ou* mainly in Ionic) are sounded by Erasmians diphthongally and by traditionists monophthongally in the sense explained above (24). Now judging from the striking frequency of vowel sequences in Homeric (also post-Homeric) compositions (124), and the rareness if not absence of contraction and crasis in them, we are warranted in assuming a diphthongal pronunciation of these vowel pairs in so far as they are 'original,' that is in so far as they had come into real existence

as early as in Homeric times. But when we descend to classical Attic, we find a very different phenomenon: the process of *contraction* (as represented in 156-165<sup>b</sup> (appears fully and systematically developed, and the so-called hiatus, either within a word or between two consecutive words, is generally avoided. Now as non-contraction (*ἀσυναίρεσία*) of the diphthongs and contraction (including crasis) are two opposite processes, we are bound to assume that the diphthongs in *A* had long become monophthongs. This is also proved by the fact that no diphthong ever shows a partial elision (141<sup>b</sup>), and the papyri—unlike the inscriptions, which were engraved not phonetically but at first (in *A*) *στοιχιδόν*, later (in *P*) mechanically (91)—never dissect a diphthong to its component parts at the end of a line. Further very conclusive evidence is afforded by the inscriptions of the Delphian hymns to Apollo (composed after 146 B.C.), where the diphthongs, when they happen to stand under a *long* note, are not dissolved into their elements, but repeated in their entirety just like simple vowels (OCrusius 92-94), whereas the natural way of prolonging the sound of a diphthong would be to draw out its dominant element: *μαντρίειον* (twice), *ἐφρουούρει*, *εἴαιες*, *κλασιτύν*, *Φοῖοιβον*, *βωμοῖοισιν*, *δειλόοις*, *ὁμοῦοι*. So again in Bull. Cor. Hell. xviii. 349 ff.: 3 *κλασιτύν*; 7 *θιγούουσα*; 17 (p. 352) *ἀδείσιαν*<sup>[1]</sup>; 23 *ἔχαιες*—alongside with 3 *ὑμνωῶν*; 7 *γλυκάδας*; 10 *αἰθήμηρ*; 13 *ἀμπεῖχει*; 15 *γασαλ[όφω]*, *τριτωονιάδος*; 19 *ἀαμβρόταν*, *ἀνθ' ὧων*; 21 *τεχνιτῶων*; 22 *ἐνοικῶος*; 26 *ἀαμβρόται*; 27 *Λασατοῦς*.

30<sup>b</sup>. Regarding the occurrence in the said hymns (OCrusius 94) of *ἐνύδρου* for *εὐνύδρου*, and *ταούραν* for *ταύραν*, such an artificial analysis was a matter of absolute necessity, since the alternative rendering by means of repetition: *εὐεὐδρου* and *ταυαύραν* would produce *εὐένδρου* and *τατάυραν*, or at least *εὐένδρου* and *τατάουρον*, and thus render irre recognizable the original sound.

31. As to the spurious diphthongs *q*, *y*, *φ*, *υι*—originally written (AE)AI, EI, OI, YI, later AI, HI, ΩI, YI—in so far as I here is original, or a genuine phonetic symbol, they evidently came into existence at a period when, as in the case of the proper diphthongs, either vowel was still sounded separately, the process being that the first prevailed over the second and ultimately swallowed it.

32. The phonetic process which brought about the monophthongization of the diphthongs (*ae*) *αι*, *ου*, *ει*, *οι*, *υι*, *q*, *y*, *φ*, is commonly explained by the theory that before reaching their present (or *N*) monophthongal sound, these vowel pairs must have passed through certain intermediate stages of phonetic gradation, that is through a gradual phonetic process, the ultimate result of which was that in some cases, as in *αἰ ηι αι*, the pre-

[1] The accentuation *μαντρίειον*, *ἐφρουούρει*, etc. assumes a crescendo utterance which is against the falling (decrecendo) nature of accent. Moreover, if arranged under musical notation, the above words would run thus: *μαν-τρί... ον ἐ-φρού... ρει*, etc.

## 32-32<sup>b</sup>.] MONOPHTHONGIZATION OF DIPHTHONGS.

positive 'long' vowel prevailed over its postpositive 'short' associate and produced the spurious diphthongs  $\eta \varphi$  (FBlass Pron. 43 ff.), while in other cases, as in ( $\alpha\epsilon$ ) $\alpha$ ,  $\upsilon\upsilon$ ,  $\epsilon$ ,  $\alpha$ ,  $\upsilon$ , it was the postpositive vowel which, though short, overpowered its prepositive associate, and produced  $\epsilon u i i i$  respectively <sup>[1]</sup>. This theory however, though simple and prepossessing, is a fanciful explanation. Moreover several weighty objections arise against it:

(1) The same cause acting under the same conditions could surely not have brought about different results, as shown by the case of  $\alpha$  &  $\eta$  (now =  $\epsilon$  &  $\alpha$ ),  $\alpha$  &  $\varphi$  (now =  $i$  &  $\alpha$ ),  $\epsilon$  &  $\eta$  (now =  $i$ ).

(2) The transition of  $\alpha$  from  $\alpha + i$  through  $\bar{\alpha}$  to  $\epsilon$ ; of  $\upsilon$  from  $\upsilon + \upsilon$  to  $\upsilon$ ; of  $\epsilon$  from  $\epsilon + i$  to  $i$ ; of  $\alpha$  from  $\alpha + i$  through  $\bar{\alpha}$  to  $i$ —to pass over the post-Eucleidian combinations  $\eta$  or  $\varphi$  and  $\alpha$  or  $\varphi$ —naturally presupposes a long period during which the first vowel sound must have struggled with the second for the preponderance (*ἐμπόρεια*) <sup>[2]</sup>, a period of slurred pronunciation which ought to have shown a confusion of the two contending vowel-sounds:  $\alpha$  and  $i$ ,  $\upsilon$  and  $\upsilon$ ,  $\epsilon$  and  $i$ ,  $\alpha$  and  $i$ , etc., whereas such a characteristic interchange does not actually occur <sup>[3]</sup>.

(3) The originally composite sound assumed must have stood somewhere between the first and second constituent of the diphthongs in question, and then from some 'unknown' causes the compound or diphthongal sound in certain cases advanced towards the second constituent, and ultimately was absorbed by it, while in other cases the process was regressive, and so has resulted in the exclusive prevalence of the first constituent, as shown by the spurious diphthongs  $\alpha$ ,  $\eta$ ,  $\alpha$  ( $\eta$ ,  $\varphi$ ), where the  $\epsilon$  has become mute and therefore subscript. Such a progressive-regressive or oscillating process moreover militates against the very constitution of a 'diphthong' where the first vowel always predominates over the second vowel, which latter thus assumes a semivocalic or rather consonantal function (18. 19<sup>b</sup>. 32<sup>a</sup>) 78. ESievers 384; KBrugmann Gr. Gram.<sup>2</sup> 33.

32<sup>b</sup>. The monophthongization of the diphthongs in Greek lies in more causes than one, which will be better understood when we have first taken into consideration the peculiar principles operating in Greek. We have before us three different classes of diphthongs:

[1] Speaking of  $\eta \varphi$  ( $\eta \upsilon \alpha \upsilon$ ), FBlass in his Pron. 43 'lays down' as their original value  $\bar{\alpha} i \bar{\epsilon} i \bar{\epsilon} u \bar{\alpha} u$ , and argues that 'these semi-diphthongs are one and all 'inconvenient' to pronounce, because the component parts do not coalesce to a proper unity, and hence the tendency of the language either to fuse them more closely together by shortening the first element [this is purely hypothetical], or to simplify them by rejecting the second.' Nevertheless, Prof. Blass contrives to show (ib. 48) that this 'inconvenience' was withstood as late as the 'close of the III<sup>rd</sup> B.C., when the semi-diphthongs  $\eta \varphi$  became monophthongs by 'rejecting' the  $\epsilon$  adscript. But granting for a moment that these vowel pairs had really ever had the value laid down by Prof. Blass, if that value was or had become inconvenient in A-P times, how could it have been 'convenient' from the outset down to A antiquity, and so have had an actual existence?

[2] FBlass holds (Pron. 32 f.) that the heterogeneous  $\upsilon \upsilon$  was in 778 B.C. still  $\alpha$ , but that in 363 B.C. it had changed to  $\alpha$  by 'rapid advances,' thus implying that one and the same person at Athens in the IV<sup>th</sup> B.C. witnessed, within twenty-five years, a gradual succession, from one another, of all intermediate sounds lying between  $\alpha$  and  $\alpha$ , after which the process of phonetic change stopped for ever. Again, an Athenian who happened to leave Attica in 378, on his return home in 363, found it difficult to understand his fellow-citizens. To such a startling theory it would have been worth while to adduce a parallel from the history of any language.

[3] The frequent omission of intervocalic  $\epsilon$  in instances like  $\delta \epsilon \iota$ ,  $\Pi \epsilon \rho \alpha \sigma \acute{\upsilon} \varsigma$ ,  $\lambda \acute{\iota} \rho \alpha$ ,  $\alpha \nu \delta \rho \acute{\omicron} \varsigma$ ,  $\pi \omicron \iota$ , etc., is irrelevant. See 20<sup>a</sup>.

## MONOPHTHONGIZATION OF DIPHTHONGS. [32<sup>b</sup>–32<sup>d</sup>.

1. Diphtongs in which the prepositive vowel has overpowered and absorbed its postpositive associate *i*, as in *q*, *p*, *φ* (in early *A* written *AE* [later *A1*] *EI* *OI*, 19<sup>a</sup> & 31);

2. Diphtongs in which the postpositive *i* has overpowered and absorbed its prepositive associate, as in *ei*, *oi*, *ui* (now all = *i*);

3. Diphtongs in which either of the two component vowels has nearly preserved its own sound with a decided preponderance of the prepositive *a* or *e* and a consequent labialization of the postpositive *v*, as in *av* *ev* (now *av* *ev* or *af* *ef*, 24 & 51 ff.).

32<sup>c</sup>. Each of these three classes has its special causes, and must be considered separately. To do this adequately we must constantly bear in mind the following four fundamental principles:—

1. Beside Sanskrit, Greek is the most inflectional of all languages whether dead or living; hence it exhibits an infinite number of suffixes and prefixes (127; cp 16<sup>b</sup>)<sup>[1]</sup>.

2. Greek is based on the peculiar principle of trisyllabic accentuation (*trisyllabotomy*) with a decidedly regressive tendency (32<sup>d</sup>. 84<sup>b</sup>).

3. The eminently inflectional character of Greek involves a constant sway to and fro of the accent within the last three syllables, in particular from the antepenult (which very often coincides with the root or stem) to the penult, and conversely.

4. Of the five original vowel sounds (16<sup>b</sup>), *a* is the relatively strongest, next comes *o*, then *u*, then *e*, and finally *i* as the last in order and weakest of all (146 ff.).

32<sup>d</sup>. A careful study of the above four principles will show that it is the operation of one or more of them, in particular the influence of the accent—and by accent we mean stress (77<sup>b</sup>. 85. App. i.)—that has brought about the monophthongization of the vowel pairs *ai*, *ei*, *oi*, *ui* (*ηι*, *ωι*). It was the accent, acting as a dynamic agent from various points (seats), that led the process, the start having evidently been made from the root or stem of the words. For it will be remembered that in a given word the root or stem is the primitive element, while the suffixes and prefixes are heterogeneous accretions, so that the root or stem must have originally been the seat of accent, and probably of a considerably stronger accent too (App. i. 17 & [1]). When in process of time primary (mostly suffixal, and binary (mostly prefixal) accretions began to amplify the words to polysyllables—a case so common in Greek—these heterogeneous accretions naturally fell under the sway of the accent and so led to the development of the system of trisyllabic accentuation (*trisyllabotomy*), peculiar to Greek. Now as long as the total number of syllables was kept within three, the accent generally retained its seat, but as soon as that number was exceeded, or extraneous (grammatical, analogical, etc.) influences came into play, the rhythmical balance of the word was disturbed by drawing the accent out of its original seat over to the penultima or even to the ultima (cp. *A* λέγε, λέγομεν, λεγόμεθα, λεγομένοις—μέλισσα, μελίσσας, μελισσών). On the other hand, when one or more suffixal syllables were dropped, the accent generally receded to its original seat (τιμθησόμενος, τιμησόμεν, τίμησον, τίμα—ἡδύον, ἡδιον). Again in case of prefixal accretions the accent, in consequence of its recessive tendency, often shifted its position even further back than its original seat in the root-syllable when the prefix either carried emphasis or had coalesced with the stem to an indistinguishable whole (*δ-νομος*, *εὐ-λογος*, *ἀκαν δκαν*, *πρότεμπε πρότεμπε*).

[1] The Greek 'verb' alone shows no less than 508 endings (finite alone 249 against 243 in Sanskrit), while Latin exhibits 143, and Gothic 38 (G Curtius Gr. Verb 3 ff.).

# 32<sup>d</sup>—32<sup>ε</sup>.] PRONUNCIATION OF Ι, ΕΙ, Υ, Η, ΟΙ.

On this principle we have, taking into account simple words only and indicating the seat of the accent by a capital letter :—

'Αερε	'Αερον	but	δερετε	δερομεν	δερω	hence	αἶρω (19 <sup>a</sup> )
λεῖπω	λεῖπον	"	λεῖπετε	λεῖπομεν	λείπω	"	λείπω
θεῖος	θειον	"	θειοο	θειων	θειους	"	θείος
τειχος	—	"	τειχεος	τειχεα	—	"	τείχος
κοῖλος	κοιλον	"	κοιλοο	κοιλων	κοιλους	"	κοίλος
ὁμοιος	ὁμοιον	"	ὁμοιοο	ὁμοιων	ὁμοιους	"	ὁμοίος
μῦια	μῦιαν	"	μῦιας	hence	μῦ'α	i.e.	μῦα
λελυκῖα	λελυκῖιαν	"	λελυκῖιας	"	λελυκῖα	"	-κῖα
δαεδος	δαεδι	"	δαεδα	"	δα'ς (19 <sup>a</sup> )	"	δῆς
ἀεττομεν	ἀεττω	"	Ἀεττον	"	Ἀ'ττε	"	ἄττω
προῖρας	προῖρα	"	προῖρα	"	πρῶ'ρα	"	πῶ'ρα
χρεῖζομεν	χρεῖζετε	"	χρεῖζε	"	χρῆ'ζω	"	χρή'ζω
(τοῦτο	τοῦτου	"	τοῦτψ	"	—	"	τούτο)

32<sup>e</sup>. In the case of the spurious diphthongs (μῦια [i.e. μῦα], δῆς, πῶ'ρα, χρῆ'ζω), we must reckon as coefficient factor the relative strength of the constituent vowels, in that the prepositives α ο υ ε, as stronger sounds, have overpowered their postpositive attendant ι (32<sup>d</sup>, 4. 146 ff.).

32<sup>f</sup>. The above illustrations, taken as representatives of all classes of stem diphthongs (suffixal and prefixal diphthongs being due to grammatical and analogical influences, 32<sup>d</sup>), show that the monophthongization of (αε)αι, ει, οι, υι, ου, αι (= ρ), ηι, ωι, originated chiefly in the system of trisyllabotomy which shifted the accent now to the prepositive now to the postpositive vowel, and thus rendered both forms equally familiar to the people. A further consequence of this alternative accentuation was a corresponding 'lengthening' of the accented, and 'shortening' of the unaccented vowel, so that when in process of time popular speech fixed the accent on one seat rather than on the other, the unaccented vowel was further reduced and soon swallowed up altogether. It becomes clear then that the monophthongization of the diphthongs αι ει οι υι ου (ηι ωι) was not, as generally believed, effected by a 'slow and gradual' process, witnessed within historical or even 'postclassical' times; it rather points to the concurrence in primordial Greek of diphthongs with an alternative accentuation (άι & άί, έι & εῖ, όι & όῖ [ού & οῦ], etc., cp. *either* as *ai-ther* and *i-ther*), with the natural consequence that as time went on one accentuation prevailed over the other and obliterated it. Accordingly there was no intermediate gradual process, no compromise or blending of the two vowel sounds, no progressive or oscillating phonetic process which led on the one hand to the proper, and on the other to the spurious diphthongs, but both forms are virtually co-eval and go back to primordial antiquity. At the same time the monophthongization in question was not effected all at once, but the process affected each diphthong in each case or word separately and at a different time, though all certainly in preclassical antiquity. It is further clear that in the spurious diphthongs the muteness or phonetic disappearance of the postpositive ι (ι adscript, later subscript) is not due to the preponderance of the prepositive vowel (α η ω) 'by virtue of its length,' but the very reverse: the disappearance or muteness of the postpositive ι acted as a sort of compensatory lengthening on its prepositive associate.

[Compare AE or AI—A—E(η) in φαῖνω, αἶρω, σημαῖνω, τεκμαῖρω—φανῶ & φαινω, ἄρω, σημαῖνω, τεκμαῖρω—ίφμηνα, ἥρα, ἐσήμηνα, ἐτέκμηνα. So further φεύγω φυγεῖν, τεύχω τυχεῖν, λείπω λιπεῖν, εἰμι ἔμην, οἶδα ἔδμεν or ἔσμεν, etc. 168. 864.]

32<sup>g</sup>. Different is the case of the diphthongs αυ ευ (now = av ev or af ef). Here we find that either vowel has retained its individual sound, with prevalence of the first (32<sup>b</sup>, 3), so that the composite resultant (άυ έυ or rather α<sup>υ</sup> ε<sup>υ</sup>) finally became av af or ev ef (51).

32<sup>b</sup>. From the above general remarks it becomes clear that, strictly speaking, Greek, since historical times, knows nothing of real (phonetic or acoustic), but merely graphic diphthongs, the only exception being afforded by the vowel pairs *av* and *ev* (ἡν, ὠν), and that only previous to the complete consonantization of their postpositive *v*.

#### A. PRONUNCIATION OF THE SONANTS Ι, ΕΙ, Υ, Η, ΟΙ.

33. The vowel symbol *i*, whose pronunciation as *i* at all times cannot be questioned, has interchanged, ever since the VI<sup>th</sup> B.C., first with ΕΙ, then with Υ and Η. The following inscriptional data will illustrate the nature and frequency of their confusion and the degree of consequent homophony among them.

34. I. *Interchange of ι with ει*. (Cp. 30 & c f.) The following specimens, among numerous others, may suffice for the purpose. (But cp. 28, c f.)

V<sup>th</sup> B.C. χαλίοι Roehl IGA 381 c B 15 d 12. Διοσίμους 'Αθην. Ε' 419, 10, 1 (Διοσίμους CIA 201, 1014, 1029, &c.). ἀποκτίνῃ CIA i. 9, 28. Μιλιχίο Διός 'Εφημ. 'Αρχ. 1889 p. 51 (Μειλ- CIA 1122, &c.). Εἰφιστιάδης CIA ii. 465, 105 (Ἰφιστ- ib. 104 & 105. 'Ηφιστ- ib.). Σαλαμίνιος CIA ii. 482, 113. Φιδίας PKretscher 36. 450 B.C. Σταγισίται CIA i. 230. 447 B.C. Σταγισίται ib. 234. 392 B.C. 'Επαφρόδετος CIA ii. 482, 108. 'Αφροδίσσιος CIA ii. 482, 114 (beside 'Αφροδίσ- ib. 110). 378–387 B.C. διερίσματα CIA ii. 678 B 47 (διερείσμι- ib. 651, 4; 695, 15, &c.). IV<sup>th</sup> B.C. Μιλιχίφ beside Μειλχίφ Bull. Corr. Hell. vii. 507 & 509. δριχάλκος CIA ii. 681 (δρείχ- ib. 751, b, 21; & 765, 24–25). 332 B.C. 'Αριστίδου Bull. Corr. Hell. xii. 254, 14. 320 B.C. ελλείπι CIA ii. 835, i–1 86. 292–1 B.C. ἀπολείπται ἰκόνος 'Αθην. Η' 294–5, 9. III<sup>rd</sup> B.C. Μιδίας Κουμαν. 'Επιγρ. 1835. Στιριεύς ib. 1153. ἀπτιμ ib. 3151, 5. 'Ηπιδῶτις ib. 1675 & 1679. ἰσέπραξε CIA ii. 603, 9. 237 B.C. κροκοδίλων Mahaffy, Petrie Pap. i. 14, 5. 164–3 B.C. 'Αφροδίσσιος Gr. Pap. Br. Mus. p. 8, 37. 163 B.C. ἀποταίσει ib. p. 32, 18. βασιλακοῦ ib. p. 10, 5. Κρηταί ib. p. 11, 37 (Κρητί ib. 48). τραπεζαίου ib. p. 16, 7–8. ὑποκμένων ib. p. 10, 21. 161 B.C. ποιήσις (for -σεις) ib. p. 21, 10. ἐπιδόσης ib. p. 17, 11. τοὺς γραμματίς ib. p. 17, 15–18 twice; also p. 19, 17. Ἀθήσας ib. p. 23, 8. 9. 15. 26. 30. ἀντιλημμένον ib. p. 19, 4–5 — and so on ever since. For many other examples see GMeyer<sup>3</sup> § 115.

#### 34<sup>b</sup>. II. *Interchange of γ with ι (or its homophones ει and η).*

Dealing with the sound of *v*, it is difficult to trace the physiological process which led to its change from its original *u*-sound (16<sup>b</sup>) to its present *i*-sound. Still, as in the absence of any explanation (that of *u*-*ü*-*i* being a fanciful hypothesis irreconcilable with Greek phonology) even conjectures are allowable, I believe that we can detect a plausible explanation of the phenomenon in the generalization of the above principle of the monophthongization of the diphthongs (32<sup>b</sup> ff.). We have seen there that, under the stress of accent, the prepositive vowel of the diphthongs *ov* and *ui* became early mute. With this change of every (original) *ov* to *u* and every *ui* to *i*, the *u*-sound came to be expressed systematically by *ov* and occasionally by the (rather uncommon) original simple *v*. Now as in progress of time, *ov*, already the principal representative of the *u*-sound, gained in frequency through the accession of hysterogeneous (compensated) *ov*, it may be conjectured that it gradually appropriated the whole field of the *u*-sound, while *v*, having already been associated with its com-

panion ι, gradually went further in that direction and ultimately ended by being systematically either read as ι or transcribed by ου.

35. 600-550 B.C. Συκεύειν beside Σιγεεύειν IGA 452. V<sup>th</sup> B.C. Διόνισος, Διονισιγένης, Μούνιχος PKretschmer p. 119 (on A red-figured vases). Τύριθι ib. 64. 90. 403 B.C. Κυνίδης CIA i. 230 (beside Κιν- CIA i. 240). 378 B.C. ἥμισυ CIA ii. 17<sup>a</sup> 45. 374 B.C. Ἀμφικτύονες CIA ii. 54 (beside frequent -κτί-) KMeisterhans<sup>2</sup> 22. 320 B.C. Σιβίλλα CIA ii. 835. IV<sup>th</sup> B.C. Ὑσμῆνα for Ἰσμ-, PKretschmer 31. Κιανίς for Κυ- ib. f. 279 B.C. Χοίρυλος Bull. Corr. Hell. 1890 p. 389. III<sup>rd</sup> B.C. Εὐτιχίς CIA ii. 2935. 230 B.C. ἥμισυ Mahaffy ii. xvi. 2. 9. 180 B.C. κυλύχιον, Κυνθυκῶ Kühner-Blass i. 70. Χοιρύλος Bull. Corr. Hell. iv. 13, 81 & 21, 164. II<sup>nd</sup> B.C. ἥμισυ Gr. Pap. Br. Mus. p. 22. 6-10 (thrice); 80 too 24, 5; 25, 15-17 (twice) (but ἥμισυ 46, 24, etc.). 158-7 B.C. ἀρχαιπερέτην Gr. Pap. Br. Mus. p. 41, 121 (beside ἀρχιπ- ib. 97). 73 B.C. Μυνύκιος Ἐφῆμ. Ἀρχ. iii. 1884 p. 100 (Μυνύκιος Bull. Corr. Hell. viii. 154 [45 A.D.]). 96-98 A.D. Τύτος Bull. Corr. Hell. viii. 154. II<sup>nd</sup> A.D. λυπῶν (for λιπ-) CIG 9727; GKaibel Epigr. 730. 161-169 A.D. Τυβέριος CIG 1168. φαιμυλίας Bull. Corr. Hell. xii. 490 no. 115 (φαιμυλίας ib.). Αἰμυλία Mitth. xii. 170 no. 3. Ἀφρικανός CIG add. 1999<sup>b</sup>. Βαρβύλλεια CIA iii. 127. 170-180 A.D. Πομπύλιος CIG add. 3822 b<sup>a</sup>. Κωντύλιος CIG 1738. Σέρβυλλα Archives de miss. iii. ser. III. 244, no. 71. Συλωνανός CIG 1967. Συνπλίκιος Arch. ep. Mitth. xi. 32, no. 31. Τυβέριος CIG 1168. II-III<sup>rd</sup> A.D. μηνύουσα Cleemans 95, 6 (beside μηνῶν 21). πῶς for πῆς, 97, 47. θῆρα for θῆρα 107, 20. μινύει 131, 19. ἤμνησα for ὕμ- 131, 40. μιστηρίων 135, 39. βαρίς for βαρίς 83, 15. τοῖς for τῆς, 107, 12. σκῶπτρον for σκή- 97, 21. συνψυφίσας for -ψηφ- 109, 5. πυκρίας for πικ- 121, 45. ἀπόκριφος 109, 33. τοῦ βυθοῦ for βυθού 115, 23. ταχῆν for -χύν 117, 39. III<sup>rd</sup> A.D. μολιβῆν Gr. Pap. Brit. Mus. 98, 432; also 113, 926 (beside μολυβοῦν ib. 74, 304, and μολυβοῦ 76, 358; IV<sup>th</sup> A.D.). 215 A.D. Βεῖθανάρχης (for -θυν-) Berl. Akad. 1888 p. 888, 61, 10. ὑπεύθινου CIG 2824, 18. III-IV<sup>th</sup> A.D. Βηζαντίου CIA iii. 3483. CWessely N. Zaub. 77, I φιλακτήριον, ἀλλοιωσάειν, δεσπίνης, οἰμέρας, παρεστῶσαι (for -ση), σὺ (for σή), ὕμερινόν, ἔθυκας (for ἔθηκας), etc. IV<sup>th</sup> A.D. φρυκτόν Great Louvre Pap. 513 (φρικτ- ib. 266. 1460. 3017). μολιβῆν ib. 2466 (μολυβοῦν ib. 329). φυλύμινον ib. 2695. κίκλω ib. 2138. IV-V<sup>th</sup> A.D. μολιβοῦν Gr. Pap. Brit. Mus. 122, 30. ἡμέτερος (for ὕμ-) ib. p. 108, 746. V<sup>th</sup> A.D. κηρία (for κυρ-) ib. p. 124, 14 (κυρία ib. 20). 487 A.D. ἰνδικτυῶνος CWessely Prol. 65. V-VI<sup>th</sup> A.D. ἀπολῆσσε CWessely Akad. Wiss. 1889 p. 115. ἀπολῆσσαι ib. p. 114. μαρτηρῶ ib. p. 115. δέξιρχος ib. p. 106 iii. twice (beside frequent -ρυν- ib.). τῶν γ' μαρτήρων ib. p. 112. VI<sup>th</sup> A.D. Ἀπογράψας Gr. Pap. Br. Mus. p. 203, 82. πολυτίαν CIG 8643, 10. λήμης (for λι-) ib. 8655. VI-VII<sup>th</sup> A.D. ὁμῶν (for ἡμῶν) CWessely Prol. 64. Gr. Urk. Berlin 308, 13 ἐρύφια ἢ. πραινῶν, μάρτηροι, ἀνάλκισι ib. 608 A.D. μουσικύ (for -κή) CWessely Prol. 64. VII<sup>th</sup> A.D. μαρτήρῳ (beside -τύρῳ) CWessely Prol. 64. [B]αβιλῶν WECrum Coptic MSS. no. 53 (beside Βαβυλῶν ib.). ἀλυσινός ib. 39. κῆρι (for κυρῶ i.e. κυρίῳ) ib. 12. 15. 42. προσκηνήσ[ο]μεν ib. 8 (-κυν- 23)—and so on ever since.

35<sup>a</sup>. In later Sanskrit, Greek υ is transcribed almost as often by ι as by υ, but then curiously Greek ι is often transcribed by υ as well (AlbWeber 615 & 621 f.). Conversely Sanskrit ι is transcribed into Greek now by ει now by υ (ib. 628, App. i. 11 [3]).

35<sup>b</sup>. The allegation that the Erasmus pronunciation of υ as ὤ or French u is heard in such N instances as (northern) κῆρά for κυρά, ἀχῆρα for ἀχυρα, τῆρι for τυρί, rests on a mere fallacy, whether the testimony proceeds

from German (KFoy Lautsystem 84; GMeyer § 93; FBlass 21) or Greek sources. For the former authorities are misled by the palatal sound of the preceding *κ' γ' χ'* (cp. 56<sup>b</sup>, 57, 91) which they mistake for part of the succeeding *υ*-sound, and the latter make it a patriotic or pleasant duty to bear testimony to the 'preservation' of *υ*-sound in *Ν*, since they are told that it is 'classical.' As a matter of fact, *Ν* knows absolutely no other vowel sounds than *α ε ι ο υ* (16°), all well defined and isochronous, except in position (App. ii. 1 & [1]).

35°. Likewise the inference drawn by FBlass (39 f. cp. PKretschmer 68) from the present name of *Kumi* and *Stura* (Κούμη, Στούρα) for the ancient *Κύμη* and *Σύρα*, as to the pronunciation in *Δ* of *υ* as *υ*, cannot be accepted, since these modern forms merely point to the influence of the Latino-Venetian administration.

36. Under Aeolic (particularly Boeotian?) influence, the sonants *υ* and *αι* came to be regarded among *G-B* scribes as equivalent, and thus were almost indiscriminately substituted for each other (29), as: 160 B.C. ἀνύγετε Louvre Pap. 50, 7. ἀνύγω ib. 51, 7. σοὶ λόγοι (for σὺ λόγοι) Gr. Pap. Br. Mus. p. 106, 675. ἐνυκίων. φυνίκιον, ἀκυλάντως, CWessely, Akad. Wiss. 1889 p. 115. 1<sup>st</sup> A.D. μοῖρα (for μύρα) FGKenyon, Class. Texts p. 97 (=Γ 517). οἱ πραγματευόμενοι Arch. Inst. Amer. ii. 36. ἀπορρύφω (for -δρύφωι) FGKenyon Class. Texts p. 106 (=Ω 21). δυνώ (for δυνώω) ib. p. 108 (=Ω 648). τὰ λυπά CIG 2824, 6. πεπύημα 2826, 23. ἀνύξαι, εἰ δέ τις ἀνύξαι ib. 1933, 6-8. 153 A.D. τυαυτήν Gr. Urk. Berlin 153, 18 & 35. ὀφίλι μὲν for ὀφείλει μοι 155, 5. ib. 183 (+ 85), 21 τὸ ἥμισυ μέρος. 276 (+ II-III<sup>rd</sup>), 20 σύν σύ, etc. etc. 238-244 A.D. Ποιανεψιδώνα CIA iii. 1197, ii. 17. III<sup>rd</sup> A.D. ἀνύξαι CIA iii. 1427, c. 4. ἀνύξας ib. 1428, 3. κυμητήριον (very often), ὑκετήριον (for ὀκετήρ-) KMeisterhans<sup>3</sup> 46, 10. ἐπύσσα, Διονοισίου Mitth. xviii. 206.

36<sup>b</sup>. The frequent substitution of *-εῖα* for *-γία* in the feminine of the perfect participle active is apparently analogical, due to the influence of the adjectives *-ύς, -ύ, -εῖα*, as:

ἐρρηγεῖα (often), ἐπιτετελεκεῖα, ἐστακεῖα, συναγαγοχεῖα, διερωχεῖα, λοισπεῖα, γεγονεῖα (often), συναραρεῖα, Εἰλειθεῖα, etc.—all in old inscriptions. G. Meyer<sup>3</sup> § 130.

### 37. III. *a. Interchange of Η with ι* (or εἰ. See 26. 4, 28 ff., 32 f., 34).

452 B.C. [Κ]αμμήης CIA i. 228, 12. V<sup>th</sup> B.C. Εἰφίβος for Εἰφῆβος (on a red-figured vase) PKretschmer 138. Μέλιχος, Μάλιχος, Μίλιχος (on vases) ib. 133 f. & 233. 425 B.C. Ἡποκράτης Roehl IGA 26. Σικυάται CIA i. 37. Πιδασῆς CIA i. 37 (Πηδ- ib. 229, 232, 231, 233). 422-419 B.C. συμβήνη CIA ii. 170, 19; also 172, 18 (420 B.C.), and often since. 420 B.C. Καμμήης ib. 263, 9 (Καμμήης ib. 237, 11. 239, 52. 240, 75. 256, 17). 378 B.C. Σικυάται CIA i. 17, B, 31. 349 B.C. θαλά[ι]νι (for -νῇ) CIA ii. 755, 7. 330-317 B.C. ἀμαξήποδα CIA ii. add. 834, c. 4, 2. 323 B.C. ἀφείκε CIA ii. 811, c, 119 (ἀφῆκεν Bull. Corr. Hell. xiv. 163, 13-21 often). 321 B.C. τὴν δι' ὕλιν CIA ii. 1059, 9. ± 305 B.C. γεωσιπύδισμα CIA ii. 63, 114. γεωσιπύους ib. III<sup>rd</sup> B.C. τήθη (for τήθη) CIA ii. 836, c-k 43; also 992. Εὔτυχος Τυχιππίδου Ἡρακλεώτης CIA ii. 2936. εὐδοκασίωσι Journ. Hell. Stud. Megalopolis 126. Διονίχα Θαβῆα (for Θηβαῖα) CIA ii. 2998. Ἐπικρατῆς (for -τίς) Φίλωνος Σιδωνία CIA ii. 3222. φῆμι Herond. Nim. 4, 50. Διμήτριος Bull. Corr. Hell. v. 168, no. 33. χρήας Ἐφημ. ἀρχ. Ε' 23, twice. 168 B.C. ἥνου (for οἶνου)



Louvre Pap. 55, 11-15, thrice. II<sup>nd</sup> B.C. ης χράστ for χρήστης GIB 477, 40. 120 B.C. τὶ (for τήν) μίαν Louvre Pap. 15<sup>a</sup>, 15. Αὐρηλίαις (beside Αὐρηλίου) Mitth. xiv. 114, 72, 3-6. Ψήφισμα ib. 110, 66. φιλότα ib. 105, 51. Αἰνίου CIA ii. 1049 A 55. 69-62 B.C. ἀνατεθήκασι CIA ii. 470, 71. 80 (beside -τεθεικ-, 1053, 7; 835, c-l 45; 403, 38, &c.). I<sup>st</sup> B.C. καθήκων CIA ii. 470, 20. 45 B.C. Ραθύριος Bull. Corr. Hell. vi. 608. 39 B.C. Καλούσιος (for Calvisius) Bull. Corr. Hell. xi. 226, 7. I<sup>st</sup> A.D. Τηξέριος CIG 2739. 84 A.D. Σαλῆνιος CIG 5045. τὸν χρῆσιν for χρύσῃν FBlass Hermen. 139. 92 A.D. προσφωνήσθαι Gr. Urk. Berlin 11, 11. II<sup>nd</sup> A.D. ἔθηκεν FGKenyon Class. Texts p. 104 (= Ψ 751). τεθνήκα ib. p. 106 (= Ω 20). ±150 A.D. Διομήδης CIA iii. 1119, 1, F, 19. σὴ μήτωρ GKabel Epigr. 998. 152 A.D. τὸ Ἀρπαγάθι Gr. Urk. Berlin 153, 32 (beside τῷ Ἀρπαγάθι ib. 13). μὴ εἰτύει for μὴ εἰδυῖς ib. 38. 158 A.D. κλινουρίας Gr. Urk. Berlin 160, 3. 161-9 A.D. δινάρια Le Bas 243<sup>a</sup> (twice); FBlass Pron. 37 note 5. 164 A.D. Ἀντιφῶντι Mitth. xiv. 92, 15, 3. 170 A.D. Χαρίσιος CIA iii. 1133, 49 ii. 194 A.D. Ἀραβικοῦ Gr. Urk. Berlin 199, 23. 190-200 A.D. Σκίψι (for Σκῆψι, on a coin!) Imhoof-Blumer Abhdl. xviii. (1890) p. 628. ὄντηνα CIG 2824, 2. εἰς ἦν σορόν ib. 6. τῆς for τίς ib. 2826, 17. αὐθαμερί CIA iii. 73, 24, 5. γράψων μὴ ἔλαβες τὸ σφυρίτι Gr. Urk. Berlin 247, 5-6. ἡ μὲν σοθὴς φ (i. e. εἰ μὲν σωθὴς φ [for which wrongly σωθῆσφ]) ib. 223, 3; 230, 3. ἵνα διακονέσι μῖν (i. e. ἵνα διακονήσῃ ἡμῖν) ib. 261<sup>a</sup>, 26-27. οὐθὲν ἡ μὴ τὸν τόκον ib. 12-13. 215 A.D. τῆς πολιτείας Berl. Akad. 1888 p. 888, 61, 12. III<sup>rd</sup> A.D. Κρήτης καὶ Κυρήνης Κυντήλιος CIG 2588. ἐψηφισμένα 2790. Καλλίστρατος Καλλινύχη ἀνέθηκε 6672. ἐγγίθεν τίς μάμης αὐτοῦ Bull. Corr. Hell. 1893 p. 528 f.—and so on ever since.

38. The interchange of η and ει in the endings -ειος and -εια, so frequent in H-G inscriptions (B.C. 200-100 A.D.), as: εὐσίβια, ἱέρηα, θεραπῖα, μαντήα, παιδῖα (Louvre Pap. p. 370, 18, παιδῖα), Ἀριστόκληα, Ἡράκληα, Φιλόκληα, Ἀφελῖα, Γαλάτῖα, Ἰσιγείνῖα, Ἡδῖα, Λαοδάμῖα, Ἀντωνίῖα, Γερμανίῖα, Ἑρμῖα, Θήσῖα, Καισάρῖα, Ἄρμος πάγος, Ἀργῖος, Λύκμος, Μῆδος (KMeisterhans<sup>3</sup> 37)—has hardly been considered here, since a prevocalic ι or e can lead through a weak ι to a consonantal ι (155, a. cp. FBlass. Pron. 35), notwithstanding that this cannot well apply to paroxytones (θεραπῖα, μαντήα, παιδῖα, Ἡδῖα), where the accented ι-sound is not weak.—See also 20<sup>a</sup>.

38<sup>b</sup>. On the other hand, the frequent syncope of words like Αἰγῖδος, Ἐρεχθῖδος, Οἰνῖδος (from -ηῖδος), χολίδην from -ηῖδην, λιτουργία from ληιτ-, which occur in the inscriptions since the I<sup>st</sup> A.D. (KMeisterhans<sup>3</sup> 30, 6), can be explained only on the assumption of homophony between η and ι. (Cp. 148 f.)

39. The most unmistakable evidence of the pronunciation of η as ε is seen by Erasmus in the two fragmentary lines where Cratinos and Aristophanes represent the sheep cry by βῆ βῆ and βῆ respectively:

δ δ' ἡλίθιος ὥσπερ πρόβατον βῆ βῆ λέγων βαδίζει. Frg. 43 (TKock)

and θύει με μέλλει καὶ καλεῖται βῆ λέγειν. Ar. Frg. 642 (ib.).

Compare Hesych. βῆ λέγει· βληχᾶται; and βηβῆν· πρόβατον. Bekk. An. 86, 3 βῆ· πρόβατον βληχῆ. Ἀριστοφάνης θύει με κτλ. Et. M. 78, 40 τὸ βῆ ὅπερ περισπαῖται . . . ἔστι δὲ μῆμημα προβάτου.

But even granting that it was universally sounded as ε at the time of its adoption (29<sup>b</sup> f.), I have shown elsewhere (Amer. Jour. Phil. XVI. [1895] 46-51), that neither Cratinos or Aristophanes are likely to have marked their own verse with the prosodic symbol η, that they wrote βειβί(ε) and βί(ε) respectively, and that this βειβί(ε) does not represent the sheep cry, but denotes, in the language of infants (and Cratinos is ridiculing some

childish man or lad), the *sheep* itself. In other words, *βεβέ(ε)* or *βηβή* (not *βῆ βῆ*) means *ba-lamb*, and the term is still fully preserved in *N* speech.

39<sup>b</sup>. Prof. Blass's appeal (Pron. 37 f) to the testimony of Sextus regarding the pronunciation of *η* as *ε* in the II<sup>nd</sup> A.D. surely rests on misrepresentation. In criticising the grammarians, Sextus here instances *η* and speaks not of its sound, but of the *grammatical value* or function given to it by the theorists, with a view to prove their inconsistency. The passage, which, as quoted by Blass, appears imperfect, runs thus (Adv. Gram. 625): *εἰ τὸ α κατ' αὐτοῦς* (i.e. according to the grammarians) *ἐκτεινόμενον καὶ συσσελλόμενον οὐχ ἕτερόν ἐστι στοιχείον ἄλλ' ἐν κοινόν, ὥσαυτάς δὲ καὶ τὸ ι καὶ τὸ γ, ἀκολογησέει καὶ τὸ ε καὶ τὸ η ἂν εἶναι στοιχείον κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν δύναμιν* (value, function) *κοινόν. ἡ γὰρ αὐτὴ δύναμις ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρων ἐστι. καὶ συσταλὴν μὲν τὸ η γίνεταί ε, ἐκταθὲν δὲ τὸ ε γίνεταί η. κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τρόπον καὶ τὸ ο καὶ τὸ ω, μὴ στοιχείου γενήσεται φύσις κοινὴ ἐκτάσει καὶ συστολῇ διαφέρουσα, ἵπείπερ τὸ μὲν ω μακρόν ἐστιν ο, τὸ δὲ ο βραχὺ ἐστιν ω. τυφλώττουσιν οὖν οἱ γραμματικοὶ καὶ τὸ ἀκόλουθον αὐτοῖς οὐ γινώσκουσιν λέγοντες ἐπὶ φωνήεντα τυγχάνειν, πάντε μόνον ὅταν πρὸς τὴν φύσιν* (in reality).

40. Such data as *N* *ξερός, μαρός, θερμός* (for *ξηρός, μηρός, θηρίον*), etc., prove nothing as to the pronunciation of *η* in *A-P* times, seeing that the sound *ε* (*ιρ, ηρ, υρ, ειρ, οιρ*), especially that *unaccented*, generally changes to *ε* (186<sup>b</sup>), a phenomenon which goes back to *P* times, as (leaving aside such classical instances as *Καμερεῖς, Σταγαρίτης*): 137-8 A.D. *Χωτῆρος* CIA iii. 281, 2. 166-8 A.D. *Φαλερίος* 1131, 4. 184-7 A.D. *Εἰρωνέος* 1144, ii. 15. *Ἑρακλεώτης* 2452. *Ἑροδότου* 1524, 2. IV<sup>th</sup> A.D. *ὑπερέτην* Gr. Pap. Br. Mus. p. 101, 548, etc. [1]

41. According to traditionists, the pronunciation of *η* as *ι*, as early as pre-Socratic times, receives strong support also from Plato's testimony (Crat. 418 B-C) *Ξῖ. οἶσθα ὅτι οἱ παλαιοὶ οἱ ἡμέτεροι τῷ ἰῶτα καὶ τῷ δέλτα εὖ μάλα ἐχρῶντο, καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα αἱ γυναῖκες, αἵπερ μάλιστα τὴν ἀρχαίαν φωνὴν σφύουσι, νῦν δὲ ἀντὶ μὲν τοῦ ἰῶτα, "η εἰ, [ῆ] ἦτα μεταστρέφουσιν, ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ δέλτα (ῆτα, ὡς μεγαλοπρεπέστερα ὄντα. EPM. πῶς δὲ; Ξῖ. οἷον οἱ μὲν ἀρχαιοτάτοι ἰμέραν (ἐμ-?) τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκάλουν, οἱ δὲ (ὑστερον) εἰμέραν, οἱ δὲ νῦν ἡμέραν. EPM. ἐστὶ ταῦτα. Ξῖ. οἶσθα οὖν ὅτι μόνον τοῦτο δηλοῖ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ὄνομα τὴν διάνοιαν τοῦ θεμῖνον; ὅτι γὰρ ἀσμένους τοῖς ἀνθρώποις καὶ μίμρουνσι ἐκ τοῦ σκότους τὸ φῶς ἐγγίγνεται, ταύτην ἀνομάσαν ἰμέραν. EPM. φαίνεται. Ξῖ. Νῦν δὲ γε τετραγνηθῆμεν οὐδ' ἂν κατανοήσαις, ὅτι βούλεται ἡ ἡμέρα. καίτοι τινὲς οἰοῦνται ὡς δὴ ἡ ἡμέρᾳ ἡμεῖρα ποιεῖ, διὰ ταῦτα ἀνομάσθαι αὐτὴν οὕτως. The argument, however, is of no avail, since, besides the vagueness and ambiguity of the passage, in his etymological speculations Plato refers not so much to the pronunciation as to the script or spelling of the words, as current in his time (25, c). Thus *ἥρας* is connected with *ἔρος* (398 C-D), and *ἥρα* (404 c) with both *ἑρᾶσθαι* and *ἀέρα*: *"ἥρα δὲ ἑρατὴ τις, ὥσπερ οὖν καὶ λέγεται ὁ Ζεὺς αὐτὴς ἑρασθεῖς ἔχειν. ἴσως δὲ μετεωρολογῶν δ' νομοθέτης τὸν ἀέρα ἥραν* (i.e. AEP EPA or dhr hr-a) *ἀνόμασεν ἐκμυρνωμένους, θεῖς τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐπὶ τὴν τελευτήν. γινώσκει δ' ἂν εἰ πολλὰ μὲν λέγοις τὸ τῆς ἥρας ὄνομα* (i.e. EPAEPA ἑραέρα). 396 B ἡ δ' αὖ ἐς τὸ ἄνω ὁμῆς καλῶς ἔχει τοῦτο τὸ ὄνομα καλεῖσθαι, οὔρακιᾶ, ὁρώσα τὰ ἄνω (i.e. OPAN-). So again in Tim. 28 B and 32 B. 398 C ὁ δὲ δὴ ἥρωσις τί ἂν εἴη;—τοῦτο τὸ ὄνομα δηλοῖ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ ἔρωτος γένεσιν (EPNΞ or EPOΞ). ib. D τοῦτο λέγει τοὺς ἥρωας ἡ ὅτι σοφοὶ ἦσαν . . . , ἔρωτᾶν ἱκανοὶ ὄντες τὸ γὰρ εἶρην (i.e. EPEPN) λέγειν ἐστιν, κτλ. ; 404 B. 405 B. 406 A. 407 B Ἀθηναῖα ὅσπερ εἰ ἀθεονόα ἐστίν (AΘENA AΘEONOA). ib. D κατὰ τὸ ἄρρεν τε καὶ κατὰ τὸ ἀνδρεῖον Ἄρως ἂν εἴη (i.e. APEΞ). 408 B. 409 B σελήνην σέλας ἔχον. 410 C αἱ μὲν ὤραι Ἀττικιστὶ δραιοὶ γὰρ εἰσι διὰ τὸ δρίειν. 415 C δειλία τῆς ψυχῆς σημαίνει δεσμὸν τινα τὸ γὰρ λίαν λοχίς τις ἐστὶ (i.e. ΔΕ-ΛΙΑ). ib. D ἀρετή—ἀειρήνη—ἀλρετή. 416 B αἰσχροὺν τὸ*

[1] Hence the derivation of the *N* word *νερόν* from ancient *νηρόν* is phonopathically well justified. See 150, c [2].

ἴσχον τὸν βούν, δαισχοποιῶν (βούν = PON), etc. etc. Accordingly the only inference to be deduced from the above and any other similar passages is that the Athenians in Plato's time had not yet become quite familiar with the new orthography, but more or less adhered to the ancestral or scholastic mode of spelling (6. 26), and, what is also very significant, that they made no account either of the aspiration (72 ff.) or of 'quantity' (28 ff. 86 ff. App. ii.). This accounts also for the very frequent misspelling of μέν and δέ for μὴν and δὴ in most of the archaic and classical texts. (1744 f.)

#### 42. b. Interchange of Η with Ε. (See 26 f. 28 ff.)

On the other hand, the same Α inscriptions from the first appearance of η in the V<sup>th</sup> B.C. down to Byzantine times show a far more frequent interchange of this symbol with ε. This phenomenon has already been fully investigated in 28 ff.

43. Regarding the almost regular practice in Latin of transliterating η by ε, it now becomes clear that the Romans could not be expected to use for it the letter H familiar to them as h, or to provide a special symbol for Greek Η, the more so as this comparatively modern sign was so unsettled and shifting among the Greeks themselves. Having adopted the Greek (Chalcidian) characters more than two centuries prior to the spelling reform at Athens (5), at a time when Ε was the only representative of its class, they continued to abide by the old system familiar to them, just as they still adhered to the old Ε for ει (29 ff.), as well as to the old digraphs PH, PS, CH, unmindful of the fact that in Greece these pairs had been long replaced by the simple symbols Φ, Ψ, Χ (5 f. 12. 53. 56).

#### 44. IV. Interchange of ΟΙ with Ι (or ει and Η, cp. 28 ff. 32 ff.).

320 B.C. δυνῖν (and often since) KMeisterhans<sup>2</sup> 124. 320-300 B.C. οἶκα (for οἶκοι) Kühner-Blass i. 135. Φαληρεῖ (for -ροῖ) CIA ii. 768, i. 24. Περιβαίδης (for -βοίδης) Bull. Corr. Hell. 1890 p. 62. 302 B.C. συνδικοῖσεν, GDittenberger 134, 5. 168 B.C. ἡνου (for οἶνου) Louvre Pap. 55, 11-15 (thrice). 162 B.C. συνηκολουθηκίται σοι Gr. Pap. Br. Mus. p. 9, 13-14. 165-158 B.C. διοίκησαν HCollitz. 1529, 28. οἶστο ib. 1339. (Cp. 45.) 101 B.C. τοῖς λοιπέσι CIA ii. 467, 12 f. Αὐγουστοῖσος Le Bas vi. 4, 2388. Ἀκυλοῖσος CIG 7284.

II-III<sup>rd</sup> A.D. οἱ πρώτοι φανέντες Cleemans 117, 11. 131, 30 σπονδὺν for -δὴν. 135, 44 τὰ λυπά for λοιπά. 137, 9 τῆς ποσί. III<sup>rd</sup> A.D. ἀνώγη (for -γοί) FGKenyon Class. Texts p. 95 (= Γ 262). μένοις Gr. Pap. Br. Mus. p. 93, 268. σοι λέγοι (for σὺ λέγη) ib. p. 106, 675. III-IV<sup>th</sup> A.D. ἰκονόμος CIA iii. 1444, 4. ἀντιβίσις (for -βίσις) FGKenyon Class. Texts p. 86 (= B 378). θυμάτην (for -μοί-) ib. p. 88 (= Γ 144). αἰδῖος (for αἰδοῖος) ib. p. 88 (= Γ 172). ἀνηκοδομήσαντος Bull. Corr. Hell. ix. 210 f. ἀδαμαντίνος Great Louvre Pap. 3100. IV<sup>th</sup> A.D. πτονοῦ (for πτη-) Gr. Pap. Br. Mus. p. 24. οἰμᾶς for ἡμᾶς CWessely N. Gr. Zaub. 77, 1. λοιμῶ (for λιμῶ) Gr. Pap. Br. Mus. p. 87, 101. ἐπόθεν (for ἐπήεν) ib. p. 87, 115. V<sup>th</sup> A.D. νοῦσον: λιμκὴν νόσον UWilken Berl. Akad. 1887 p. 819, 9. V-VI<sup>th</sup> A.D. ventre: cilia (i. e. κοιλία) Louvre Pap. 4<sup>b</sup> p. 126. V-VII<sup>th</sup> A.D. στήχι (for στήχοι) CWessely Akad. Wiss. 1889 p. 115. οἰκόια (for οἰκία) ib. 540 A.D. τοῦ προκεμηθέντος CIG 9277. 599 A.D. ἔτιμον CWessely Prol. 68. 618 A.D. ἐνῖκι (for ἐνοικιον) ib. p. 64. ἐνκίου ib. φιβ/ (for φοιβ[άμμων] ib.) τοῖς δεσποίνης τοῖς ἀγίας ib. ἡ προκείμενοι μεμυσθώμεθα Gr. Urk. Berlin 308, 15, VIII<sup>th</sup> A.D. ἡ ἀφθάντες (for οἱ ἀφίντες) Apocal. Petri 17, 34. ἐκοῖνοι I, 2. 730 A.D. Σαρακωνόν (for -κηρόν) ib. p. 5, 66.

So further *προῖα* (for -*νοῖα*) CIG 9111, 4. *ἐν κόλπῃς* 9113 & 9114, 8. *γέγντο. ἐν κόλπῃς* 9115, 10 (also 9121, 9. 9124, 4. 9128, 9). *ἐς κόλπῃς* 9131, 8. *φοιλούθεος* WECrum Coptic MSS. 13<sup>b</sup> (φιλ- ib. 12. 20. 22). *πμῆν* ib. 22 (ποιμῆν ib. 13). *ἰκουμένη* ib. 5. *λιπὼν* ib. 24. 30. (λοιρ- ib. 14. 18. 22. 25). *ὁμος* ib. Ap. v.;—and so on ever since.

45. The argument for the monophthongal pronunciation of *αι* in *A* finds support also in the frequent absence of the augment in verbs beginning with *αι*, as: *οἰκοδομημένοι* (four times during the IV<sup>th</sup> B.C.), beside *ᾤκοδ-* KMeisterhans<sup>2</sup> 137. *ολακοστρόφουν* Aesch. Pers. 768; Bac. 32; *οἰωνίζοντο* Xen. Hell. 1, 4, 14; 5, 4, 17; *οἰνωμένος* regular form from Aristotle onwards. (716 f.; however cp. 26, 8.)

46. For the strikingly frequent interchange of *αι* and *υ* in *G-B* times see 29 and 36.

47. The phonetic interrelation of *αι* and *ι* in the V<sup>th</sup> B.C. is not clearly borne out by the popular confusion of *λοιμός* and *λιμός*, as recorded by Thucydides 2, 54, 2: *ἐν δὲ τῷ κακῷ* (pest) *οἱα εἰκὸς ἀνεμνήσθησαν καὶ τοῦδε τοῦ ἔπου φάσκοντες οἱ πρεσβύτεροι πάσαι φθεσθαι ἥξει Δαριακὸς πόλεμος καὶ λοιμός δι' αὐτῶν. ἐγένετο μὲν οὖν ἔρις τοῖς ἀνθρώποις μὴ λοιμὸν ἀνομάσαι ἐν τῷ ἔπει ὑπὸ τῶν παλαιῶν ἀλλὰ λιμόν. ἐτίκασε δὲ ἐν τῷ παρόντι εἰκότως λοιμὸν εἰρῆσθαι. οἱ γὰρ ἄνθρωποι πρὸς ἃ ἔπασχον τὴν μῆμην ἵποιοῦντο. ἦν δὲ γε, οἶμαι, ποτ' ἄλλος πόλεμος καταλάβη Δαριακὸς τοῦδ' ὕστερος καὶ ζυμβῇ γενέσθαι λιμόν, κατὰ τὸ εἰκὸς οὕτως φασιν.* For the passage only shows: (1) that the *ἔρις ἐγένετο* (arose) after the plague had broken out, since the alternative would have been indicated by Thucydides through the term *ἦν μὲν οὖν ἔρις*, consequently there was but one phonetic version of the old saying; (2) that this original version was understood to mean *λιμός*, the natural concomitant of war, since if the alternative *λοιμός* were in the mind of the people, its very realization afterwards could not possibly have caused surprise and therefore a dispute, the more so as no *λιμός* is mentioned by Thucydides during the siege; (3) that the appearance of *λοιμός* for the expected *λιμός* led to the *a posteriori* substitution of the latter for the former in the version given by Thucydides;—a circumstance which surely suggests a sort of homophony between *ι* and *αι* in Thucydides' time. The contention that 'the very dispute' about the words in question proves their heterophony (Kühner-Blass i. 5, 3 [1]), is utterly indefensible, since the *ἔρις* was not necessarily carried on phonetically but through the spelling (cp. the English set formula 'How do you spell it?'), a round-about process which the unmistakable script rendered needless for Thucydides to mention. Equally untenable is the argument (Kühner-Blass i. 53) derived from Hes. Op. 243, where Zeus is represented to inflict upon mortals *λιμὸν ὀμοῦ καὶ λοιμόν*, seeing that, unlike the above oral saying (*ἔπος φθέμενον*), Hesiod's line was written (even as a private advice to his brother Perseus), and so was meant for the eye, which could not possibly mistake the two words. A similar collocation (*λοιμούς καὶ λιμούς*) occurs in Dion. H. Ars rhet. 17 and so too Luke 21, 11 *λιμοὶ καὶ λοιμοί*.

V. *Αι* (αε) and *ε* interchanged. (See 19<sup>a</sup>. 28 ff. 33 ff.)

48. We have seen above (19<sup>a</sup>) that *αι* was the original spelling of the diphthong *αι*, and that it exchanged its postpositive vowel *ε* for *ι* after the analogy of *ει* *οι* *υι*. This (grammatical) modification in the mode of writing, having been carried out systematically, did not affect ordinary speech, so that *αι* from the outset retained the sound *αι* (that is [ā ?] *ε*) of its predecessor (32<sup>d</sup>). Hence *αι* in *A* admits of another independent *ι* after it, as (V-II<sup>nd</sup> B.C.): *Ἀθηναϊκός* (i. e. *Ἀθηναϊκός*), *Ἀθηναῖς*, *Ἀχαικός*, *Δικαίδης*, *Ἑρμαικός*, *Κορωναικός*, *Πλαταικός*, *Πειραικός*, *Πτολεμαῖς*, &c. (KMeisterhans<sup>2</sup> 26); cp. Boeotian *ἐπρόγΗ* for *ἐπρόγαι*, *ἐπέργεΗ* for *-ταις*, *ἀφελέτΗ* for *-ται*, *ἀπογράφεσΗ*, *δεδόχθΗ*, *ΘειβΗος* for *Θηβαῖος*, *κΗ* for *καί*, *χΗρε* for *χαίρε*, etc., (29<sup>a</sup>.

48<sup>b</sup>; cp. GMeyer<sup>3</sup> § 113), where H stands for E. This association of terminal ι would be unaccountable for Α, if we were to assume another independent ι before it, that is if the ι of the preceding diphthong contained a distinct postpositive i-sound.

48<sup>b</sup>. That the vowel-pair (ae)ai had become a monophthongous e (a ?) before 400 B.C., appears also from the fact that, when η found its way into Boeotia (cp. 5 [1]), this simple symbol took the place of the diphthong (ae) ai, as: 'Αρίστηχος, 'Ηγοσθενίτης, Δημήνετος, 'Ηχμων 'Ηχμόνιος, Φήδιμος, θεράπνηα, Χηρίας, χῆρε, ταμίη (for -αι), τίπτομη, κλήω (κλαίω), 'Αθανῆοι, etc. etc. RMeister i. 238 ff. cp. id. 82 f.—See 29<sup>a</sup> & 48.

49. 2. For the pronunciation of αι as ε since Α compare: Πλαταις, Φηγαεύς, Βησσεύς, Πειρσεύς, 'Ελεούσιος, Κυδαθηναεύς, νέιν (for ναίειν), Μεμακτηριώνα, 'Αθηναῖος, &c.—and conversely 'Ερικαίεύς, Διομαίεύς, Τριεμμαίεύς, ἐλαίου (for ἐλείου), ἔγραυο (for ἔγρευο), καίκλυτι (for κέκλυθι); further ἡσελεύσονται (for εἰσελεύσονται), διφθέρες (for -ραις), συνστήη, φέδιμον, &c.&c.—all in CIA (KMeisterhans<sup>2</sup> 27). So further ἀνέδια CIL iv. 2269. ἐνθάδαι εἰσίσταίω ib. 733. 168 B.C. ἀνίγεται (for -ται) Louvre Pap. 50, 7. 165 B.C. ὁράται (for -ται) ib. 1, 386. 158 B.C. σιμέαν Gr. Pap. Br. Mus. p. 38, 23, 39, 45, 40, 66. 154 B.C. εἰδῆται Louvre Pap. 43, 4. ἔρρωσθαι ib. 43, 1-4 twice. 1<sup>st</sup> A.D. λυμενομένους FGKenyon Class. Texts 76. κλέε ib. 105 (= Ω 1). ἐγών (for αἰγών ib. 106 (= Ω 34). βούλεσθ' αἰπαρήγειν (for -εσθ' ἐπαρήγειν) ib. 106 (= Ω 39). 'Ηφαστος CIG 628 twice. νέειν (for ναίειν) CIA iii. 171, ii. 1-2. ὑμναίωμεν ib. 14. τῇ γυνεῖ, χερε, 'Ρωμέων, κέ (for καί) GIB 177;—and so on ever since [cp. also 299].

49<sup>b</sup>. GCurtius and with him FBlass (Pron. 55) claim to have discovered unmistakable evidence of the pronunciation of αι as a-i in such cases of crasis as κᾶν (for καὶ ἐν), κἀκείνος, κᾶτα, κᾶστιν, and the like. But this phenomenon, which occurs chiefly in verse (161), is inseparable from the widespread practice in Α of freely dropping every intersonantic ι (20<sup>a</sup>. 29), seeing that καὶ not only is a proclitic but also forms an inseparable part of the (metrical) line in the scriptura continua (79. 159. 165<sup>b</sup>).

50. No safe argument for or against the pronunciation of αι-εἰ as e-i, in the III<sup>rd</sup> B.C., can be derived from the famous epigram of Kallimachos (A. P. xii. 28):

Λυσάνη, σὺ δὲ ναίχι καλὸς καλός· ἀλλὰ πρὶν εἰπεῖν  
τοῦτο σαφώς, ἦ χά φησί τις ἄλλος ἔχει

where to ναίχι the echo seems to respond ἔχει, that is *nechi-echi*, seeing that the reply of the echo is, for metrical reasons, given in inverted order (ναίχι καλός—ἄλλος ἔχει). On the other hand, the contention of staunch Erasmians that the echo replies to καλός by ἄλλος (FBlass Pron. 64 f. and Kühner-Blass i. 54[1]) is untenable, since καλός is oxytone and ἄλλος paroxytone, so that the two words could not well lend themselves to parechesis.

50<sup>b</sup>. A general survey of the pronunciation of the sonants in the V-VI<sup>th</sup> A.D. is afforded by a MS in capitals of the IX<sup>th</sup>, published by ABoucherie in the Notices XXIII (1872) pp. 277 ff. and 297 ff. It is entitled 'Ερμηνεύματα, and was composed by Pollux (207 A.D.) for the use of Greeks wishing to learn Latin (ib. p. 290 note: συνέγραψα πάντα τὰ ῥήματα . . . ὅσα ἀφελεῖ ἀνθρώποις φιλητῶν τῆς λαλιᾶς (τῆς) 'Ρωμαϊκῆς). Our copy is the work of a foreigner who knew hardly anything more than the Greek letters, and thus executed a mechanical reproduction of the MS before him, which seems to have belonged to the V-VI<sup>th</sup> (ib. p. 297), so that we may charge most of the blunders in it to his predecessor. Here then we find (ib. p. 300):—ι for εἰ 79 times; ι for η over 50 times; ι for α 8 times; ι for υ 66 times.—εἰ for η

6 times;  $\epsilon$  for  $\iota$  41 times.— $\eta$  for  $\iota$  20 times;  $\eta$  for  $\upsilon$  once ( $\kappa\eta\eta\gamma\acute{o}\varsigma$  for  $\kappa\upsilon\eta\eta\gamma\acute{o}\varsigma$ ).— $\omicron$  for  $\upsilon$  5 times.— $\upsilon$  for  $\epsilon$  2 times;  $\upsilon$  for  $\iota$  10 times;  $\upsilon$  for  $\eta$  once ( $\epsilon\upsilon\theta\upsilon\lambda\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma$ );  $\upsilon$  for  $\omicron$  3 times.— $\epsilon$  for  $\alpha$  54 times;  $\epsilon$  for  $\eta$  37 times (see above 43);  $\eta$  for  $\epsilon$  7 times;  $\omicron$  for  $\omega$  75 times;  $\omega$  for  $\omicron$  22 times.

### B. THE DIPHTHONGS $\alpha\upsilon$ AND $\epsilon\upsilon$ . (See 32<sup>b</sup>, 3. 32<sup>g</sup>.)

51. The diphthongs  $\alpha\upsilon$   $\epsilon\upsilon$  are now pronounced in *N* as *av* *ev*, modified to *af* *ef* before hard consonants ( $\pi\kappa\tau$ ,  $\phi\chi\theta$ ,  $\sigma$ ) (24. 32<sup>b</sup>, 3. 91). This is also the natural result, in accelerated speech, of the original composite sound *au* and *eu* (cp. Latin *u* and *v*, 18), or rather *a\** and *e\** (32<sup>g</sup>), and the phenomenon of labialization is very old, as may be seen from the following inscriptional specimens. (Cp. GMeyer<sup>3</sup> § 119 ff.)

VI-V<sup>th</sup> B.C. *Ναπακτίων* (Lokris) Röhl IGA 321 (*Ναυπ*-ib.). *ἔφθετος* (Corinth) ib. 20, 101. *ἀριστέφορτα* ib. 343, 4. *ἀφροῦ* ib. 409. *ναφυ*... *Δελτ. ἀρχ.* 1888 p. 173. *ἀφντάρ* ib. 1890 p. 130. *ἀφταῖσι* Röhl Dial. Ins. 1267. *ἀφρός* (Crete), DComparetti Mus. Ital. ii. 211 no. 63. *ἀφρα*... 194, 32; *ἀφρόν* 217 f. 77-78; *Ἀφλῶνι*, 231 sqq. 83-84. (Cp. *εὐφετηρίς* HCollitz 1040. 1041. 1267, 7, 21 *ἀφταῖσι*, *ἐφπραγίαις*). See GMeyer<sup>3</sup> § 121. 320 B.C. *Εὐθαίωνος* CIA ii. 836, 40. III<sup>rd</sup> B.C. *εὐδομον* CIG 1563. *εὐδομήκορτα* ib. 1845, 47. 180 B.C. *Λίβιος* Bull. Cor. Hell. vi. 38. *Βίβιος* ib. 43. 169 B.C. *ἐμβλέσαντες* (for *-ψαντες*) Gr. Pap. Br. Mus. p. 38, 15. 156 B.C. *ῥάουδους* Louvre Pap. 40, 33 & 41, 26. 120 B.C. *εὐφήβοισι* CIA iii. 1104, 1. *κατεσκέβασε* CIG 3693. *ἀπελέφτερος* (for *-λεῖθ-*) ib. 5922<sup>b</sup>. *ἐπίστοφσε* Wescher-Foucart Inscr. (1863) p. 312. *Πάβλος* Rev. Arch. sér. 26, p. 382. B.C. 20-30 A.D. *Φλάβιος* CIG 5239 & 5331. *ἄβ* (for *av*) CIG 9653. B.C. I<sup>st</sup>-III<sup>rd</sup> A.D. *Ἀβιάνιος* (twice), *Ἀβιδιανός* (thrice), *Ἀβιδιος* (11 times), *Ἀβίρος*, *Ἀβιος* (thrice), *Φαβώνιος*, *Φαβειανός* (28 times), *Φαββαλιανός*, *Φαββαλλος*, *Φλάβιος* (144 times), *Φλαβώνιος*, *Φλάβος*, *Γαβιανός*, *Γαβιδιος*, *Γάββαλος*, *Γάβιος* (thrice), *Οκταβιανός* (4 times), *Ὀκράβιος* (12 times) *Ραβίννα*, &c. (TheEckinger 16-17). 42 A.D. *Σεβήρος*; *Σεθριανός*, *Σεθρηίος*, &c. ib. 28.

51<sup>b</sup>. The consonantal sound of *v* in *av* and *ev* is further borne out by the phenomenon that in composition initial *p* is not doubled after *εὐ-* (186. 712), as: *εὐρωστος*, *εὐρους* (by the side of *ἀρωστος*, *ἐρρους*). However see also 64 ff. and App. ii. 8 ff. & 14.

52. FBlass (Pron. 82 f.) is wrong in asserting that 'the Greeks represent consonantal *v* by *ou*, even in cases where it is preceded by *a*, *e*: *Ὀκτάουιος*, *Σεουήρος*; and side by side with this appears *Ὀκταῖος*. . . But the fact that *av* and *ev* are written from the second century [A.D.] onwards with *av* and *ev*, though never before [?], suggests that the modern Greek pronunciation had at that time begun, and 'naturally first before vowels. . . For my part I have the greatest hesitation in assigning *av* = *ef* and *φ* = *f* to the time of Hadrian; for before consonants, according to what has been said before, the modern Greek pronunciation cannot have prevailed even in the time of Terentianus Maurus (end of the III<sup>rd</sup>).' All this reasoning is refuted by inscriptional evidence, as: *Βίβιος* (fifteen times, Delos) Bull. Cor. Hell. vi. 29 ff. (185-180 B.C.), *Βαλέριος* (thirty-nine times, Athens), *Φαλίστωρ* i. 288 (III<sup>rd</sup> B.C.), *Φούλβιος* (eighteen times, Gythion), Le Bas, ii. 4, 242 a (80-80 B.C.), &c. (cp. 51). As a matter of fact, Latin *av* is transcribed in the I<sup>st</sup> B.C. three times by *av*, and three times by *αβ*; in the I<sup>st</sup> A.D. twenty-six times by *av*, three times by *av*, and twenty times by *αβ*; in the II<sup>nd</sup> A.D. forty-nine times by *av*, six times by *av*, and forty times by *αβ*. The actual state

## 52-54.] PRONUNCIATION OF ASPIRATAE AND MEDIAE.

of things regarding the transcription of Latin *v* preceded by a vowel into Greek is illustrated by the following summary table drawn by ThEckinger 89:

	v		av			ev			iv		ov			uv			æv	
	ov	β	avv	av	αβ	εov	εiv	εβ	iov	ιβ	oov	ov	οβ	ovov	ov	ovβ	αιov	αιβ
						ηov	ηiv	ηβ					ωβ					
B. C.																		
III <sup>nd</sup> <sub>c</sub>	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—
II <sup>nd</sup> <sub>c</sub>	10	3	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
I <sup>st</sup> <sub>c</sub>	24	5	1	3	3	—	—	—	—	6	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—
A. D.																		
I <sup>st</sup> <sub>c</sub>	98	21	26	3	20	2	2	3	2	8	1	7	1	—	2	—	1	1
II <sup>nd</sup> <sub>c</sub>	234	100	49	6	40	27	9	5	1	—	—	2	1	1	—	1	—	3
III <sup>rd</sup> <sub>c</sub>	65	41	6	3	21	83	17	42	2	3	2	—	2	—	—	—	—	1
IV <sup>th</sup> <sub>c</sub>	23	17	6	—	7	2	—	—	1	1	—	—	4	—	—	—	—	—
V <sup>th</sup> <sub>c</sub>	—	5	—	—	1	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
After 500	6	5	—	—	1	—	—	1	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
Undated	319	203	107	28	136	35	19	18	4	15	4	6	12	1	3	9	6	5
Sum total	779	400	196	43	229	149	47	69	11	34	7	18	20	2	6	10	7	10

53. The prevalent transcription of Greek *τ* (*v*) through Latin *V* (*u*), and conversely of Latin *V* through Greek *Τ*—then of Greek *Β* (*β*) through Latin *B* (*b*) and conversely—represents the traditional or historical spelling, and has no direct bearing on the pronunciation (25<sup>d</sup> f.); while the regular transliteration of Greek *ov* through Latin *u* is a matter of necessity. On the other hand, the occasional appearance in Latin of *ou* is an attempt to imitate Greek *ou* (19<sup>a</sup> & [1]), analogous to that of copying *α* through *ai*, *ει* through *ei*, and *οι* through *oi*. (Cp. 19<sup>a</sup> [1] 29<sup>d</sup>.)

## II. PRONUNCIATION OF THE CONSONANTS.

### A. Aspiratae and Mediae.

54. As there is no real dispute about the pronunciation of the consonants, except in the case of the—

aspiratae *χ θ φ*, sounded by { Erasmians as *c + h*, *t + h*, *p + h*  
 Traditionists as *ch*, *th*(=*β*), *f*  
 and mediae *γ δ β*, sounded by { Erasmians as ordinary *g d b*  
 Traditionists as *voiced gh ð v*,

we shall limit ourselves here to a brief examination of these symbols only. The method to be applied cannot be identical with that adopted in the case of the sonants, because on the whole there is no frequent interchange among the consonants. But we can arrive at safe results by remembering the principle of syllabication (91 ff.) which assigns these consonants to the *following* syllable, so that their sound is determined by that of the next following sound; then by laying under contribution also the often equivocal testimony of the ancient grammarians (25 f.), certain phonopathic phenomena, and the transcriptions into and from Latin, besides the occasional confusion in the inscriptions.

55. The ancient passages commonly adduced by either school in support of its theory are: Pl. Crat. 427 A: Διὰ ταῦτα τὸ λέναι καὶ τὸ ἰεσθαι διὰ τοῦ ἰ ἀπομυμῆται ὥστε γε διὰ τοῦ φ καὶ τοῦ ψ καὶ τοῦ σίγμα καὶ τοῦ ζῆτα, ὅτι πνευματώδη τὰ γράμματα, πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα μεμῆνται αὐτοῖς ὀνομαζόντων ὅλον τὸ ψυχρὸν καὶ τὸ ζῆον καὶ τὸ σείεσθαι καὶ ὅλας σεισμών. καὶ ὅταν πού τὸ φγῶδες μῆται πανταχοῦ ἵσταῖτο ὥς τὸ πολλὸ τὰ τοιαῦτα γράμματα ἐπιφέρειν φαίνεται ὁ τὰ ὀνόματα τιθέμενος. Dion. Thr. in An. Bekk. 631, 18 ff.: 'Ἀφωνα δέ ἐστιν ἐννέα β, γ, δ, θ, κ, π, τ, φ, χ' ἀφωνα δὲ λέγεται ὅτι μᾶλλον τῶν ἄλλων ἐστὶ κακόφωνα, ὥστερ ἀφωφον λέγομεν τραγῳδὸν τὸν κακόφωνον. τοῦτων ψιλὰ μὲν τρία κ π τ, δασέα δὲ τρία θ φ χ, μέσα δὲ τοῦτων τρία β γ δ· μέσα δὲ εἰρηται ὅτι τῶν μὲν ψιλῶν ἐστὶ δασύτερα, τῶν δὲ δασέων ψιλότερα. καὶ ἐστὶ τὸ μὲν β μέσον τοῦ π καὶ τοῦ φ, τὸ δὲ γράμμα μέσον τοῦ κ καὶ τοῦ χ, τὸ δὲ δ μέσον τοῦ τ καὶ τοῦ θ. Dion. H. de comp. II (p. 174 f. Schaef.): Τῶν δὲ καλουμένων ἀφῶνων ἐννέα ὄντων τρία μὲν ἐστὶ ψιλὰ, τρία δὲ δασέα, τρία δὲ μεταξὺ τούτων. ψιλὰ μὲν τό τε κ καὶ τὸ π καὶ τὸ τ, δασέα δὲ τό τε χ καὶ τὸ φ καὶ τὸ θ, κοινὰ δὲ ἀμφοῖν τό τε γ καὶ τὸ β καὶ τὸ δ. ἐκφωνεῖται δὲ αὐτῶν ἑκαστον τρόπον τοῖονδε· τρία μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν χειλῶν ἄκρων, τὸ π καὶ τὸ φ καὶ τὸ β, ὅταν τοῦ στόματος πιασθέντος τὸ προβαλλόμενον ἐκ τῆς ἀρτηρίας πνεῦμα λύσῃ τὸν δεσμὸν αὐτοῦ. καὶ ψιλὸν μὲν ἐστὶν αὐτῶν τὸ π, δασὺ δὲ τὸ φ, μέσον δὲ ἀμφοῖν τὸ β (τοῦ μὲν γὰρ ψιλώτερον ἐστὶν τοῦ δὲ δασύτερον) . . . τρία δὲ ἄλλα λέγεται τῆς γλώσσης ἄκρῃ τῇ στόματι προσερεϊδομένης κατὰ τοὺς μετεωροτέρους ὁδόντας, ἐπειθ' ὑπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος ὑποριπιδιζομένης, κατὰ (read κατὰ) τὴν ἐξέθεον αὐτῇ περὶ τοὺς ὁδόντας ἀποδιδούσης, τὸ τ καὶ τὸ θ καὶ τὸ δ. διαλλάττει δὲ καὶ ταῦτα δασύτητι καὶ ψιλότητι . . . τρία δὲ τὰ λοιπὰ λέγεται μὲν τῆς γλώττης ἀνισταμένης κατὰ τὸν οὐρανὸν ἐγγυὲς τῆς φάρυγγος καὶ τῆς ἀρτηρίας ἀπηχούσης τῇ πνεύματι, τὸ κ καὶ τὸ χ καὶ τὸ γ, οὐδενὶ ταῦτα διαφέροντα τῇ σχήματι ἀλλήλων πλὴν ὅτι τὸ κ ψιλῶς λέγεται, τὸ δὲ χ δασέως, τὸ δὲ γ μετρίως καὶ μεταξὺ τούτων.—And Arist. Quint. p. 89 f. Meib.: Τῶν ἀφῶνων τὰ μὲν δαδ τῶν χειλῶν ἡχεῖται μόνον, τοῦ πνεύματος τὴν ἐμφραξίν αὐτῶν κατὰ μέσον ἐκβιαζομένου, ὡς τὸ β καὶ τὰ τούτου περιεκτικὰ· τὰ δὲ τῆς μὲν παρείας ὑποσαιρούσης, τοῦ δὲ πνεύματος βαγδαίως καὶ εἰς πλάτος προιέμενον, ὡς τὸ γ καὶ (read κατὰ) τὰ ἐκατέρωστε ἀέρα· τὰ δὲ τῶν μὲν ὁδόντων ἐπ' ὀλίγον διαευχθέντων, τῆς δὲ γλώττης οἰσνὲ σφενδονώσης κατὰ μέσον ἀθρόως τὸ πνεῦμα, ὡς τὸ τ καὶ τὸ θ καὶ τὸ τούτων μέσον· τούτων τὰ μὲν ἡρμαῖας προάγοντα τὸν ἀέρα κακὰ τῶν περὶ τοὺς ὁδόντας τόπων, κέκληται τε ψιλὰ καὶ ἐστὶν εὐφωνότερα· τὰ δὲ ἐνδοθεν ἐκ (τῆς?) φάρυγγος ἀνωμασται δασέα καὶ ἐστὶ λῖαν τραχέα· τὰ δ' ἐκ μέσου τοῦ φωνητικοῦ τύπου μέσα τε εἰρηται καὶ τῆς ἀμφοτέρων εἰληχε φύσεως. So too 44: (τῶν ἀφῶνων) τὰ μὲν ἐπιπολῆς κινούντα τὸ πνεῦμα ψιλὰ, τὰ δὲ ἐνδοθεν μετὰ σφοδρότητος ἐξάγοντα δασέα, τὰ δὲ μεταξὺ ποιούντα μέσα προσαγορεύεται. See also Bekk. An. 810 f.

### a. Aspiratae χ θ φ.

56. The aspiratae χ θ φ are sounded according to the Erasmians like two separate elements *k-h*, *t-h*, *p-h* (sometimes symbolized by *κ', τ', π'*), while traditionists pronounce them as simple *ch*, *th* (*p*), *f*, that is χ is sounded by the latter, before the sonants *a o u* and the consonants, like *ch* in Scotch 'loch,' or German 'nach,' 'doch,' and before the sonants *e, i*, like palatal *ch* in German 'Blech,' 'ich' (91). The Erasmian view (which by the way is not unanimous, FBlass, Pron. 104 f.) rests on two considerations: the existence of *kh*, *th*, *ph* in Sanskrit (whose pronunciation, however, is still more hypothetical) and the transliteration into Latin of χ θ φ by *ch*, *th*, *ph*, respectively. But such arguments cannot be seriously entertained in the face of the following data: (1) Latin *f* is always transcribed in Greek by φ. (2) The Latin digraphs *ch*, *th*, *ph* are a reminiscence of the original Greek digraphs κη τη πη (43), which in Greece were subsequently given up in favour of their monoliteral substitutes χ, θ, φ, undoubtedly coined for the special purpose, because their predecessors κη τη πη were felt as simple sounds and the aspiration *h* had long become



extinct (72 f.).<sup>[1]</sup> (3) If *h* was heard in  $\chi \theta \phi$ , the monoliteral representatives of primordial  $\kappa$ -*h*,  $\tau$ -*h*,  $\pi$ -*h*, it is unaccountable why these should not form metrical length as does the corresponding *visarga* (also the *anuswāra* and *anūnasika*) in Sanskrit, or as do  $\xi \psi \zeta$ , the representatives of archaic  $\kappa\sigma$  ( $\chi\sigma$ ),  $\pi\sigma$  ( $\phi\sigma$ ),  $\delta\sigma$  (5 f. 12). (4) Even prevocalic or initial *h*, though easier to pronounce, had been given up already in *A* (72 ff.). (5) In the *A* inscriptions the preposition  $\epsilon\kappa$  remains unchanged before  $\kappa \tau \pi$ , but before  $\chi \theta \phi$  is often changed to  $\epsilon\chi$ , as:  $\epsilon\chi$  Χαλκίδος,  $\epsilon\chi$  Θερραλίας,  $\epsilon\chi$  θηρών,  $\epsilon\chi$  φέρω (KMeisterhans<sup>2</sup> 82); which would be physiologically impossible as  $\epsilon\kappa + h - \kappa + \text{halκίδος}$ ,  $\epsilon\kappa + h - \tau + \text{θηρών}$ . (6) Prevocalic and intervocalic  $\chi \theta \phi$ , as representatives of  $\kappa$ -*h*,  $\tau$ -*h*,  $\pi$ -*h*, ought to interchange inevitably and frequently with  $\kappa \tau \pi$  respectively. (7) Latin, though preserving the aspiration *h*, does not admit of consonantal pairs with *h* as second constituent, for *ch th ph* with Romans were the symbols only for Greek words, according to the archaic mode of writing (43). (8) According to Sextus (adv. gram. 622) and Priscian (i. 11, HKeil), the ancient grammarians (Stoics) usually included  $\chi \theta \phi$  among the *ἡμίφωνα* or *semivowels* (23<sup>b</sup>)<sup>[3]</sup>. (9) If  $\phi \theta \chi$  were sounded like  $p + h$   $t + h$   $k + h$ , there is no reason why popular speech should have simplified words like  $\Sigma\alpha\phi\acute{\omega}$ ,  $\text{Ἀτθίς}$ ,  $\text{Βάκχος}$  to  $\Sigma\alpha\phi\acute{\omega}\omega$ ,  $\text{Ἀθθίς}$ ,  $\text{Βάχχος}$ , since the converse case ( $\Sigma\alpha\pi\acute{\omega}$ ,  $\text{Ἀττίς}$ , etc.) would have been far easier and more natural. (10) Were  $\phi$  pronounced like  $p$ -*h*, it is unaccountable how *v* in the diphthongs *av ev* should have ever been confounded with  $\phi$  and not with  $\pi$  (51 ff.). (11) The nasal *v* is sometimes dropped before  $\phi$  and  $\theta$ , but hardly before  $\pi$ , as:  $\acute{\alpha}\phi\iota$ ,  $\text{Ἀφίτρητη}$ ,  $\text{Νύφης}$ ,  $\text{Νύφας}$  (PKretschmer 162 f.),  $\sigma\upsilon\phi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota$  (ib. 193 f.). (12) Combinations like  $\phi\theta\acute{\omicron}\nu\omicron\varsigma$ ,  $\sigma\upsilon\mu\phi\theta\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omega\varsigma$ ,  $\chi\theta\acute{\omicron}\nu$ ,  $\Sigma\alpha\phi\acute{\omega}$ ,  $\Sigma\alpha\phi\acute{\omega}\omega$ ,  $\text{Ἀτθίς}$ ,  $\text{Ἀθθίς}$ ,  $\eta\rho\chi\theta\eta\nu$ ,  $\eta\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\chi\theta\eta\nu$ ,  $\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\mu\phi\theta\eta\nu$ ,  $\epsilon\chi\theta\acute{\omicron}\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ , that is,  $p$ -*h* +  $t$ -*h*- $\acute{\omicron}\nu\omicron\varsigma$ ,  $\sigma\upsilon\mu p$ -*h* +  $t$ -*h*- $\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omega\varsigma$ ,  $k$ -*h* +  $t$ - $\acute{\eta}\omega\varsigma$ ,  $\Sigma\alpha p$  +  $p$ - $\acute{\eta}\omega$ ,  $\Sigma\alpha p$  +  $h$ - $p$ - $\acute{\eta}\omega$ ,  $\text{Ἀττ} + \text{his}$ ,  $\text{Ἀτ} + h$ - $t$  +  $\text{his}$ ,  $\eta\rho k$ -*h* +  $t$ - $\acute{\eta}\eta\nu$ ,  $\eta\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma k$ -*h*- $t$ - $\acute{\eta}\eta\nu$ , etc., are not only incompatible with Greek phonology (124. 169 ff.), but constitute a physiological impossibility in any actual language<sup>[3]</sup>. See also Bekk. An. 810.

[1] 'It seems very strange that, if  $\phi \chi$  were really spoken as explosives followed by an 'h,' the Greek should have felt the need of new signs to express them—if ΠΗ, ΚΗ exactly denoted their phonetic value, why was this writing abandoned and another adopted which did not clearly represent their sound? It seems a needless and rather senseless innovation on the assumption that  $\phi$  and  $\chi$  were aspirates; if they were spirants, it is easily comprehensible.' EDawes Gr. Aspir. 51. 'Were  $\chi \theta \phi$  sounded like  $k$ -*h*,  $t$ -*h*,  $p$ -*h* respectively, how is it possible to explain that never once in Attica before the time of Enclides whilst H still = h, nor in any other dialect, as for instance in Herculaneum where they had a special sign  $\vdash$  for "h," do we find on an inscription of any kind,  $\kappa h$ ,  $\tau h$ ,  $\pi h$  written in elisions, crases, and compound words for  $\chi$ ,  $\theta$ ,  $\phi$  respectively?' ib. 98.

[2] Those few (*τῶν*) grammarians who classed  $\chi \theta \phi$  among the *ἄφωνα* (Sext. adv. Gram. 622) or explosives, were guided according to HSteinthal (l. 256 & ii. 193) by the observation that, unlike the other continuæ or *ἡμίφωνα*  $\sigma \rho \nu \mu$  ( $\xi \psi \zeta$ ), the three aspiratae  $\chi \theta \phi$  were never found at the end of a Greek word. Priscian i. 11 (HKeil) quare *f* loco mutæ ponatur, miror hanc inter semivocales posuisse 'artium scriptores': nihil enim aliud habet hæc litera semivocalis nisi nominis prolationem quæ a vocali incipit (i.e. *ef*). sed hoc potestatem mutare literæ non debuit; si enim esset semivocalis necessario terminalis nominum inveniretur, quod minime reperies.

[3] Instances like *uphill*, *potherb*, *blockhouse*, etc., are absolutely irrelevant, since here *p*-*h*, *t*-*h*, *k*-*h* are not only heterosyllabic, but even belong to two separate words.

56<sup>a</sup>. 'The consonants  $\theta$  and  $\phi$  had assumed in Boeotia, as early as the V<sup>th</sup> a.c., the sound of  $\beta$  [=  $th$  in *thin*] and  $f$  respectively. For the transition of  $\theta$  to  $\phi$ , which can take place only on the assumption of a spirantic pronunciation of the two consonants, appears effected already in an epichoric inscription:  $\Phi\epsilon\tau\alpha\alpha\omicron\varsigma$  Tan. 49, also  $\Phi\epsilon\tau\tau\alpha\lambda\omicron\varsigma$  Theb. 21<sub>8</sub>, against  $\Theta\epsilon\tau\tau\alpha\lambda\omicron\varsigma$  Thesp. 27<sub>3</sub>, which last preserves the received spelling.' RMeister i. 260. ii. 52.

56<sup>b</sup>. Just as  $\chi$  is palatalized before the sonants  $e i$ , so  $\kappa$  is softened in  $N$  to  $\pi$  or  $\delta$  (not  $\tau\omicron$ ) before  $e i$  which phenomenon is ancient (60). This palatalization is strongest in insular speech, particularly in Thera, Amorgos, Naxos, Chios, Pontos, Crete (especially eastern), and South Italy (where it is altogether assimilated to Italian  $c$ ), as:  $\kappa\alpha\iota = \kappa\acute{\epsilon}$ ,  $\kappa\alpha\kappa\acute{\epsilon} = \kappa\alpha\acute{\kappa}\acute{\epsilon}$ ,  $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\epsilon\acute{\iota} = \acute{\epsilon}\kappa\acute{\iota}$ ,  $\phi\alpha\kappa\eta = \phi\alpha\delta\acute{\iota}$ .

56<sup>c</sup>. In Tsacoonic speech  $\theta$  is sounded like  $\sigma$ , as:  $\sigma\acute{\epsilon}\rho\iota$  (for  $\theta\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omicron\varsigma$ ),  $\sigma\eta\lambda\upsilon\kappa\acute{o}$  (for  $\theta\eta\lambda\upsilon\kappa\acute{o}$ ). (24<sup>c</sup>.)

### b. Mediae $\gamma \delta \beta$ .

57. With regard to the mediae  $\gamma \delta \beta$ , Erasmians pronounce them generally as  $g d b$ , whereas traditionists sound them as *voiced gh, th ( $\beta$ )*,  $v$ , except after a nasal where uncultivated  $N$  speech sounds them as  $g, d, b$ , the natural fusion of  $v + j, v + \delta, v + n$ , as:  $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\gamma\omicron\varsigma, \acute{\alpha}\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma, \acute{\alpha}\nu\delta\epsilon\tau\alpha, \mu\acute{\alpha}\nu\delta\alpha\lambda\omicron\varsigma, \delta\acute{\epsilon}\nu\delta\epsilon\tau\alpha, \gamma\alpha\mu\beta\acute{\rho}\omicron\varsigma, \theta\alpha\mu\delta\acute{\omega}\nu\omega$  (cp. 61). The latter pronunciation is clearly borne out by the fact that in the  $A$  inscriptions the stop  $\kappa$  appears very often changed to  $\gamma$  before  $\beta$  and  $\delta$ , as:  $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\beta\acute{\alpha}\tau\eta\varsigma \acute{\epsilon}\gamma\beta\omicron\lambda\acute{\eta}$ ,  $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma \beta\upsilon\zeta\alpha\tau\acute{\iota}\omicron\upsilon$ ,  $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\delta\omicron\sigma\iota\varsigma, \acute{\epsilon}\gamma\delta\omicron\chi\eta, \acute{\epsilon}\gamma \Delta\eta\lambda\omicron\upsilon, \acute{\epsilon}\gamma \Delta\upsilon\mu\omicron\upsilon$  (KMeisterhans<sup>2</sup> 82 f.). Now the combinations  $\gamma\beta$  and  $\gamma\delta$  cannot symbolize the sounds of  $gb$  and  $gd$ , since before the labial stops  $b$  and  $d$ , the mute  $g$  is much more inconvenient to pronounce than is  $\kappa$ . On the other hand,  $\kappa$  easily passes to *voiced  $\gamma$  ( $gh$  or  $z$ )* before a *voiced  $v$*  or an interdental  $\delta$  ( $\delta$ ).

57<sup>b</sup>. At the same time it may be reasonably averred that  $g, d, b$  being actually established as medial *simple* sounds (57), cannot be declared inadmissible at the beginning of a word (as traditionists claim), unless on the plea of absolute necessity, viz. that the alternative digraphs  $\gamma\kappa(\gamma\gamma), \nu\tau, \mu\pi$  can never stand at the beginning of a Greek word (62. 64). As a matter of fact, both pronunciations  $g d b$  and  $gh \delta v$  are supported by ancient evidence, and the whole case will be better illustrated if we consider each media separately.

58. The media  $\gamma$  is sounded by—

Erasmians like ordinary  $g$ , but before guttural  $\kappa, \gamma, \chi$  like  $n$ ;

Traditionists „ velar  $gh$  „ „ „ „ „  $n$  (189);

then— „ the sonants  $e i$  „ „  $y$  (60).

Thus Erasmians assume a twofold, and traditionists a threefold sound for  $\gamma$  (cp. 189).

59. Leaving aside all theoretical speculation, the traditional *voiced or hard guttural sound  $gh$  or  $z$*  is supported by the following inscripational data:

a. Before a liquida,  $\gamma$  often replaces  $\kappa$ , a phenomenon hardly explicable if we give  $\gamma$  the sound of palatal  $g$ , as:  $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\epsilon\upsilon, \acute{\epsilon}\gamma\lambda\omicron\gamma\eta\varsigma, \acute{\epsilon}\gamma \lambda\iota\mu\acute{\iota}\nu\omicron\varsigma, \acute{\epsilon}\gamma \text{Μακεδονίας}, \acute{\epsilon}\gamma \eta\eta\sigma\omega\upsilon, \acute{\epsilon}\gamma \text{Ρυμοῦ}, \acute{\epsilon}\gamma \text{Ῥόδου}, \&c.$  (all in  $A$  inscriptions; KMeisterhans<sup>2</sup> 82-85). The same sound of velar  $gh$  is indicated by  $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\gamma\omicron\varsigma$  (i.e.  $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\gamma\omicron\varsigma$ ), and misspellings like  $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\kappa\omicron\upsilon\omicron\iota\varsigma, \acute{\epsilon}\gamma\text{Μυρμυριούττης}, \acute{\epsilon}\gamma\kappa \text{Πειραιῶς} \acute{\epsilon}\gamma\pi\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\alpha\sigma\acute{\omega}\nu$  (all 369-300 B.C.), ib. 83 & 84 f.

b. An interchange of  $\gamma$  and  $\kappa$  appears in  $\kappa\alpha\phi\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma$  (VI<sup>th</sup> B.C.),  $\gamma\alpha\phi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\omicron\upsilon$  (IV<sup>th</sup> B.C.),  $\kappa\upsilon\phi\omega\upsilon$  (V<sup>th</sup> B.C.),  $\gamma\upsilon\phi\omega\upsilon$  (IV<sup>th</sup>-III<sup>rd</sup> B.C.),  $\kappa\omega\lambda\alpha\kappa\acute{\rho}\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$  &  $\kappa\omega\lambda\alpha\gamma\acute{\rho}\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$ ,  $\acute{\alpha}\kappa\rho\acute{o}\pi\omicron\lambda\iota\varsigma$  &  $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\rho\acute{o}\pi\omicron\lambda\iota\varsigma$ ,  $\Gamma\omicron\rho\acute{\tau}\upsilon\mu\omicron\varsigma$  &  $\text{Κορτύνιος}$ , KMeisterhans<sup>2</sup> 58. Compare further (since 300 B.C.)  $\gamma\acute{\iota}\gamma\iota\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$  &  $\gamma\acute{\iota}\sigma\iota\mu\alpha\iota$ ,  $\gamma\iota(\gamma)\acute{\omega}\sigma\kappa\omega$ ,  $\acute{\omega}\lambda\iota(\gamma)\omega\acute{\rho}\epsilon\omega$ ,  $\acute{\omega}\lambda\iota(\gamma)\omicron\varsigma$ ,  $\Phi\iota(\gamma)\alpha\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\upsilon\varsigma$ , ib. See also GMeyer<sup>3</sup> § 218.

c. Latin *c* is not rarely transcribed either by  $\gamma$  or by  $\kappa$ , as: *σαράραρον* (sarracum), *στάλη* (scala), *Γάντιος* (Cantius), *Δέκιμος* (Decimus), *Ιούντος* (Iuncus), *Γαμουρέϊνα* (Camurena)—*καλικῶν*, *καλικίων* (caligarum), *καλικάριος*, *κραβάτριος* (grabatarius), *Κάιος* (Gaius), *Ἀγρίκολος* (Agricolus). (ThEckinger 100 ff.)

59<sup>b</sup>. Likewise such misspellings as *δλίος* and *ἐπιταή* for *δλίγος* and *ἐπιταγή* (155<sup>c</sup>), can be explained only on the assumption for  $\gamma$  of a hard guttural sound: *δλίghos* *δλί'os*.

60. On the other hand, that the palatal pronunciation of  $\gamma$  as  $\jmath$ , then of  $\kappa$  and  $\chi$  as  $\acute{\kappa}$  and  $\acute{\chi}$  before the palatal sonants *e i* is ancient (155 f.), appears clearly:—(a) from the inadmissibility at the end of a syllable of  $\gamma \kappa \chi$  (54. 91), these consonants being assigned and accommodated to the next following sound; (b) the unequivocal testimony of Aristid. Quint. p. 89 Meib.: *τῶν ἀφώνων τὰ μὲν διὰ τῶν χειλῶν ἡχέται μόνων, τοῦ πνεύματος τὴν ἔμφραξιν αὐτῶν κατὰ μέσον ἐκβιαζομένου, ὡς τὸ β καὶ τὰ τοῦτου περιεκτικά· τὰ δὲ τῆς μὲν παρείας ὑποσπαιρούσης, τοῦ δὲ πνεύματος ῥαγδῶς καὶ εἰς πλάτος προῖεμένου, ὡς τὸ γ καὶ τὰ (read κατὰ) τὰ ἐκατέρωθε ἀκρα, all of which takes place when we pronounce  $\gamma \kappa \chi$  as palatal  $\jmath \acute{\kappa} \acute{\chi}$ ; (c) from misspellings, like *Σαραπιτήρ* for *Σαραπιτίω* Louvre Pap. 40, 10, & 41, 10 (156 B.C.). *Τραπειανού* Gr. Urk. Berlin 68 (†113-4), 12 & 25. *Τραϊανός* GCurtius Anecd.Delph. 1843 p. 73 (†98-117). *Ἰρείου* for *νίου* SSterret, Arch. Inst. Amer. iii. 331; also i. 85. *τερο[υ]* *δστίου* for *ιερού δστίου* CWessely, Neue Zaub. p. 213 (±300 A.D.). This is moreover conceded by Erasmians too (FBlass Pron. 110).*

61. The remaining two mediae  $\delta$  and  $\beta$  are pronounced by Erasmians invariably as *d* and *b* respectively, while traditionists sound them as buzzes or voiced *th* and *v*, except after a nasal, where popular *N* pronounces them, like the Erasmians, as *d* and *b* respectively (cp. 57)<sup>[1]</sup>. Apart from this partial agreement, it is almost certain that, like  $\gamma$ , also initial  $\delta$  and  $\beta$  were in many cases sounded like *d* and *b* respectively (57). On the other hand the existence of interdental  $\delta$  (i.e. *th* in 'then') and labiodental  $\beta$  is sufficiently borne out not only by its presence in *N*, but also by the tolerably clear testimony of Plato, who speaks (Crat. 427 A) of *τῆς δ' αὐ τοῦ δ συμπίσεως καὶ τοῦ τ καὶ ἀπείσεως τῆς γλώσσης* [especially if we read *καὶ τῆς τοῦ τ ἀπείσεως*]. See also 194 f.

62. In the particular case of  $\beta$  which, above all consonants, has been the subject of controversy, there is conclusive evidence of its having had the twofold pronunciation of *b* and *v* in classical Greek. For the former, we have no criterion in the fact that Latin *b* is regularly transcribed by Greek  $\beta$ , and conversely Greek  $\beta$  by Latin *b*, since this phenomenon is due to the influence of historical orthography (53), but we have an unmistakable proof in the phonetic representation of the sheep-cry by means of  $\beta\eta$  (or rather  $\beta\acute{\epsilon}$ ) 'baa,' in a fragment of Aristophanes (39), an evidence which cannot be refuted by the flimsy retort of some traditionists that the sheep-cry may be variously heard by the various nations. The only reasonable objection that could be raised is that the spelling  $\beta\eta$  ( $\beta\acute{\epsilon}$ ) may have been necessitated by the inadmissibility of the alternative spelling  $\mu\pi\eta$  ( $\mu\pi\acute{\epsilon}$ ), seeing that  $\mu\pi$  can never stand at the beginning of a Greek word (57<sup>b</sup>. 64).

63. On the other hand, for the pronunciation of  $\beta$  as labiodental *v*, a whole series of evidence can be adduced. First, the common

[1] For *A* compare: *Ἀμπρακίωτις* CIA ii. 789, a, 64 (373 B.C.) and *Ἀμπρακιάτων* ib. 184, 6 (323 B.C.).—See also OHoffmann ii. 459 ff.

theory that the sounds *f* and *v* were alien to classical Greek phonology is absolutely refuted not only by general linguistic considerations, but also by the very presence of the digamma *f* in archaic Greek and its almost total replacement by *β* or consonantal *v*<sup>[1]</sup>; next we have the interchange of *av* and *ev* with *aβ* *εβ* in the inscriptions (51. 52); the frequent transliteration of Latin intervocalic *v* by Greek *β* (ib.); the occasional dropping of *μ* before *β* (193); and finally the pronunciation in *N* of *β* as *v*.

### 63<sup>b</sup>. B. LIQUIDS ρ, λ, μ, ν, AND SPIRANTS c z.

Though there is no dispute as to the nature of the sound of the above consonants, it will be advantageous to consider them briefly here.

#### PRONUNCIATION OF ρ.

64. It is unanimously conceded (FBlass Pron. 89) that the ancient Greeks, like their descendants now, pronounced *ρ* with the tip of the tongue. Cp. Pl. Crat. 426 c τὸ ῥῶ ἐμοί γε φαίνεται ὡς περ ὄργανον εἶναι πάσης τῆς κινήσεως ἢν οὐδ' εἶπομεν [?] δὲ ὅ,τι ἔχει τοῦτο τοῦνομα. ib. d τὸ οὖν ῥῶ τὸ στοιχεῖον καλὸν ἰδοῦεν ὄργανον εἶναι τῆς κινήσεως. ib. ε ἔωρα γὰρ τὴν γλῶτταν ἐν τούτῳ (τῷ ῥῶ) ἥμιστα μένουσαν, μάλιστα δὲ σειούμενην. ib. 434 c τὸ ῥῶ τῇ φορᾷ καὶ κινήσει καὶ σκληρότητι προσέοικεν. Dion. H. De comp. 79 R (ἐκφωνεῖται δὲ) τὸ ρ τῆς γλώσσης ἀπορραπισσομένης τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ πρὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν (palate) ἐγγύς τῶν ὀδόντων ἀνισταμένης. It was therefore alveolar, vibrating or trilling, like Scotch, Italian, and Russian *r*; hence when it stood alone or at the beginning of a word, it was felt as a double *r* (a case more or less applicable to interdental *λ* also, 61). This is also shown by the fact that in verse it very often makes position, and, what is equally significant, in the *scriptura continua* it sometimes actually appears as *ρρ* (Kühner-Blass i. 311, cp. KBrugmann<sup>2</sup> § 65). Now as in the separation of words no double consonant was admitted as initial (cp. 57<sup>b</sup>. 62), one of the two *ρ*'s was inevitably dropped, and this omission was later on indicated by the sign of the apostrophe inserted in the shape of the spiritus asper (71<sup>b</sup>. 140). When, however, through composition, it happened to come after a vowel, the original trilling or double *ρ* reappeared, as: καταρρέω, βαθύρροος, ἀπορρώξ, ἱρρεον, ἀρρωστος (but εὔρους, εὔρωστος, i.e. ενρὺς, ενρωστος). (Cp. 51<sup>b</sup>. 185 ff. 712.) [The common theory is that initial *ρ* represents original *sr*, but cp. 73.]

65. It is this trilled character of alveolar *ρ*, especially when it begins a syllable or is terminal, which seems to account for the signal avoidance of terminal -*ρη* in *A*, inasmuch as the trilling with the tip of the tongue involves a back position and cavity in the mouth from which it is inconvenient to pass immediately to the front position required by the palatal *e* and *i* sounds, as: ἡμέρα, ἀργυρά, καθαρά, θώραξ, ἐτέρα, πρηνής (186<sup>a</sup>. 269, 4, 839, 892).

66. The parallel, but less frequent, phenomenon of *metrical position* in the case of *λ μ ν σ* seems to point to a different phonetic process, in that these consonants, unlike all other consonants, are *continuae*, that is they admit of being drawn out or prolonged at will and so act as short or long (cp. 92<sup>b</sup>), i.e. simple or double consonants, as occasion requires (cp. ἔλλαβε, ἔλλαχε, ἔμαθε).

67. In *N* speech there are, properly speaking, three different sounds of *λ* produced by the relative position of the tip of the tongue. If it fails, out of laziness, to reach the palate, it produces an imperfect or indistinct *l* which can be easily mistaken for guttural *r*; this occurs chiefly before the back consonants

[<sup>1</sup>] Thus Lesbian *αῖηρ* = Doric *ἄβηρ* = Attic *ἀήρ*. So too Βορθαγώρας, βίκας, βέρρον, βίτος, βασίλας, βίόλας, φάβος, εὔρυβάνασσα, εὐβάλκης—βύνων, Ἀρχεναίδας, φάνος, ἀνέλλα, ἀνίαχοι, etc. (Kühner-Blass i. 80, 3 a & b).

α ο υ, as in *Sphakia* of Crete (187<sup>c</sup>). If it touches gently the palate, it produces the ordinary *l*-sound, universal in Greece. But if it, or rather its blade, is pressed flatly upon the palate, it produces a thick *l* analogous to the Russian hard *л*, a sound also not unknown in Greece (e. g. at Mesklá in western Crete).

68. Before β γ δ μ, the spirant σ (=ss) changes to ζ (=z), as: Πελασγικόν *Le Bas* ii. 122 (IV<sup>th</sup> B. C.), *πρεζβευτοῦ* 'Εφημ. ἀρχ. 2118, 4. Ζμύρνα, ζβέννυμι often; ἐνδέζουσιν 'Εφημ. ἀρχ. 1883, p. 125, f, γ, 12. 'Ερασμία *CIA* iii. 1553. χρῆσζμόν *Bull. Corr. Hell.* v. 228 (Cos). ψήφισμα *CIA* ii. 468 (†I<sup>st</sup>), ζμάραγδος 'Εφημ. ἀρχ. 1280, 8 (45<sup>+</sup>). So μικρός, μερδαλέος, ζμῆγμα, ζμυνή, ζμίλιον, etc., *Sext. adv. gram.* 638, 19: πότερον διὰ τοῦ ζ γραπτέον ἐστὶ τὸ σμίλιον καὶ τὴν Σμύρναν ἢ διὰ τοῦ σ. *Luc. Jud. Voc.* 9 τῷ ζῆτα ζμάραγδον ἀποσπᾶσαντι καὶ πᾶσαν ἀφελομένην τὴν Σμύρναν. Many more examples in *GMeyer*<sup>3</sup> § 226.

69. For ζ *Erasmians* assume the sound of *sd* or *ds* (*FBlass Pron.* 115-125) on the plea that the grammarians make it consist of σ + δ. But this proves only that the grammarians refer to the actual occurrence in written composition (25. 25<sup>c</sup>) of the combination σδ, which naturally imparts to σ the voiced *s*-sound (cp. *Bekk. An.* 815, 29 ff.), whereas the complex δσ is altogether foreign to Greek. Nor does the other *Erasmanian* argument which rests on such etymological speculations as ἐρίδω ρέζω, δαφινός, ἱζω, μαζός, Ἀθήνα-ζε, etc., deserve any serious consideration (25).—That ζ from the outset represented a *simple* sound appears plainly from the fact that it figures, even in the oldest inscriptions, as a *simple* or monoliteral symbol (in the shape of **⚭**), whereas the alleged double sound *sd* or *ds* would naturally have led to the digraph σδ or δσ, just as ξ and ψ were represented by χσ or κσ and φσ or πσ respectively. And that this *simple* sound of ζ was no other than *voiced s* is evidenced by the above inscriptional and other data (68): Πελασγικόν, πρεζβευτοῦ, Ζμύρνα, ζβέννυμι, ἐνδέζουσιν, ζμάραγδος, etc.—and further corroborated by the testimony of *Dion. H. De comp.* 14 (p. 172 Sch.): τῶν δὲ τῶν ἄλλων γραμμάτων δὲ δὴ διπλᾷ καλεῖται τὸ ζ μᾶλλον ἡδύνει τὴν ἀκοὴν τῶν ἐτέρων (*Dion.* takes strong objection to the 'animal' sound of σ<sup>[1]</sup>). τὸ μὲν γὰρ ζ διὰ τοῦ κ τὸ δὲ ψ διὰ τοῦ η τὸν συριγμὸν ἀποδίδωσι, ψιλῶν ὄντων ἀφωστέρων, τοῦτο δὲ ἡσυχῇ τῷ πνεύματι δασύνεται (read *συνήχει* [is voiced besides] τῷ πνεύματι δασύνεται τε, for the meaningless and contradictory ἡσυχῇ δασύνεται).

#### READING MARKS (προσώδια).

70. Associated with the letters proper are a number of complementary symbols which serve to modulate or regulate the voice in expressing a word or sentence. Leaving aside η and ω, also ε (17<sup>b</sup>), such *reading marks* are generally absent from the Greek inscriptions and the earlier papyri, and though we can trace at all events some of them to the IV<sup>th</sup> B. C., tradition ascribes the genesis of the whole system to *Aristophanes* of Byzantium, a great philologist and librarian at Alexandria during the III<sup>rd</sup> B. C. This system of complementary symbols gradually embraced *ten* signs, called αἱ δέκα προσώδια, and included, besides

[<sup>1</sup>] *De Comp.* 170 ἀχαρὶ δὲ καὶ ἀηδὲς τὸ σ καὶ εἰ πλεονάσειε σφόδρα λυπεῖ θηράδους γὰρ καὶ δλόγου μᾶλλον ἢ λογικῆς ἐφάπτεσθαι δοκεῖ φωνῆς δ συριγμῶς. Now as σ is by far the commonest of all consonants in Greek—it is twice as frequent as ν, the next commonest consonant—the Greek language must be, in *Dionysios'* opinion, fitted better for beasts than for men. (Cp. 25 [1], 267, & 536.)

the reading signs properly so-called, also the breathings, accents, and quantity marks. The whole system consisted of the following symbols: the two signs — and ∪ to denote *quantity* (i. e. length and shortness, cp. 17<sup>b</sup>); the three accentual marks / \ ^ (now shaped ' ` ~); the two breathings ( ' and ' ); the comma (,); and the hyphen —.

1. **Breathings :**
  - ' *smooth* ('spiritus lenis,' ψιλή, originally ∪, shorter ∩ or ∟), as ἀνα, ἐπι
  - ' *rough* ('spiritus asper,' δασεία, originally ∟, shorter ∩), as ὑπο, ῥεω
2. **Accents :**
  - ' *acute* (ὀξεῖα, originally /), as κατά, τίς
  - ' *grave* (βαρεῖα, originally \), as κατὰ, μὴν
  - ~ *circumflex* (περισπωμένη, also ὀξυβάρεια, δίτονος, σύμπλεκτος, originally ^ or Λ then rounded ∪ in order to avoid confusion with the letter Λ), as φῶς μῦς
3. **Stops :**
  - , *comma* (ὑποστιγμή, originally . later ∪ shorter ∩ or ∟), as φερεῖ. later φερεῖ.
  - . *period or full stop* (τελεία), as φερεῖ.
  - *colon* (μέση στιγμή), as φερεῖ.
  - ; *interrogation* (ἐρωτηματικόν), as φερεῖ;
4. **Quantity Marks :** — the μακρά (sc. προσφθία). App. ii. 16.)  
 ∪ the βραχεῖα (sc. προσωδία). App. ii. 16.)
5. **Other Signs :**
  - ( ) *parenthesis* (παρένθεσις, 80)
  - *dash* (παῦλα, 80)
  - ! *exclamation* (θανυμαστικόν, 80)

#### BREATHINGS.

(δασεία and ψιλή [sc. προσφθία], later also πνεῦμα δασὺ and ψιλόν.)

71. Every *initial* sonant is marked with either the smooth or the rough breathing. The smooth ('), called spiritus lenis, has at all times been mute. The rough ('), called spiritus asper, is now sounded by Erasmians like *h*. (See 72 ff.; cp. 56.)

71<sup>b</sup>. Also initial *ρ* is now marked with the rough breathing (64), while *ρρ* may be written either ῥῥ or more commonly simply *ρρ*.

72. Speaking of the breathings, it will be remembered that they never found a place among the letters (70), as they figure in the alphabets of other nations. Their original form, as shown in some old papyri supplied with such signs (e.g. Alkman, Ilias of Bankes), was ∟ and ∪, very soon worn down to ∟ and ∩ (the latter also ∪)—since the XI<sup>th</sup> A.D. to the modern ' and ~—and it is alleged that they originated in the bisection of H, the first half ∟ representing the rough breathing (') and the second half ∪ the smooth breathing (')<sup>[1]</sup>. Now it is true that in many archaic inscriptions H

[1] Bekk. An. ii. 692: τὸ σημεῖον τῆς δασείας, ἥτοι τὸ διχοτόμημα τοῦ Η τὸ ἐπὶ τὰ ἔξω ἀντιστραμμένον . . ., τὸ δὲ ἕτερον τοῦ αὐτοῦ στοιχείου διχοτόμημα τὸ ἐπὶ τὰ ἔσω ἱστρομμένον. And p. 706: ἡ δασεία συναπτομένη τῇ ψιλῇ τύπον τοῦ Η ἀποτελεῖ, οἷον ∟ ∪.

appears still lingering as a Phoenician reminiscence (3), acting as a sort of breathing, either initial (*aspiration*), or medial (*interaspiration*), but in the principal dialects—Ionic, Aeolic (84), to a great extent also Doric—it does not occur at all. As to Attic, its pre-Eucleidian inscriptions show a great irregularity regarding this symbol. For very frequently it is absent<sup>[1]</sup>, still oftener it is added, but even then not always in the right place, according to our present notions; sometimes, too, it is put before *every* initial vowel (as CIA i. 324)<sup>[2]</sup>, and again it often accompanies the consonants ρ, λ, γ, φ, a case precluding the possibility of any aspiration in actual speech; finally, with the close of the V<sup>th</sup> c. B.C., it disappears altogether from the inscriptions. This anomaly admits of two explanations: either that as early as the VI-V<sup>th</sup> c. the Athenians, anticipating our modern Cockneys, dropped their h's, and eventually, with the close of the V<sup>th</sup> c. B.C., the aspiration was altogether done away with, and that even in the polite and literary language, as a useless encumbrance; or, which is more probable, that H lingered as a mere Phoenician antiquity and so was now discarded altogether. This is moreover shown by the significant fact that the rough breathing, whether initial or medial, *never prevents elision* (παρ' οὐ, ἀν-οδος, πάρ-οδος, etc., forms which cannot proceed directly from παρὰ + οὐ, ἀνα + ὁδος, παρὰ + ὁδος, etc., 170 f.)<sup>[3]</sup>, nor actually affects the sound of any preceding consonant, seeing that the case of the tenues is no real exception (171). A further confirmation is finally afforded by its never being considered or mentioned by Plato in the very frequent occasion offered by his etymologies in Cratylus (cp. 41),; by the testimony of Aristotle, who states that the distinction between οὐ and οὔ consists in *stress*, and makes no mention whatever of aspiration (El. Soph. 21; so too 4 & 8); and finally by the absence in A of even a name for it (29<sup>e</sup>). See 84 & App. i. 4 & [1]. See also ESRoberts 104 f.

72<sup>b</sup>. 'The sound h was expressed in old Attic until 403 B.C. by the sign Η; but even in early antiquity an uncertainty prevails in the use of this sign, partly owing to the weak pronunciation of the sound, partly owing to the irruption of the Ionic alphabet, h being frequently omitted, occasionally also (at least in the late inscriptions of the V<sup>th</sup> c.) erroneously added. Thus, an inscription of 418 B.C. omits all h's save in the word *τέπος*, which occurs four times. Conversely, in an inscription of 408 B.C., h is prefixed indiscriminately to almost every initial vowel.' KMeisterhans<sup>3</sup> 65-67 (where numerous instances are cited).

73. Modern philologists are generally agreed in tracing the origin of the aspiration in Greek back to the Indo-European common stock. But it is a curious phenomenon, commonly overlooked, that just in those cases where Greek tradition is unanimous in the use of the spiritus asper, as in the initial β- and φ-, the assumed Indo-European prototype shows no aspiration. Cp. HDDarbishire 24 f. & 55 ff. (64).

74. Our present practice of marking the rough breathing originated during H times (70). Like all other προσᾶδαι, this sign was devised by the grammarians and placed, as a diacritic mark, above the initial sonants of certain words which, judging from their effect in composition, were originally aspirated (κάστροφος οὐδός, ἐφίστημι

[1] In about 150 instances, according to PCauer in Curt. Stud. viii. 232 ff.

[2] This inscription (408 B.C.) teems with confusions: *Ηοικεῖν* passim (beside *οικεῖν*), *κατιστάσιν*, *ἔδραν* (often), *Ἡεν* (for *ἐν*), *Ἡαπό*, *Ἡικρίωμα*, *Ἡοροφή*, *Ἡερτός*, *ἄρμα*, *Ἡεχόμενος*, *Ἡεργαζόμενος*, *Ἡεύδοφος*, *ἑιστήκει*, *ἑπέας*, *ῆ* (for *ῆ*), etc.

[3] Solitary instances, like *πάρηδρος*, *καθῆπερ*, *μηδενί* (440-400 B.C.) (KMeisterhans<sup>3</sup> 67) do not testify to the actual presence of interaspiration at the time, but merely point to an artificial compromise of original 'parathetic' *παρὰ-ἑδρος*, *κατὰ-ἑπερ*, *μηδε-ἑνί*, with contemporary *πάρηδρος*, *καθῆπερ*, *μηδενί*. (Cp. 1110, 1138.)

ῖστημι). As time went on, this practice met with favour among their Byzantine successors, and ultimately found its way into our MSS, though its systematic application dates only from the VII<sup>th</sup> A.D. (76<sup>c</sup>).

75. The sign of the *smooth breathing* or *spiritus lenis* (') is never found in the inscriptions and papyri, nor in the oldest MSS. Like the rough breathing, it is alleged to have been invented by Alexandrian grammarians (70). It is only since the VII<sup>th</sup> A.D. that it has been systematically applied in the MS texts as a mere *negative* sign, that is, to emphasize the absence of aspiration.

#### ACCENTS OR ACCENTUAL MARKS.

76. The Greek language, though it unquestionably indicated the accent at all times, shows no marks for it either in the inscriptions or in the earlier papyri (72). Nevertheless, as early as 4 times the theorists had observed that not only every word is stressed, but that every syllable bears a relatively higher or lower stress<sup>[1]</sup>, and endeavoured to express this stress by conventional signs which we may call here 'accentual marks<sup>[2]</sup>'. Hence the system was adopted of marking *every unstressed* (or rather lower stressed) syllable with a bar slanting from the left to the right \ and called *προσφῶδια βαρεία* (Latinized *accentus gravis*), while the one bearing the dominant stress was marked with a bar slanting from the right to the left / and called *προσφῶδια ὀξεῖα* (Latinized *accentus acutus*). Thus:—

ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΣ ΛΕΓΟΜΕΝΟΙ ΜΗΣΑΜΕΝΟΙ ΕΠΕΣΣΕΥΟΝΤΟ,

a practice which is attested by several instances in the Harris papyrus of Homer (I<sup>st</sup> A.D.)<sup>[3]</sup>. When two consecutive syllables, thus accented, were contracted to one, the theorists indicated the process by joining the two slanting bars either at the top or at the bottom: \*ΚΕΕΠΟΣ ΚΗΠΟΣ, ΦΑΟΣ ΦΩΣ, ΜΙΣΘΟΜΕΝ ΜΙΣΘΟΥΜΕΝ, ΕΣΤΑΟΣ ΕΣΤΩΣ, ΜΙΣΘΟΜΕΘΑ ΜΙΣΘΟΥΜΕΘΑ, and called the resultants Λ and V *περισπωμένη* (*circumflexus*) and *ἀντακλωμένη* respectively (App. i. 19 g').

76<sup>b</sup>. As time went on, the regular addition of the grave was found to be useless and cumbersome (82<sup>a</sup>), and so scribes dropped it altogether (retaining it only as far as it was contained in the circumflex Λ, 77), so that the above words came to be marked simply thus:

ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΣ ΛΕΓΟΜΕΝΟΙ ΜΗΣΑΜΕΝΟΙ ΕΠΕΣΣΕΥΟΝΤΟ ΚΗΠΟΣ  
ΦΩΣ ΜΙΣΘΟΥΜΕΝ ΕΣΤΩΣ ΜΙΣΘΟΥΜΕΘΑ<sup>[4]</sup>.

[1] It is well known among phoneticians that each single syllable in a word has its accent, with this difference, that one particular syllable among them bears the relatively highest or dominant stress. The prominence thus given to this particular syllable has led to the popular practice of calling this stress the accent *par excellence*, while all other (secondary) degrees of accent, being overpowered by the dominant, have been lost sight of. Hence the common saying that each word has only one accent, meaning by it the dominant accent. (Cp. 81 & App. i. 3, 9 [1].—Varieties of such acoustic accent are mentioned also by Plato (Crat. 399 A-B; 416 B), and other contemporaries, who distinguish between Διὶ φίλος and Διόφιλος, Γλαῦκος and γλαυκός, Εἴανθος and ξανθός (App. i. 2 ff.; Kühner-Blass, i. 318).

[2] The six *προσφῶδια* attributed by Varro (iv. 530, HKeil) to Glaucos cannot all apply to acoustic accent. In fact all those terms—*ἀναιμένη*, *μύση*, *ἐπιτεταμένη*, *κεκλασμένη*, *ἀντακλαζόμενη* or *ἀντακλωμένη*, *περίσπασις* (otherwise *περισπωμένη*), *δίτονος*, *ἀνυβάριαι*—refer to the three graphic symbols / \ Λ, and so have no specific value. See App. i. 1 & 5, ii. 16.

[3] The practice of supplying the syllables with accentual marks in Aristotle's time is alluded to by him as a kind of novelty (El. Soph. 20, 3): *ἤδη παράσημα ποιοῦνται*. (See App. i. 1-4).

[4] I Philoronomos Τονιὰ παραγγέλματα p. 6: καθ' ἐκάστην λέξιν ἐν μὲν συλλαβῇ



76<sup>c</sup>. The systematic application of accentual marks to MS texts dates only since the VII<sup>th</sup> A.D. (cp. 74 f. 80.).

77. The above historical sketch of the development of the accentual marks makes it sufficiently clear that, for practical purposes, the ancient Greeks, like modern phoneticians, recognized two degrees of accent: the stressing (rising ?) or acute ( / ), and the relaxing (falling?) or grave ( \ ), while a combination of the two, the circumflex ( ^ ), was a merely concrete symbolization of the rising and falling (better of the stressing and relaxing, or percussion and remission, 85 ff.) of the tone present on two successive sonants like φῶς and ἰππεῖ previous to their contraction. It is evident, however, that as soon as such successive sonants had, under the influence of accent (stress or ictus), merged to a simple sound, be it in the form of a simple vowel (φῶς) or a diphthong (ἰππεῖ), involving one position of the mouth, the accent was of necessity reduced to the dominant or acute, and the retention of the unstressed or grave mark as an appendant to it (76<sup>b</sup>) was merely intended to symbolize graphically the phonetic process which had taken place on the resultant or contracted sonant. The absolute identity of the circumflex and acute is moreover shown by their equal treatment in the operation of the tonoclis (104 ff.), as: φῶς τε, φῶς ἴστιν, καλός τε, καλός ἴστιν<sup>[1]</sup>. The theory therefore that in A the acute denoted a rising ( / ), and the grave a falling ( \ ) of the voice, is, in a certain sense (App. i. 8), correct, whereas the belief that the circumflex denoted a rising-falling ( / \ ) of the voice, is only so far admissible as it refers to its original form ( ^ ), when it clasped two separate vowels, but as soon as these two vowels had 'contracted' to one sonant involving one position of the mouth, the contention that the circumflex still continued to denote the original rising-falling of the voice is a purely theoretic speculation, utterly impossible in actual speech and without parallel in language. For the appeal to the Sanskrit *svarita* is a demonstration of *incertum per incertius*<sup>[2]</sup>, and the few supposed analogues adduced from living languages are either irrelevant interjections (really ? ! ja ! ?) or imaginary cases.

77<sup>b</sup>. On the other hand, it must not be inferred that, because all three accentual signs ( / ^ \ ) came to symbolize one and the same accent, the higher stress or acute (their absence indicating the presence of the lower

τίθεμεν ἡ ὀξεῖαν ἡ περισπωμένην, ἐν δὲ ταῖς λοιπαῖς συλλαβαῖς βαρεῖαν, ὅλον ἐν τῷ Μινελᾷ (ἡ) δευτέρᾳ συλλαβῇ ὀξύνεται, αἱ δὲ λοιπαὶ βαρύνονται. καὶ ἐν τῷ Ἀλλοῖδῳ ἡ μίση περισπᾶται, ἡ δὲ πρώτη καὶ ἡ τρίτη βαρύνονται. (Compare Notices XVIII. ii. 417.) Schol. ad Dion. Thr. in Bekk. An. ii. 688 'ἡ βαρεῖα συλλαβικὸς τόνος ἴστί, τουτέστιν εἰς τὴν συλλαβὴν τὴν μὴ ἔχουσαν τὸν κύριον τόνον ἐπιτίθεται.' ἐξηγουμένους ὁ περὶ τῶν προσφθιῶν τὸν λόγον ποιούμενος ἡστί ἐλέγετο παρὰ τοῖς ἀρχαίοις συλλαβικὸς τόνος ἡ βαρεῖα, φησὶν δὲ ἐπὶ πάσης συλλαβῆς τῆς μὴ ἔχουσας τὴν ὀξεῖαν ἐτίθετο. ἦν γὰρ κανὼν ὁ λέγων ὅτι πᾶσα συλλαβή, χωρὶς τῆς συλλαβῆς τῆς ἔχουσας τὸν κύριον τόνον, τὴν βαρεῖαν ἐπιδέχεται· ὅλον θεόδωρος· τὸ θε καὶ τὸ δω καὶ τὸ ροc βαρεῖαν ἔδεχοντο. τὸ γὰρ ο τὸν κύριον τόνον εἶχε. κύριος δὲ τόνος καλεῖται ἡ ὀξεῖα ὅτι ἐπιτείνει τὴν φωνήν. καὶ ὅθεν δηλον· ὅτι πᾶσαι αἱ ἄλλαι συλλαβαὶ αἱ μὴ ἔχουσαι τὴν ὀξεῖαν, ἄνευ ἔχουσιν. Ἔτι τὴν αἰτίαν ἀποδίδους δι' ἣν οὐ τίθεται νῦν ἐπὶ πάσης συλλαβῆς ἡ βαρεῖα φησὶν· 'ἵνα μὴ καταχαράσσονται τὰ βιβλία τοῦτο νῦν οὐ γίνεται.'

[1] Hence Plato identifies πᾶν and Πᾶν in every respect: Crat. 408 c ὁρθῶς ἀρ' ἂν ὁ πᾶν μνησκὼν καὶ αἰεὶ πολὺν Πᾶν ἀπόλος εἴη. Cp. also 85 f. 85<sup>c</sup> (but also 25<sup>c</sup>).

[2] 'The independent *svarita*, which is everywhere of a binary origin, appears as the union of a higher with a lower tone within a syllable. In its nature therefore it is identical with the Greek circumflex, but its origin is a different one. For it commonly appears only there where a short or long vowel is followed by an *i* or *u*, provided with the *udatta* and acting as *y* and *v* respectively.—The identification of the independent *svarita* in the vocative *dṛāus* with the circumflex in Greek Ζεῦ, as represented by Brugmann in his *Grundriss* i. 539, is hardly tenable.' Hhrt 20 f. so too Wackernagel § 244, and PKretschmer Einl. 78.—Cp. App. i. 11 [3].

*stress* or *grave*, 76<sup>b</sup>; cp. 75), Greek accent in classical antiquity was in every respect identical with modern English or German accent; it was rather similar to modern Greek and Italian or Spanish accent which, as is well known, is less intensive and consequently does not overpower or perceptibly reduce (syncopate) unaccented syllables (App. i. 11 & [1], 17 & [1]).

78. In a diphthong the *second* vowel conventionally receives both breathing and accent, as : εὐθύς, εὖ, αὔριον, εἶχον, φεογε, αἶμα, ποίει, ποιεῖ, οὐ, οὗτος, τοῦτο.

78<sup>b</sup>. This practice, which dates from *M*, is both historically and rationally wrong. For whether we admit a resolved or a monophthongal pronunciation, in inscriptions and papyri, so far as they show any breathings, the sign H or ı is regularly placed *before* or *above* the *first* (initial) vowel of a diphthong word. This naturally applies with equal force to the accentual marks when placed over the mute or consonantized element of a diphthong (as in αἶ, ηῖ ωῖ—αυ ευ ηυ ου), or when placed over the postpositive vowel of a diphthong pronounced in the Erasmian fashion, seeing that in the union of two vowels in what Erasmians call a diphthong the first remains dominant and the second performs a semi-consonantal function (18. 19. 32, 3. 32<sup>a</sup>). This is also shown first by the very constitution of the circumflex ˘ which stresses the prepositive vowel, and then by the present sound of αυ ευ as αὐ εὐ or αἶ εἶ, which could proceed only from αὐ εὐ [αὐ εὐ], never from αὐ εἶ : νεῦρον νάτης = νέτρον νάτης not νεοῦρον νάτης. (Cp. further πᾶς, εἷς, etc., and the spurious diphthongs q, p, φ in 19 ff. 31 ff.)

79. The four stops (, . ' ;) (70, 3) are generally absent from the old inscriptions and papyri (70), the custom with the ancients being to write all words in an unbroken line, called *scriptura continua* (25<sup>c</sup>). When the necessity for such stops arose among Alexandrian grammarians, they resorted to the use of the full-point in a threefold but reverse sense, that is, the high point or τελεία στιγμή, which denoted the complete close of a sentence, was placed at the top of the last letter (as in γράμμα); the μέση στιγμή, which corresponded to our semicolon, was a simple point in a middle position (as in γράμμα), whereas the point on the line (ὑποστιγμή) was equivalent to our comma [1]. The form of our modern comma (,) was also known and called ὑποδιαστολή or (βραχεία) διαστολή, but served in the 'scriptura continua' to separate two words liable to confusion, as: ΕΣΤΙΝ,ΟΥΣ and ΕΣΤΙ,ΝΟΥΣ. It is still sometimes used as a distinctive mark, as δ,τι = 'whatever,' εἰτι = 'that.' In process of time the μέση στιγμή disappeared, and about the IX<sup>th</sup> A.D. the regular comma (,) took its place.

80. The English colon (:) is rendered in Greek by a simple dot (·), called μέση στιγμή (79, but cp. 2032). The note of *interrogation* dates from the IX<sup>th</sup> of our era. In their present form, the note of *exclamation* (anciently marked by a semicolon) (;), the *parenthesis*, the *dash*, and the *quotation marks* (2032 f.), were unknown to the Greeks; these signs have been introduced into the Greek texts by critics of the present century, chiefly by FrWolf.

#### ACCENTUAL TERMS.

81. In Greek every word has one, and only one, accent (76 & [1]), which, in consequence of its dynamic nature (85 f.), is restricted to the last three syllables, and can never recede beyond

[1] Dion. Thr. in Bekk. An. ii. 630 στιγμή εἰσι τρεῖς, τελεία, μέση, ὑποστιγμή. καὶ ἡ μὲν τελεία στιγμή ἐστὶ διανοίας ἀπηρτισμένης σημεῖον· μέση δὲ σημεῖον πνεύματος ἔνεκεν παραλαμβάνομενον· ὑποστιγμή δὲ διανοίας μηδέποτε ἀπηρτισμένης, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ ἐνδεούσης σημεῖον. For more details see Schol. ib. 758 ff.

the third syllable from the end (*trissyllabotony*). It is chiefly this system of trissyllabotony that accounts for the development and preservation in Greek of its eminently inflectional character (32<sup>c</sup> ff. App. i. 9). Of the three accentual marks now used—

81<sup>b</sup>. The acute (´) can stand over any ('long or short') syllable among the last three. If it stands over the very last (*ultima*), the word is called *oxytone*, as *νομός*; if over the last but one (*penultima* or *penult*), the word is called *paroxytone*, as *νόμος*; if over the last but two (*antepenult*[*ima*]), a case admissible only when the *ultima* is 'short,' the word is called *proparoxytone*, as *παράνομος*.

82. The grave (`) can stand only over the *last* syllable as a substitute for the acute, when the latter would not be immediately followed by a pause (stop or comma), as : σοφός ἀνὴρ, and ἀνὴρ σοφός.

82<sup>b</sup>. This practice seems to rest on the analogy of unaccented (barytoned) syllables and proclitics (94 ff.). Just as unstressed syllables, now unaccented but originally marked with the grave (76 f.), stand in the relation of dependency to that bearing the dominant accent; just as the proclitics attach themselves to the leading word, for which they formerly received the secondary or grave accent (95 f.): so ordinary single words in a sentence, as constituent parts of a connected whole, are treated as if they were proclitics, and so are marked with the grave accent, conceived as the sign of continuation.

82<sup>c</sup>. Compare Schol. ad Dion. Th. in Bekk. An. ii. 674 f. ἡ βαρεία συλλαβὴς τόπος ἐστί, ταυτέστιν εἰς τὴν συλλαβὴν τὴν μὴ ἔχουσαν τὸν κύριον τόπον ἐπὶ τέλους ἐτίθετο. ἀλλ' ἵνα μὴ καταχαράσσωνται τὰ βιβλία, τοῦτο νῦν οὐ γίνεται, ἀλλ' εἰς τὸν τόπον τῆς ὀξείας ἐν τῇ συνεπείᾳ τίθεται, ὅσον ἀνθρωπος καλός. ἰδοὺ γὰρ εἰς τὸ λος ἐνταῦθα ἐτέθη ἡ ὀξεία ὅτι ἐπὶ τέλους ἐβρέθη. ἐὰν δὲ εἴρητε καλός ἀνθρωπος, ἰδοὺ ὅδε εἰς τὸ λος ἐτέθη ἡ βαρεία ὅτι μετὰ ταῦτα ἐβρέθη τὸ ἀνθρώπος.—Anā 689 οὐχ ἀπλῶς τίθεται ἡ βαρεία εἰς τὸν τόπον τῆς ὀξείας, ἀλλ' εἰς ἐκείνον μόνον τὸν ἐπὶ τῆς ληγοῦσης εὐρίσκόμενον, καὶ ταῦτα ὅτε οὐδὲ ἡ ἔννοια ἀναπαύεται ἀλλ' ἐστὶ συνέπεια, ἥτοι μετὰ τὴν ὀξύτονον λέξιν εὐρίσκεται καὶ ἑτέρα λέξις. . . . 690 συνέπεια γὰρ ἐστὶ ἡ συναρμογὴ τῶν λέξεων καὶ συνεκφήνησις . . . ζητήσεαι δ' ἂν τις διατρίβῃ, ἐπὶ τέλους τῆς ὀξύτονου λέξεως εὐρίσκομένης, τίθεται ἡ βαρεία. ἐστὶν οὖν εἰπεῖν ὅτι ἡ σιγμὴ καὶ ἡ ἀνάπαισις τῆς φωνῆς οὐκ ἐὰν βαρείαν τεθεῖναι, ἀλλὰ κρουστικωτέραν, ἵν' οὕτως εἴπω, τὴν λέξιν ἀπεργαζομένη ὀξύνεσθαι ταύτην βιάζεται. οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶν ἑτέρα λέξις ἐπαγομένη ἵνα συγκαλύψῃ τὸν ἦχον τῆς ὀξείας. Choer. ib. 707, 27 ἰστέον δὲ ὅτι πᾶσα λέξις ὀξύτονος, ἐν τῇ συνεπείᾳ ἦχον ἐν τῇ φράσει (read συμφράσει), κοιμίζει τὴν ὀξείαν εἰς βαρείαν χωρὶς τοῦ τίς . . . δεῖ δὲ ἐν τῇ κανόνι προσθεῖναι χωρὶς εἰ μὴ ἐπιφέρεται σιγμὴ ἢ ἐγκλιτικόν. ἐὰν γὰρ ἐπιφέρεται σιγμὴ ἢ ἐγκλιτικόν οὐ κοιμίζεται ἡ ὀξεία εἰς βαρείαν.

83. The circumflex (ˆ or ˘) can stand over a 'naturally long' *ultima* or *penult*. If over the *ultima*, the word is called *perispomenon*, as *φιλῶ*; if over the *penult*, the word is called *properispomenon*, as *κῆπος*.

a. For the origin and value of the circumflex see 76 ff.

b. A word having no accent over the *ultima* is called *barytone*, because the *ultima* was originally marked with a *βαρεία* or grave accent (76 f.).

[10. Alex. 6, 15 *βαρίτονα* καλεῖται τὰ παροξύτονα καὶ προπαροξύτονα καὶ προπερισπώμενα, διὸ (τι) ἡ τελευταία τούτων βαρύνεται.]

84. Aeolic on the one hand discarded the *spiritus asper* (72), and on the other drew the accent as far back from the end as possible (except in the case of prepositions and conjunctions as *tonoclitica*, 94), as: *ὁ, οὗτος, ὅλις—πόταμος, αὐτός, ὅλος, ἀπαλος, Σάπφω, δύνατος, Ἀφρόδιτα, βασιλεὺς, λεῦκος, σκληρός, σόφος, ξίμοι, νόεις*. These two peculiarities of Aeolic are designated as *psilosis* and *barytonesis* (*ψιλωσις, βαρυτόνησις*). Cp. Apoll. de const. 38, 127 (Bekk.) ἄλλοι μὲν Ἕλληνες βαρύνουσι τὰ φωνήεντα, Ἀιολεῖς δὲ οὐδαμῶς—and Schol. ad Dion. Thr. in An. Bekk. 716, οὐ πάντων γὰρ ἔστιν ὁ λέγων ὅτι οἱ Αἰολεῖς ἐν ταῖς ἰδίαις λέξεσι τὴν βαρύναν ὅλος ἀγνοοῦσιν. Hdn. ii. 825, 13 οἱ Αἰολεῖς . . . πᾶσαν λέξιν ὑπὲρ μίαν συλλαβὴν παρ' ἡμῖν δεύτονον βαρύνουσι χωρὶς τῶν προθέσεων καὶ τῶν συνδέσμων. (RMeister I. 31 ff. OHoffmann ii. 526 ff.)

84b. To judge from old Indian (Vedic and Sanskrit), Latin, Aeolic [1], and numerous instances in Attic (cp. 257<sup>b</sup>. 704), the Greek accent on the whole was *recessive*, thus tending to barytonesis or rather proparoxytonesis (32<sup>d</sup>, 2).

## ACCENT AND ICTUS.

85. As in all other languages, so in Greek accent was and still is 'dynamic' denoting *stress* (32<sup>d</sup>. 77<sup>b</sup>, App. i). It appears under two different forms, according as it applies to ordinary *speech* or to *verse*.

a. In ordinary *speech* accent is the percussion or stress put on one among several syllables of a word. The syllable thus made prominent is fixed by general consensus and so appears natural to us. It may be termed the *speaking accent* or *tonic stress*.

b. In *verse* or rhythmical composition accent is the percussion or emphasis given to one among several syllables forming a rhythmical group or measure (*pois*). The syllable thus stressed is selected by the versifier and its place determines the nature of the rhythm. This kind of accent appears as artificial and is distinguished from natural accent as 'metrical (or rhythmical) beat,' as *ictus*. Reciting according to it is called *scanning* or *scansion*.

85b. Speaking accent and ictus then are identical in nature but different in application. In this way, while speaking accent is the soul or pulse of speech, ictus is the soul or pulse of rhythm (metre). As a matter of course, grammar considers only the speaking accent which it designates by the simple term *accent*.

85c. The identity of speaking with metrical accent (of stress with ictus) on the one hand, and the identity of the acute with the circumflex on the other (77 & [1]), finds a striking illustration in the anecdote told of Eur. Or. 279 ἐκ κυμάτων γὰρ ἀγῆθις ἀγ' γαλήνῃ ὁρῶ: κεκωμῶδηται δὲ στίχος διὰ Ἡγέλοχον τὸν ὑποκριτὴν· οὐ γὰρ φθάσαντα διελεῖν τὴν συναλοιφὴν, ἐπιλείψαντος τοῦ πνεύματος, τοῖς ἀκρουμένοις τὴν γαλήνῃ δόξαι (if not ἔδοξε) λέγειν, τὸ (ῥον ἀλλ' οὐχὶ τὰ γαλήνῃ· πολλοὶ μὲν οὖν αὐτὸ διεπαῖψαν τῶν κωμικῶν, Ἀριστοφάνης, etc. (so too Ar. Ran. 303)—where γαλήνῃ ('oalm') was mistaken for γαλήν ('cat' or 'wassel'), and thus caused a derision (κεκωμῶδηται, διεπαῖψαν). To attribute the derision to the intermission of the elision or to the mispronunciation of the accent (γαλήνῃ γαλήν), as is sometimes argued, is to forget that such a discordance or jarring in enunciation would have caused not derision but displeasure, a hardly appropriate point for popular fun. Cp. 77 [1].

85d. The identity of the speaking accent with the ictus is further evidenced first by direct ancient testimony (Quint. 1, 5, 28; Victor. 31, 17; Anson. 4, 47), and then by their complete analogy in both usage and effect, and it would not be a bold

[1] Apparently Cypriot also, as: *κύρσα* for *καρδία*, *ἀγανα* for *σαγήνην*, etc. OHoffmann, ii. 232.

theory to assume that the rhythm of Homeric verse was suggested by accent. Just as speaking accent in Greek was regressive but falling, so was the dactylic rhythm (2 3); just as Greek accent was restricted to the last three syllables, so Homeric rhythm played on three syllables, the dactyls corresponding to proparoxytona and the spondees to paroxytona; just as accent can reduce an adjoining syllable (App. i. 13 ff.), so can the ictus reduce an adjoining syllable (as § 363 ἤραος ~; cp. A ἀτρή, τούτου, τούτῃ, ταυτῇ, οὐτοῖ, αὐταῖ—all ~ etc.). Cp. 574.

## QUANTITY.

86. Technically (metrically and grammatically) considered, a syllable counts *short* when it has a 'short' vowel followed by either another vowel or a simple consonant. (17<sup>b</sup>. 89 f. App. ii.)

87. A syllable counts *long* either—

1. *by position* (θέσει), when it has a 'short' vowel, but this vowel is followed by two consonants or a compound consonant, as ὄργῃ, ὄψον, πιστός. (App. ii. 5 f.)

2. *by nature* (φύσει), when it has a 'naturally long' vowel or a diphthong (17 f.);

88. A syllable is called *common* or *doubtful* (also *variable*, 17), counting either short or long, when it has a naturally short vowel followed by a combination of one mute (γ, β, δ) with the liquid ρ, sometimes also λ. (Cp. 64 f. and App. ii. 5 f.)

88<sup>b</sup>. Original and genuine (physiological) quantity is that effected by *position*. What we are wont to call 'natural quantity' is really hystero-geneous and compensatory, having developed from lost 'position' by artificial means and for metrical purposes. For the historical development of this phenomenon see 89 and particularly App. ii. 6-15.

89. As a matter of course, previous to the adoption of η and ω (6), the Greeks knew nothing of the technical terms 'long vowels' and 'short vowels.' In reciting or reading verse, the prevalent kind of literature then cultivated (29 f.), they were guided by the rhythmical accent (85, b) which in those times was indicated by the audible putting down and raising of the foot,—the θέσις (also βάσις) καὶ ἀραις τοῦ ποδός,—the θέσις corresponding to the rhythmical beat or percussion (ictus) and the ἀραις to the remission or fall, a practice which originated in the orchestics and accounts for the designation of a metrical unit or measure by the term ποῦς (pes), *foot*. In this way θέσις (sc. τοῦ ποδός) came to be equivalent to the rhythmically accented and consequently 'longer syllable,' while the ἀραις (sc. τοῦ ποδός) indicated the rhythmically unaccented or 'shorter syllable' of the ποῦς, with this further peculiarity that, as movement begins first by *lifting* the foot, the current formula was ἀραις καὶ θέσις, not conversely. In other words, a *syllable* was conceived according to its place in the ποῦς or measure, either θέσις μακρά or ἀραις βραχεία, whereas the *vowels* themselves were not distinguished in point of *quantity*. This old and simple system, which explains the very common case of metrical length under the ictus (85<sup>d</sup>. App. I. 16<sup>b</sup>), was disturbed when η and ω found their way into verse as visible guides to prosody, inasmuch as syllables with η or ω soon appropriated the term of naturally long syllables (φύσει μακραί), while the rest, that is those with any other vowel, were contradistinguished according to their place in the θέσις or ἀραις of the ποῦς, as θέσις μακραί, i. e. 'long by position,' as βραχείας i. e. 'short,' or as δίχροναι (ἀμφίβολαι, etc. 17 f.), i. e. shifting or 'doubtful.'—For more particulars see 29 ff. and App. ii. 6-15. (Cp. also RWestphal, *Theorie* i. 102 ff.)

89<sup>b</sup>. It may be further noted that when in process of time the musical arts attained a higher development, the use of the foot was found to be inconvenient for the singers who needed a less disturbing and yet perceptible or *visible* mark of the rhythmical measure. Hence the raising and putting down of the foot made

room for the raising and lowering of the hand (*ἄρσις καὶ θέσις τῆς χειρὸς*), a new method which during *G* was identified with the *rise* and *fall* of the tone (a misconception to which the standing formula *ἄρσις καὶ θέσις* may have contributed, 89) and thus led to the reverse meaning, *ἄρσις* now being identified with the former *θέσις*, and conversely. This reversed terminology then passed over to the Romans and from them (through RBentley and GHermann) to modern prosody.

## II. PHONOPATHY.

### I. GENERAL PHONOPATHY.

90. *Phonopathy*<sup>[1]</sup>, or pathology of sounds, deals with the process and nature of changes which sounds (including accent) frequently undergo when they are brought into immediate contact with one another. Thus phonopathy investigates under what conditions and how far letters and accentual marks, as representatives of sounds and stress, are affected by their mutual contact.

#### a. SYLLABICATION.

91. For the division of a Greek word into syllables, there is no established rule, and the general custom followed by grammars rests on a number of inconsistent and contradictory precepts handed down to us by Byzantine grammarians (cp. Sext. adv. gramm. 638 f. Bk., and Kühner-Blass i. 350, 2 f.). Nor are the inscriptions in any way safer guides, seeing that they are never engraved phonetically, but either *στοιχηδόν* or mechanically (30). Almost equally unsatisfactory is the lesson to be drawn from the ancient papyri and MSS, because they follow no fixed rule. Indeed the value of all these sources is problematical, and the only safe inference to be drawn from all these sources is that syllabication in Greek has no regard to the logical or etymological constitution of the word, and so the question must be determined by the phonetic principles of the language, that is, by the actual constitution of a syllable in Greek, as exhibited in the numerous monosyllables as: *ἀν, ἐν, ἐν, ἦν, ὄν, ὕν, ὦν, ἴς, εἰς, εἰς; τὰ, τέ, τῇ, τί, τό, τοῦ, τῷ*—*τις, τρεῖς, μὺς, πᾶς, ναῦς, Ζεὺς, πούς, πλοῦς; πᾶν, δρᾶν, μῆν, δρῶν, σπλήν; γάρ, φῶρ; γύψ, λίψ, βῆξ, πνύξ, τρύξ*. For here we have the plainest indication and criterion that a Greek word, consequently also a *syllable*, can begin by almost any sonantic or consonantal com-

[1] I have coined this term as a collective designation of all those phonetic principles which are commonly called 'phonetic laws' (the German 'Lautgesetze'). And I have done so first, because this term (formed on the analogy of *phrenopathy, neuropathy, psychopathy*; cp. *allopathy, homæopathy*, etc.) lends itself conveniently to further formations (as *phonopath-ic, -ically, -ist*, etc.), and then on account of the misleading notion conveyed by the current high-sounding term 'phonetic laws.' For 'law' is an unalterable decree proceeding from some superior authority and admitting of no exceptions or fluctuations, local or periodical, such as are commonly observed not only in every language but in every dialect and period. Equally inappropriate seems to me the alternative term 'phonetic decay,' coined, I believe, by Prof. Max Müller, since *decay* is associated with degeneration, and naturally suggests a tendency towards or approach to finality. Now, no Englishman is likely to admit that the English of to-day or that of Shakespeare, compared with that of Chaucer, shows a phonetic 'decay.' As a matter of fact, it marks a mere change, and that not necessarily for the worse.

bination admissible in the language, that it can close with any sonant, but that it can never close with any consonantal group whatever; not even with a simple consonant with the exception of  $\nu$ ,  $\rho$ ,  $\sigma$ , since in words like  $\gamma\psi$ ,  $\beta\acute{\eta}\xi$ , the labial or guttural consonant is sheltered by the succeeding sibilant (218 ff.). The same holds true of the rare sequence  $\gamma\xi$  ( $\sigma\phi\acute{\iota}\gamma\xi$ ,  $\phi\acute{\alpha}\nu\gamma\xi$ ,  $\phi\acute{\alpha}\lambda\alpha\xi$ ), for here  $\gamma$  virtually represents a nasal weak  $\nu$  ( $\eta$ ). Accordingly in dividing a Greek word into syllables the following rule may be laid down as the one most rational and compatible with the character of Greek phonology.

92. One or more intervocalic consonants belong to the succeeding syllable.—Only preconsonantal  $\nu$   $\rho$   $\sigma$  (perhaps  $\lambda$  also) can be assigned to the preceding syllable. *E.g.*

$\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\text{-}\beta\omicron\text{-}\lambda\acute{\eta}$ ,  $\acute{\rho}\acute{\alpha}\text{-}\beta\delta\omicron\varsigma$ ,  $\acute{\epsilon}\text{-}\mu\eta\text{-}\sigma\theta\eta\nu$ ,  $\acute{\epsilon}\text{-}\pi\tau\acute{\alpha}$ ,  $\pi\acute{\rho}\alpha\text{-}\gamma\mu\alpha$ ,  $\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\text{-}\theta\mu\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ ,  $\acute{\epsilon}\text{-}\chi\theta\acute{\rho}\omicron\varsigma$ ,  $\beta\acute{\alpha}\text{-}\kappa\tau\rho\nu$ ,  $\Lambda\text{-}\theta\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ ,  $\Sigma\alpha\text{-}\pi\phi\acute{\omega}$ — $\acute{\alpha}\rho\text{-}\chi\acute{\eta}$  (or  $\acute{\alpha}\text{-}\rho\chi\acute{\eta}$ ),  $\acute{\alpha}\rho\text{-}\sigma\eta\nu$  (or  $\acute{\alpha}\text{-}\rho\sigma\eta\nu$ ),  $\acute{\epsilon}\iota\sigma\text{-}\beta\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omega$  (or  $\acute{\epsilon}\text{-}\sigma\beta\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omega$ ),  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\text{-}\theta\omicron\varsigma$  (or  $\acute{\alpha}\text{-}\nu\theta\omicron\varsigma$ ),  $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\text{-}\mu\eta$  (or  $\acute{\delta}\text{-}\lambda\mu\eta$ ),  $\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\text{-}\xi\iota\varsigma$  (or  $\acute{\epsilon}\text{-}\lambda\xi\iota\varsigma$ )— $\kappa\alpha\text{-}\tau\acute{\epsilon}\chi\omega$ ,  $\acute{\alpha}\text{-}\phi\alpha\iota\text{-}\rho\acute{\omega}$ — $\acute{\omicron}$   $\delta$   $\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\xi$ ,  $\acute{\omicron}\text{-}\kappa$   $\xi\sigma\tau\iota$ ,  $\mu\epsilon\text{-}\tau'$   $\acute{\alpha}\iota\tau\omicron\upsilon$ ,  $\kappa\alpha\text{-}\theta'$   $\acute{\upsilon}\mu\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ .

92<sup>b</sup>. As regards double consonants, like  $\sigma\sigma$  ( $\tau\tau$ ),  $\rho\rho$ ,  $\lambda\lambda$ ,  $\mu\mu$ ,  $\nu\nu$ ,  $\pi\pi$ ,  $\gamma\gamma$ ,  $\phi\phi$ ,  $\chi\chi$ , etc., the case is inseparably connected with the question of gemination in Greek. If we admit an actually divided pronunciation for each letter—a case which the practice of the *A* inscriptions (KMeisterhans' 71-78) and Greek phonology render on the whole very questionable (cp. also ESievers' 528)—the pairs  $\sigma\sigma$ ,  $\nu\nu$ ,  $\rho\rho$  (perhaps also  $\lambda\lambda$ ) can be separated, because single  $\sigma$ ,  $\nu$ ,  $\rho$ , ( $\lambda$ ), is admissible at the end of a word (91. 218), as:  $\tau\acute{\alpha}\sigma\text{-}\omega$ ,  $\pi\acute{\rho}\acute{\omicron}\sigma\text{-}\omega$ ,  $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\iota\sigma\text{-}\omega$ ,  $\gamma\lambda\acute{\omega}\sigma\text{-}\omega$ ,  $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\text{-}\sigma\alpha\rho\epsilon\varsigma$ ,  $\gamma\epsilon\nu\text{-}\nu\acute{\alpha}\iota\omicron\varsigma$ ,  $\theta\acute{\upsilon}\nu\text{-}\nu\omicron\varsigma$ ,  $\theta\acute{\alpha}\rho\text{-}\rho\omicron\varsigma$ ,  $\acute{\alpha}\rho\text{-}\rho\eta\nu$ ,  $\delta\lambda\text{-}\omega\varsigma$ ,  $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\text{-}\lambda\omega$  (cp. 66). In the remaining cases (that is, in  $\tau\tau$ ,  $\mu\mu$ ,  $\pi\pi$ ,  $\gamma\gamma$ ,  $\phi\phi$ ,  $\chi\chi$ , etc.), however, we are not justified in separating the two letters, since their sound is inadmissible at the close of a word, consequently also of a syllable (91). We should therefore divide rather:  $\tau\acute{\alpha}\text{-}\tau\tau\omega$ ,  $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\text{-}\tau\tau\alpha$ ,  $\gamma\lambda\acute{\omega}\text{-}\tau\tau\alpha$ ,  $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\text{-}\tau\tau\alpha\repsilon\varsigma$ ,  $\gamma\rho\acute{\alpha}\text{-}\mu\mu\alpha$ ,  $\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\eta\text{-}\mu\mu\alpha\iota$ ,  $\acute{\iota}\text{-}\pi\pi\omicron\varsigma$ ,  $\acute{\alpha}\text{-}\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ ,  $\sigma\acute{\alpha}\text{-}\kappa\kappa\omicron\varsigma$ ,  $\beta\acute{\alpha}\text{-}\chi\chi\omicron\varsigma$ ,  $\Lambda\text{-}\theta\theta\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ ,  $\Sigma\alpha\text{-}\phi\phi\acute{\omega}$ ,  $\text{Ma-}\theta\theta\acute{\alpha}\iota\omicron\varsigma$ , etc., than  $\tau\acute{\alpha}\tau\text{-}\tau\omega$ ,  $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\iota\tau\text{-}\tau\alpha$ , etc.

93. In compound words, the first constituent of which closes with  $\sigma$   $\nu$   $\rho$ , two cases must be distinguished. If the latter component begins with a sonant, the preceding consonants  $\sigma$   $\nu$   $\rho$ , being admitted at the end of a Greek word (91. 218 ff.), can retain their final position in the first constituent, though the above fundamental rule (92) has proved so indiscriminating as to affect even these cases. Accordingly,  $\acute{\epsilon}\iota\sigma\text{-}\acute{\alpha}\gamma\omega$  &  $\acute{\epsilon}\iota\text{-}\sigma\acute{\alpha}\gamma\omega$ ,  $\acute{\epsilon}\iota\sigma\text{-}\alpha\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\acute{\iota}\alpha$  &  $\acute{\epsilon}\iota\text{-}\sigma\alpha\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\acute{\iota}\alpha$ ,  $\pi\rho\omicron\text{-}\sigma\phi\acute{\alpha}\delta\iota\alpha$  &  $\pi\rho\omicron\text{-}\sigma\phi\acute{\alpha}\delta\iota\alpha$ ,  $\acute{\epsilon}\zeta\text{-}\acute{\alpha}\gamma\omega$  &  $\acute{\epsilon}\text{-}\zeta\acute{\alpha}\gamma\omega$ ,  $\delta\upsilon\sigma\text{-}\acute{\alpha}\rho\epsilon\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma$  &  $\delta\upsilon\text{-}\sigma\acute{\alpha}\rho\epsilon\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma$ ,  $\sigma\upsilon\nu\text{-}\acute{\epsilon}\chi\omega$  &  $\sigma\upsilon\text{-}\acute{\epsilon}\chi\omega$ ,  $\acute{\upsilon}\pi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\text{-}\omicron\chi\omicron\varsigma$  &  $\acute{\upsilon}\pi\acute{\epsilon}\text{-}\rho\omicron\chi\omicron\varsigma$ ,  $\pi\alpha\rho\text{-}\acute{\alpha}\gamma\omega$  &  $\pi\alpha\text{-}\rho\acute{\alpha}\gamma\omega$ ,  $\pi\acute{\alpha}\rho\text{-}\omicron\delta\omicron\varsigma$  &  $\pi\acute{\alpha}\text{-}\rho\omicron\delta\omicron\varsigma$ . If on the contrary  $\sigma$   $\nu$   $\rho$  are followed by one or more other consonants, then, as long as they retain their proper sound, both rational and phonetic considerations justify us in assigning them to the preceding syllable, as:  $\acute{\epsilon}\iota\sigma\text{-}\phi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omega$ ,  $\delta\sigma\text{-}\tau\iota\varsigma$ ,  $\phi\omega\sigma\text{-}\phi\acute{\omicron}\rho\omicron\varsigma$ ,  $\acute{\omega}\sigma\text{-}\pi\epsilon\rho$ ,  $\pi\alpha\lambda\acute{\iota}\nu\text{-}\tau\rho\omicron\pi\omicron\varsigma$ ,  $\pi\upsilon\rho\text{-}\phi\acute{\omicron}\rho\omicron\varsigma$ ,  $\pi\upsilon\rho\text{-}\pi\omicron\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\iota\nu$ . But as soon as they have been phonetically affected, or have assumed a new sound, inadmissible at the end of a Greek word—a case applying chiefly to  $\nu$  and  $\sigma$ —they have, by the fact of their phonopathic accommodation to the next following consonant, lost their hold on the preceding syllable, and attached themselves inseparably to the succeeding one (189 ff. 201. 203<sup>b</sup>), as:  $\acute{\epsilon}\text{-}\mu\acute{\beta}\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omega$  (or  $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\text{-}\beta\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omega$ ),  $\acute{\epsilon}\text{-}\mu\acute{\nu}\nu\chi\omicron\varsigma$  ( $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\text{-}\psi$ ),  $\sigma\upsilon\text{-}\mu\phi\alpha\nu\acute{\omega}$ ,  $\sigma\upsilon\text{-}\gamma\kappa\alpha\lambda\acute{\omega}$ ,  $\sigma\upsilon\text{-}\gamma\gamma\acute{\omega}\mu\eta$ ,  $\sigma\upsilon\text{-}\rho\acute{\rho}\acute{\epsilon}\omega$  (or  $\sigma\upsilon\nu\text{-}\rho$ ),  $\pi\alpha\text{-}\rho\eta\rho\sigma\acute{\iota}\alpha$ ,  $\sigma\upsilon\text{-}\lambda\acute{\lambda}\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\omega$  (or  $\sigma\upsilon\nu\text{-}\lambda$ ),  $\acute{\epsilon}\iota\text{-}\sigma\beta\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omega$  (or  $\acute{\epsilon}\iota\sigma\text{-}\beta$ ),  $\acute{\epsilon}\iota\text{-}\sigma\delta\acute{\upsilon}\nu$ ,  $\delta\acute{\upsilon}\text{-}\sigma\mu\omicron\rho\phi\omicron\varsigma$  (pronounce  $\text{-}\zeta\beta$ ,  $\text{-}\zeta\delta$ ,  $\text{-}\zeta\mu$ , whereas  $\text{-}\sigma\beta$ ,  $\text{-}\sigma\delta$ ,  $\text{-}\sigma\mu$  would sound  $\text{-}\sigma\sigma\beta$ ,  $\text{-}\sigma\sigma\delta$ ,  $\text{-}\sigma\sigma\mu$ ).

## b. TONOCLISIS (PROCLISIS AND ENCLISIS).

94. Syntactically considered, that is in connected speech, certain unemphatic little words—mostly monosyllabic, but also disyllabic and chiefly oxytone—play a secondary part, and are

uttered so rapidly as to appear to form part of the succeeding or preceding word (cp. 1138). Hence they are unstressed, or half-stressed (*ἡμίτονα*, 76 & 106), and according as they attach themselves to the succeeding or preceding word, they are generally called *proclitics* or *enclitics* respectively.

94<sup>b</sup>. The whole phenomenon will be called in this book *tonoclis* (*τονοκλισία*), a term intended to include the two varieties of proclisis and enclisis. On the same principle proclitics and enclitics together may be termed *tonoclitics*.

95. I. *Proclisis* ('reclination') is the close syntactical attachment of a monosyllable or disyllable, called *proclitic*, to the succeeding word. The proclitic then is as rapidly pronounced as if it were an integral part of the succeeding word.

96. Though the process of proclisis has undoubtedly been at work through all stages of the Greek language (cp. 101<sup>b</sup>), the older grammarians did not indicate it by any special name, but treated proclitics as ordinary independent words and supplied them with the acute or grave, as the case might be (82 ff.). Accordingly they wrote *δ* or *δ* for *δ*, *ἐν* or *ἐν* for *ἐν*, *εἰ* or *εἰ* for *εἰ*, etc. Our modern practice of distinguishing or specializing proclitics from enclitics dates from postchristian times and the very term 'proclisis' was only recently (in 1801) coined by GHermann (De emend. rat. 96-101).

97. Proclitics are—

- a. All forms of the article, both prepositive and postpositive (606); also *N ὅρου* or *ποῦ* (608 f.) and *εἰς* (623).
- b. The oblique cases of the personal pronouns (527);
- c. The prepositions;
- d. The conjunctions *εἰ*, (*ἐ*)*άν*, (*ἦν*), *ὥς*, *καί*, *ἵνα*—*N* *νά*, *θά*;
- e. The negation *οὐ* (*οὐκ*, *οὐχ*), *N* *δέν*;—then *μή*, *μά*.

98. Of the above proclitics some are conventionally written without accent and called *atona* (*ἀτονα*). These are—

- a. The sonantic forms of the article: *ὁ*, *ἡ*, *οἱ*, *αἱ*;
- b. The prepositions *εἰς*, *ἐν*, *ἐξ* (*ἐκ*), *ὥς*;
- c. The conjunctions *εἰ*, *ὥς*;
- d. The negation *οὐ*.

99. But all *atona* are accented: (a) when they annex an enclitic (102 f.), as: *ὅδε*, *εἶτε*, *οὕτω*; (b) when they bear the emphasis of the sentence, as: *ἡ ἐκ πρόθεσις* 'the preposition *ἐκ*.'

100. The negation *οὐ* receives the acute when it closes a sentence, as: *φῆς ἢ οὔ*; 'sayest thou or not?' (224.)

101. II. *Enclisis* (*ἐγκλισις* 'leaning on') is the close syntactical attachment of a monosyllable or disyllable, called *enclitic* (94), to the preceding word. In this case the enclitic is pronounced as if it were an integral part of the preceding word.

101<sup>b</sup>. The term enclisis is of ancient date. (Apoll. De pron. 268 A, etc.)

102. Enclitics are—

- a. The oblique cases of the personal pronouns (97, b. 527);
- b. The indefinite pronoun *τις*, *τι*, throughout (but *ἅπτα*, 588);
- c. The indefinite adverbs *ποῦ*, *ποῦ*, *ποθεν*, *πῶς*, *πῇ*, *ποτέ*;



d. The Present Indicative of *εἰμι* and *φημί*, save in the 2nd person singular *εἶ* and *φής* (982. 975<sup>b</sup>) ;

e. The postpositive particles *μέν*, *μήν*, *δέ*, *γέ*, *τέ*, *τοί*, *νύν*, *πέρ*, *πώ*, *κέ(ν)*, *ρά*.

102<sup>b</sup>. Under this head seems to fall also the suffix *-δε*, which is attached to accusatives and to demonstrative pronouns, as : *οἶκονδε*, *ὅδε*, *τάδε*, *τοῦσδε*.

103. Some enclitics have, like the preceding *-δε*, altogether coalesced with the preceding word, as : *οἱμοι*, *οὐτις*, *οὐποτε*, *ὅδε*, *τοῦσδε*.

104. In connecting an enclitic with a preceding word, it must be borne in mind that Greek accentuation admits of no longer termination than one of dactylic rhythm, that is, no more than two post-tonic syllables can be left without accent (81. 105<sup>c</sup>,<sub>2</sub>). Accordingly an enclitic loses its accent—

a. After a perispomenon or an oxytone (81<sup>b</sup>), also after a proclitic, the oxytone and proclitic then receiving the acute (not the grave, 82<sup>b</sup> f.), as : *ἐρῶ τι*, *σοφῶν τινῶν*, *σοφός τις*, *σοφοί τινες*, *εἶ ποτε*, *πρός με*, *ἦν τινα*, *ποῦ εἶσι*, *σοφοί φασι*.

b. After a proparoxytone [technically also after its equivalent trochee, 105<sup>c</sup>], which then, in addition to its own accent, takes over on the ultima the accent of the enclitic in the form of acute (82<sup>c</sup>), as : *ἀγγέλός τις*, *ἤκουσέ μοι*, *ἀνθρωποὶ εἰσιν*.

[So too commonly : *πρᾶγμα τι* (= *πράγμα τι*), *κῆπὸν τινα* (= *κῆπὸν τινα*), then, according to ancient theory, by extension *φύλλὰ τε* like *φῦλὰ τε* (so too *ἄλλος τις* like *στῦλός τις* ; but see 105<sup>c</sup>).

105. After a paroxytone or a properispomenon, a monosyllabic enclitic loses its accent, but a disyllabic enclitic retains it, as : *λόγος τις*, *λόγον τινός*, *γράφω τινί*, *σῶμα τι* like *σώματι*, *δοῦλος ἐστίν*, *μήλα τινά*. (See 105<sup>c</sup>.)

105<sup>b</sup>. In enclisis a 'long' syllable counts 'short' in regard to accentuation, as : *δοῦλος μοι*, *νοῦς τινῶν* (both — ◡ ◡).

105<sup>c</sup>. The operation and effect of enclisis after a paroxytone or properispomenon is often misunderstood or misrepresented in modern grammars, and thus calls for a few remarks here. In laying down the rules of enclisis the ancients were evidently guided by the instinct of three physiological principles :

(1) No word can have two successive syllables stressed, otherwise this would break the unity of the word (108) <sup>[1]</sup> ;

[1] Compare Charax in Bekk. An. 1149 *ἐν μὲν λέξει κατὰ συνέχειαν δύο ὀφείας οἱ παλαιοὶ οὐκ ἐτίθουν· κακοφωνίαν γὰρ ποιοῦσι· τὸ οὖν ἀνθρωπός τις οὐκ ἔστι κατὰ συνέχειαν ἀλλὰ μεσολαβεῖ βαρεῖα (unaccented) ἣ ἐν τῇ θρῶ συλλαβῇ. σοφός τις· μία ἔστιν ὀφεία ἣ τὸ ος . . . ὅθεν μέμφονται οἱ ἀκριβεῖς τὸν θέσει τροχαϊκὸν ἔχοντα δύο ὀφείας ἐφεξῆς· ἄλλός τις· καὶ εὐλόγως εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς Ὀδυσσεύς ὁ Ἀρίσταρχος οὐκ ἐβουλήθη δοῦναι εἰς τὸ ἄνδρα μοι δύο ὀφείας, ἀλλὰ μίαν εἰς τὸ ἀν, φάσκων· ἐν ἀρχῇ ποιήσεως παράλογον οὐ μὴ(ν) ποιῆσω.*—Hence the symbolization (Kühner-Blass i. 342) : *σῶ|μάτε* for *σῶμα τε*, *σῶ|μάστιν* for *σῶμα ἐστίν*, has no real existence in any language, seeing that such German or English parallels as *Vorstand*, *Ümséhen*, *béféta*, *Üphill*, etc. in reality consist of two distinct words graphically linked together, and that as soon as they have virtually coalesced into one word, they have also lost their second accent, as *éhrenman*, *gentleman*, *blackberry*, *threepence*, *nobody*, etc. (Cp. 108<sup>b</sup>.)

(2) No more than two post-tonic syllables are admissible in a Greek word (81. 104);

(3) No enclitic admits of anastrophe, otherwise this would change the enclitic to an emphatic and therefore orthotone word (cp. 109);

(Compare λέγε τι with λέγετε, — φέρον τι with φέροντι, — φησί τε with φῶς τε, ποῶ τε with δότε and γνῶτε, — φίλος ἐστίν and ἄλλαν τι|νῶν with ἄγον δδύν.)

Now as in the eyes of the old grammarians a proparoxytone complex (ζύζυ, as δίδομεν, ἐπος τι) was genetically or theoretically equivalent to a properispomenon (—υ, as δῶμεν, κῆπος), the latter was drawn into the domain of the rule and thus led to the treatment of δῶρα τε like \*δδορά τε, hence δῶρά τε, and δῶρα τινα like \*δδορά τινα, hence δῶρά τινα. Once adopted, this principle was inevitably extended from a natural trochee to a trochee by position, the more readily as accent and metrical ictus were identified in verse (85<sup>b</sup> f.), the chief study and norm of the theorists. Arc. 146, ἰ ὁμοίως εἰ προπερισπᾶται ἢ προκειμένη λέξις ἐγκλιτικῷ ἐπιφερομένου ἐγείρει τὴν μετὰ τὴν περισπωμένην βαρεῖαν, οἶον· οἶκος τις, Σκῶλῶν τε, Κηνῶν τε· κᾶν παραξύνειτο τροχαῖκῃ οὔσα· ἄλλός τις, ἐκτί τις, ἐνθά ποτε. To put it shortly: proparoxytones attracted their equivalent properispomena and these again, as representatives of natural spondees, attracted the remaining spondaic paroxytones. Hence the ancient and rational accentuation: φύλλά τε (like φύλά τε), λαμπέ τε, τυφθέντά τε, ἐστί τις, ἐνθά ποτε, μήτέ τε, πύργόν τε, ἀνδρά μοι, καίπέρ ἐστιν, etc. (Arc. 141, 3. 145, 11. Hdn. π. ἐ. μ. 1143. Cp. Kühner-Blass. i. 341.) In face of these facts, modern grammarians ought either to carry out consistently the principle adopted by the ancients and write accordingly ἄλλός τις, πύργόν τινα, and even φίλος τις, ἄλλός τις, γέρον ἐστιν (to which there is an ancient parallel ἐσάν ol Z 289, testified by Schol. Ven. ad loc. Arc. 145, 16; Charax 1154. 1157), despite the exception taken by some old theorists<sup>[1]</sup>; —or to adopt the only rational and physiological principle that the accent cannot possibly fall on two successive syllables of the same word (108), and so treat enclitics following a properispomenon just as they treat them after a paroxytone: δῶρον τι like ῥόδον τι, and δῶρα τινα like ῥόδα τινα, —further οἶκος τις, κῆρυξ τε, κῆρυξ τινός, φοῖνιξ ἐστίν, λαίλαψ ἐστίν, —a system which will be followed in the present book, for the plain reason that circumflex and acute are physiologically identical (77), differing only in form, and that a properispomenon being virtually the same as a paroxytone, requires a similar treatment (κρίνα τε, κρίνα τινά = ῥίνα τε, ῥίνα τινά).

105<sup>d</sup>. According to some old grammarians (Arc. 140 f. 145. Hdn. π. ἐ. μ. 1143. Schol. Ven. Z 367), the accent of pronouns beginning with σφ-, whether of one or of two syllables, is regularly thrown to the preceding word irrespective of its constitution or accentuation, as: ἄρά σφιν, ἐνθά σφας, τόξά σφεων, ἰνά σφισιν. Generally, however, this theory was ignored and even deprecated as irrational by the ancients themselves (so by Aristarchos in Charax, Bekk. An. iii. 1154. Schol. Ven. H 199).

106. In cases where the attracting word, besides its own accent, has drawn on its ultima that of the enclitic also, the principal stress is that of the attracting word, while the transposed accent of the enclitic plays a secondary part or no part at all (this possibly being the μέση προσηδία of the ancients).

Thus δειξάτε μοι, ὁρῶ τινα are pronounced δειξά-τέμοι, ὁρῶτινα.

107. III. *Synenclisis*. When two or three enclitics succeed one another, their accentual rhythm is adapted to the trisyllabic system of accentuation (104), thus inevitably leading to dactyls or trochees: καλός γε τις (= καλόσγε-τις), φίλοι τινές μοι εἰcίν

[<sup>1</sup>] Hdn. π. ἐ. μ. 1143 οὐδέποτε δὲ τοῦτο ἐν σπονδαίῳ παρακολουθεῖ, ὥς δὴ ἐπὶ τοῦ 'Ἀτρεΐδης τε ὄναξ ἀνδρῶν,' 'Φοῖβω δ' ἱερὴν ἐκατόμβην,' ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἐν ἰάμβῳ· 'τάρος γε μὴν οὐτε θαμίσεις,' ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἐν τῷ πυρριχίῳ· 'ὅτι οἱ συμφράσσαστο βουλὰς.' ἂν δὲ ποτε τροχαῖος γένηται διαπλασιασθέντος τοῦ τ, ἔσσονται ἐπᾶλληλοι ὀξείαι· 'ὅττι μιν ὥς ὑπέδεκτο.'

(= φίλοιτι-νέσμοι-σίν), εἰ ποὺ τίς τινα ἴδοι (= εἶπον τίςτινα ἴδοι). This process will be termed in the present book *synenclisis*.

108. The grammarians teach that when several enclitics succeed one another, each one takes an acute from the next following, so that the last remains without accent, as: εἰ πέρ τις σέ μοι φησί ποτε. But this precept is physiologically impossible, since in no language two consecutive syllables in a word can have the same stress; this would break the word into two words (105<sup>c</sup>, 1). It is also to be noted that an accumulation of enclitics, such as appears in the above example, does not actually occur; this very example being a fiction of the grammarians who coined it for the purpose (Arc. 146, 15) [1].

108<sup>b</sup>. Tonoclis bears a certain analogy to the secondary accent in English polysyllables, and German compound words, as: undertake, contradict (πρὸς πατρός); magnifier (ἀνθρώπος τις); affability (ἀνθρωποί τινες); dedicate (ἐλεγε μοι); schooldirector, democratic (γράφόμεν τι); latitudearian (εἰπερ τις σε μοι φησί), Ungewissenhaftigkeit, Oberappellationsgericht. (Cp. 105<sup>c</sup>, 1 [1] & 1138.)

109. 2. ORTHOTONESIS (ὀρθοτόνησις). Tonoclitics are syntactically accented or rather *retain* their accent, and so are called *orthotone*—

a. When they are uttered with emphasis, as: ἀλλὰ σέ λέγω  
'I mean thee.' ὁ σύνδεσμος μὴν 'the conjunction μὴν.'

b. When they begin a sentence: τινὲς λέγουσι. φαιμέν  
τοῖνν.

c. When the sonant which was to receive the accent of the enclitic is elided, as: ταῦτ' ἐστίν (for ταῦτα ἐστίν).

d. When they precede other tonoclitics (107).

e. When they are disyllabic and follow a paroxytone or properispomenon (105).

110. A number of disyllabic prepositions are occasionally put after their respective words. In that case they shift their accent from the ultima to the penultima, and this shifting is called *anastrophe* (ἀναστροφή), as: τούτων περί for περί τούτων. (1138.)

111. In *A* prose anastrophe occurs only in περί (with gen.), ἄπο (= ἄνωθεν), ἐνι (= ἐνέσσι), and πάρα (= πάρεστι or πάρεισι); in *A* poetry also in ἐπι, κατά, ὑπερ, ὑπο, and μέτα.

### C. GRAMMATICAL PRINCIPLES.

112. *Introductory remark.* In studying the history of the Greek language, we find that its gradual evolution has been determined by various agencies chiefly internal (cp. 028), the nature and extent of which will be duly explained in the course of the present work. Some of these agencies, however, are of such a fundamental and general character as to require an explanation here at the outset.

[1] Charax in Bekk. An. 1157 δυνατόν δὲ καὶ πλείονας ἐπινοήσαι· εἰ πέρ τις σέ μοι φησί ποτε· τὸ μὲν γὰρ εἰ δέχεται διὰ τὴν ἐπιφορὰν τοῦ πέρ, τὸ δὲ πέρ διὰ τὸ τίς, τὸ δὲ τίς διὰ τὸ σέ, τὸ δὲ σέ διὰ τὸ μοι, τὸ δὲ μοι διὰ τὸ φησί, τὸ δὲ φησί διὰ τὸ ποτε, ὥστε ἐφεξῆς δέξεται ἐξ εἰ καὶ σπάνιον διὰ τὴν τοῦ πνεύματος συνέχειαν. (Cp. CGöttling 404 ff. Kühner-Blass i. 343.)

113. *Analogy* is the very frequent psychological phenomenon by which an item (sound, accent, form, word, meaning, construction, etc.) is adopted as a standard or pattern either for coining a novel item or for remodelling one already existing.

114. In this manner the leading analogue influences or attracts other items, and so serves as a norm for new imitative formations.

Thus	πιομαι	φατεινός	ἡβουλόμεν	ἔσω	κενός	τινος
are due to	ἰδομαι	σκοτεινός	ἦθειλον	ἔξω	πλήρης	τινός
and	καθ' ἰδίαν	οὐχ ὤφεισθε	ἀφίδω	δύνομαι	οὐκ ὑπάρχει	
to	καθ' αὐτόν	οὐχ ὀράτε	ἀφορῶ	γίνομαι	οὐκ ἔστι	

Mitth. v. 328, 6 [III<sup>d</sup> B.C.], and often since, then NT Luke 17, 22 οὐχ ὤφεισθε. Ph. 2, 23 ἀφίδω. Acts 4, 29 ἔφιδε. 2, 7 οὐχ ἰδοῦ. 1 Cor. 1, 8 οὐχ ἰδόντες. Gal. 1, 19 οὐχ εἶδον. Luke 1, 25 ἐφείδεν. Acts 3, 6 οὐκ ὑπάρχει. So Acts 12, 18 οὐχ ὀλίγος after οὐχ ἰκανός. ἀφέσταλα (often in CIA 300-200 B.C.) after ἀφέστηκα, etc.—ἐφ' ἔτος (ἐφέτος) after ἐφ' ὥραν or ἐφ' ἡμέραν. καθ' ἔτος & καθ' ἑνιαυτὸν after καθ' ὥραν & καθ' ἡμέραν. μεθοπαρινός after μεθημερινός. εὐθείας after ταχέως.—N ὁμπρός (for ἔμπρός) after ὀπίσω. (Cp. 665.)

115. Both the term and effects of analogy were known to the ancients.

116. It may happen that kindred models existing side by side give birth to a third formation. Such cross-influence is termed *contamination* (intermixture), as:  $\mu\iota\sigma\theta\omega\kappa\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\omega\sigma\alpha\iota \times \mu\iota\sigma\theta\omega\sigma\acute{\alpha}\tau\omega\sigma\alpha\iota = \mu\iota\sigma\theta\omega\kappa\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\omega\sigma\alpha\iota$  CIA ii. 600, 45 (300 B.C.);  $\delta\rho\alpha \times \eta\rho\alpha = \delta\rho\alpha$ ;  $G-B \eta \times \epsilon\sigma\tau\omega = (\eta\tau\omega \& \eta\sigma\tau\omega) \eta\tau\omega \& \eta\sigma\tau\omega$ ,  $\delta\phi \times \delta\sigma\acute{\iota}\nu = \delta\phi\eta$ ,  $\alpha\phi\acute{\iota}\omega \times \epsilon\acute{\omega} = \alpha\phi\epsilon\acute{\omega}$ ,  $\kappa\alpha\theta\alpha\acute{\iota}\rho\omega \times \kappa\alpha\theta\alpha\rho\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega = \kappa\alpha\theta\alpha\rho\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega$  (NT),  $\kappa\epsilon\rho\acute{\nu}\alpha\iota \times \kappa\epsilon\rho\eta\nu\acute{\nu}\omega = \kappa\epsilon\rho\acute{\nu}\alpha\omega$  (but cp. 40),  $\alpha\pi\sigma\sigma\alpha \times \acute{\alpha}(\kappa)\mu\acute{\eta}(\nu) = \acute{\alpha}\kappa\omicron\mu\eta$  &  $\acute{\alpha}\kappa\omicron\mu\alpha$  (in South Italian N  $\acute{\alpha}\kappa\omicron\mu\eta$ ),  $\mu\eta\delta\acute{\epsilon} \times \omicron\gamma\acute{\alpha}\epsilon = \mu\omicron\upsilon\eta\delta\acute{\epsilon}$  (626),  $\pi\omicron\rho\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\omicron\mu\alpha\iota \times \pi\epsilon\rho\pi\alpha\tau\acute{\omega} = \pi\omicron\rho\pi\alpha\tau\acute{\omega}$ ,  $\sigma\omicron\lambda\iota\alpha \times \phi\omicron\rho\acute{\alpha} = \beta\omicron\lambda\acute{\alpha}$  (Crete, etc.),  $\epsilon\iota\sigma\tau\omega \sigma\tau\iota \times \epsilon\sigma\sigma\epsilon\delta\omicron \chi\epsilon = \epsilon\iota\sigma\tau\omega\sigma\tau\alpha\iota \kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}$  (1994).

117. *Association* is the connexion of two or more cognate items (113) with one another and the consequent prevalence of one to the gradual elimination or even extinction of the others, as:  $\gamma\acute{\epsilon} \delta\rho\alpha + \gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho = \gamma\acute{\iota}\rho$ .

118. On this principle, associated items first interchange, then generally coalesce, under various—often contaminatory—influences, into one representative, usually the most emphatic or most familiar in the whole group. For illustrations see 1487-8.

119. Strictly speaking, association is a generic term preceding and comprehending analogy. For two or more items must be first associated with one another either in sense (as  $\theta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omega \beta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ ) or in form (as  $\theta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omega \mu\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\lambda\omega$ ) and then undergo the process of analogy ( $\eta\theta\epsilon\lambda\omicron\nu \eta\beta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\omicron\mu\eta\nu - \eta\theta\epsilon\lambda\omicron\nu \eta\mu\epsilon\lambda\lambda\omicron\nu$ ). Hence many grammarians identify association with analogy.

120. Next to analogy, association has been the most potent factor in the history of Greek. (App. iii. i.)

121. *Dissociation* is the instinctive or studious disconnexion of two or more kindred or analogous items (113) for the sake of distinction, perspicuity, emphasis, or antithesis.

Thus the 3rd person plural—

P	εἶδον	ἔλαβον	ἦλθον	ἤλπιζαν	ἐπηλροῦσαν	} 787-794.
are distinguished by dissociation from the 1st singular:	εἶδον	ἔλαβον	ἦλθον	ἤλπιζον	ἐπαλήρου	
and from	A εὐρέ	εἰπέ	εἶπε	ἰδέ	εἶδε	
	εὐρε	εἶπε	εἶπε	εἶδε	εἶδε	

122. Dissociation may degenerate to affectation when it aims at originality. In this way, fastidious writers or speakers are apt to introduce new expressions which, as a matter of course, are often transitory. Such neolo-

gisms, if they have not, or as long as they have not, become popular with the masses, but are merely characteristic of a certain set at a certain time, may be termed *euphuisms* or *mannerisms*, as *G-B*: εἶπον (not εἰπόν I), λάβον, δαγῶν, for εἰπέ, λάβε, δαγε, and ὅτε εἴπητε, ὅτε ψυγῇ, for ὅταν εἴπητε, ὅταν ψυγῇ (1988), ἐκεῖσε for ἐκεῖ. (435. 1513)

## II. SPECIAL PHONOPATHY.

### a. Introductory Remarks.

123. Judging from the character of archaic Greek, as portrayed in the early compositions and inscriptions extant, as well as from the phonology of kindred ancient tongues, such as old Indian and Latin, the Greek language in its primitive stage must have possessed a richer consonantal system (*consonantism*) than it does exhibit in its mature or classical period. In particular the structure of early Greek verse and the diction of archaic inscriptions lead us to discern the quondam existence in the language of certain mostly intervocalic consonants (as *f*, *i*, *ϕ*; see 11. 29. 124 ff. 209 ff. App. ii. 7 ff.) and consonantal combinations (as *νσ*, *ντσ*, *ρσ*, etc. 197 f. 180. 206), of which the effects are unmistakable in the classical period. This tendency towards dropping consonants—the last to retreat were combinations of a liquid + *σ*—is furthermore witnessed even in the subsequent history of the language, seeing that here a still smaller number of them is admitted either in the body or at the end of a word. (App. ii. 7.)

124. Turning to the vowel system (*vocalism*, or rather *sonantism*, 21<sup>b</sup>), we find that it was from the outset limited to the five fundamental sounds *a e i o u*, expressed by *α ε ι ο υ* respectively (16<sup>b</sup> f.). However, the gradual elimination of the above and possibly other consonants had the effect that in very many cases two or more vowels were brought together and thus caused the phenomenon of a frequent vowel succession, a peculiar trait of archaic Greek (cp. οἶοιο, λῆη, εἰσαέ, δημοιο, ἀάρος, γοόοιεν). Here too, however, as the language gradually attained a higher stage of development, the frequent occurrence of vowel successions interfered with rapidity in speech, and thus was felt to cause a discord (*χασμῶδια*, *hiatus*). A phonetic accommodation was therefore sought in some expedient, and this consisted chiefly in the sacrifice of one or more of the interfering sonants. See App. ii. 9 ff.

124<sup>b</sup>. The principles ruling in the accommodation of sonantic as well as consonantal complexes are laid down in the following sections of phonopathy, chiefest among which are contraction and antectasis (156-165<sup>a</sup>). In perusing these principles, however, it will be well to bear in mind at the outset that the phonopathic phenomena dealt with in every case are not necessarily the product of physiological agencies acting every time anew. Thus it is not true that in *Α τ δ θ*, when followed by a dental, change to *σ*, as: ἀνυσθῆναι from ἀνύτω, πεισθῆναι from πείθω (176). In the great majority of cases phonopathy had completed its work in prehistoric antiquity, and its subsequent application does not necessarily imply its regular repetition, but rather an unconscious imitation or analogical formation. (Cp. 113. 1104; KBrugmann Gr. Gram.<sup>3</sup> 15.)

125. *Assimilation* is the process by which a sound—a sonant or consonant—is rendered like (*assimilation* proper) or less unlike (*accommodation*) another contiguous sound. (Cp. 169 ff.)

Ἀ Ἀλωπεκονήσιοι for Ἀλωπεκονήσιοι, ὀβολὸς for ὀβελός, τριακόντερος for τριακόντερος, Ὀρχομένος for Ἐρχομένος, Σαφφῶ for

Σαπφώ, Ἀθθίς for Ἀθθίς, *P* Μαθθαῖος for Μαθθαῖος, Γολγοθὰ (NT) for Γολγοθὰ, Σαλωμών for Σολομών—*N* πενυχρός for πενυχρός. Cp. 177. 195. 200. 1441 ff., et passim.

126. *Dissimilation*—sonantic or consonantal—is the change, reduction, or loss of one of two similar sounds (sonants or consonants) for the sake of accommodation, when otherwise the two similar sounds would concur or come very close to each other.

Compare *A* κυβιστής for -στητής, ζηρός for -τηρός (PKretschmer 88), Σελινίκα for -νονίκα (id. 184), κεφαλαργία & κεφαλαγία, φατρία & φρατρία, δρύφακτος for \*δρυφρακτος, σκηπτουχος for \*σκεπτρουχος, τίθημι for \*θιδήμι, σώθητι for \*σωθηθι, ἐπαφή for \*ἐφαφή (182), ἐμπίπλημι & ἐμπίπημι for ἐπιμπλήμι & ἐπιμπρημι; ψηφηφορῶ for ψηφοφορῶ, ἀμφορεὺς for \*ἀμφιφορεὺς, μῶνονυξ for μονῶνυξ, ἡμέδιμνον for ἡμιμέδιμνον, λακπατίω for λακτοπατίω, πυγμαῖχος for πυγμομαῖχος, καλαμίνθη for καλαμομίνθη, καρδ[αμ]άμων, ὀπισθ[ο]θέναρ, κομω[δο]διδάσκαλος, τραγω[δο]διδάσκαλος, λι[πο]πυρία, κελαι[νο]ρεφής, καμη[λο]λάτης, τριακο[ντα]στός, etc., Κολασσαι (NT) for Κολοσσαί.—*N* πλώρη for πρῶρα (Gr. Pap. Br. Mus. p. 117 [†IV<sup>th</sup>], 40 f.), *T* παραψίδιον for παροψίδιον (ib. p. 121 [†IV-V<sup>th</sup>])—80 *M-N*: τ(ο)ίτιος τέτιος έτιος, ἀνθέντης ἀφέντης, φλέβα φλέγα, ἐγγρήγορος [Masar. 528 β ο νους γρήγορος ὄν] γλήγορος; κανοναρχῶ (\*καναναρχῶ) καλαναρχῶ, ὑδράργυρος διάργυρος; ὑδράλημ ὑδάρμη (Alchem. 348, 9); πελεγρίνος (Prodr. 2, 144) for peregrīnus, ἀροτρον ἀλέτρι, κραββῆτιον κρεββῆτι, βαλάνιον βελάνι & βελανίδι, ἀρραβὼν ἀρρεβῶνας; γεγραμμένοι γραμμένοι, λελυμένοι λυμένοι, διδάσκαλος δάσκαλος, σπηία σουπιά, στυππίον στονπιί, Θεσσαλονίκη Σαλονίκη, τὴν φορβάδα ἢ φοράδα (FTrinch. 194 [†1149]). (Cp. 736 f. 753 ff.)

#### b. AMPLIFICATION OF WORDS.

127. A word is often amplified for the sake of convenience, perspicuity, or emphasis, by adding an expletive letter or syllable at the beginning, in the middle, or at the end of a word. In the first case the amplification is specified as *prothesis*, in the second as *epenthesis* or *anaptyxis* (also *scrabhatki*), in the third as *paragoge*,—and the element added in each case goes under the name of *prefix*, *infix*, and *suffix* (or *postfix*) respectively.

128. Although in most cases such amplifications originated in the need for perspicuity and emphasis, they have gradually lost their original force.

129. *Prothesis* is the prefixing of a vowel (commonly *a* *e* *o*) to a word (generally beginning with *σ* *ρ* *λ* *μ* *ν*) either by analogy or for the sake of convenience, euphony, or emphasis.

Thus <i>A</i>	<i>a</i> -σκαίρω	<i>a</i> -στάχys	<i>i</i> -μέ	<i>i</i> -χθής.
	<i>a</i> -μάσσω	<i>i</i> ρέφω	<i>o</i> -ρύσσω	<i>a</i> -ρσα

130. A very frequent variety of prothesis is *protection* (progressive prothesis), by which a final letter is unconsciously carried from the end of the preceding word to the beginning of the next word<sup>[1]</sup>.

This is due to popular misconception, and occurs usually in *N* proclitics, such as *εἰς*, *τόν*, *τήν*, *τῆς*, *τούς*, *δ*, *ἡ*, *τό*, *τά*, but more particularly in *τόν*, *τήν*, *τῶν*, *ένα*, *μία*, *μάς*, *σάς*, *δέν*, *ἄν*, of which the closing sound is misappropriated by the succeeding word and thus acts as a parasitic or intrusive prefix (App. iii. 24. cp. 155<sup>b</sup>). Thus—

*A* *εἰς* κόρακας has led to σκορακίζω

[1] Compare the English nickname, *newt*, for the newton.

*N* δ' Ἐβραῖος has led to Ὁ βραῖος then to δ' Ὁβραῖος (cp. 150)

δ' εὐμορφος	δ' ἴμορφος	δ' ὁμορφος
δ' ἔγρός	δ' ἴγρός	δ' ὀγρός
δ' ἔχθρός	δ' ἴχθρός	δ' ὀχθρός (Crete)
δ' δεινα	δ' δεινός	δ' ὀδεινός
τὸ ζῶν (148 <sup>b</sup> )	τ' ὀζόν	τ' ὀζόν (Crete)

<i>N</i> τὴν Ἰδαν	was mistaken for τὴνίδαν	and produced ἡ Νίδα
τὴν Ἴον (or Ἴόν)	τὴνιόν	ἡ Νιό
τὸν ὠμον	τονῶμον	ὁ νῶμος
τὸν οἰκοκύρην	τονοικοκύρην	ὁ νοικοκύρης
τὸμ Ποντικόν	τομποντικό	ὁ μποντικός
δὲν πορῶ (723) <sup>[1]</sup>	δεμπορῶ	μπορῶ
εἰς Ἰτανον	εἰσίτανον	ἡ Σίτανο
τόνε (132 <sup>b</sup> ) δικόν	τονεδικόν	ὁ δεδικός (554)
τὴνε (ἡμιά)	τὴνε(ἡμιά)	ἡ ἔ(ἡμιά)
τότ κρημύν	τοτκρημύν	ὁ γρεμνός
τόνε γκρεμνόν	τονεγκρεμνόν	ὁ ἐγκρεμνός
τόνε γνωρίζω	τονεγνωρίζω	ἐγνωρίζω
ἔνα ἴηλο	ἐναψήλο	ἀψήλός
ἔνα ἰχνάρι	ἐναχνάρι (150, d)	τὸ ἀχνόρι
ἔνα ὀμάτι	ἐναμάτι (150, a)	τὸ ἀμάτι
ἔνα βράμηλο	ἐναβράμηλο	τὸ ἀβράμηλο
ἔνα ἐντερον	ἐνάντερο (150, c)	τὸ ἐντερο
μία βδέλλα	μαβδέλλα	ἡ ἀβδέλλα
μία βρωνία	μαβρωνία	ἡ ἀβρωνία
μία κινάραν	μαγκινάραν	ἡ ἀγκινάρα
τοὺς πυργίτας	τουςπυργίτας	ὁ σπουργίτης
τὰς κόνεις	τασκόνεις	ἡ σκόνη
τὰς κλήθρας	τασκήθρας	ἡ σκήθρα
τοὺς φλώμους	τουςφλώμους	ὁ σφλώμος
τοὺς κορυδαλλούς	τουςκορυδαλλούς	ὁ σκορδαλλός
τοὺς κανθάρους	τουςκανθάρους	ὁ σκάθαρος

130<sup>b</sup>. Cp. *A* : σμίλαξ & μίλαξ, σ-μύδρος, σ-μήρυνθος, σ-μήριγξ, σ-μύραινα, σ-μικρός, σ-τέρφος, σ-τλεγγίς, σ-πέλεθος, σ-πύραθος, σ-κνίψ, σ-πάλαθρον, etc.

131. *Epenthesis* (anaptyxis, svarabhatki) is the insertion or development of one or more sounds in the body of a word (*infix*) to facilitate the pronunciation (accommodation, euphony).

Thus *A* - *H* ἔβδομος (for \*ἔπτ-μος), ἀν-δ-ρός (for \*ἀν-ρος 385), Ματθαῖος—*N* κριγίος for (κρίος) κρίος, χέρ-ι-σος for χέρσος, τον-γ-λάρον ὁ γλάρος, γ-ου-ῖ for Ἰγῖ, ψαλ-ι-τῆρι for ψαλτῆρι, ἀλ-ι-φα for ἄλφα (but ἀρφαῖς for ἀρφαῖον 187), δέλ-ι-τα for δέλτα, βόλ-ι-τα for Italian *volla*; so CIG 9114, 7 ἐν κόλλεις for ἐν κόλλοις. (Cp. 179. 188.)

132. *Paragoge* (παραγωγή or rather προσσχηματισμός) is the adding to the end of a word of one or more letters, as : οὔτοσί, (ἐγὼν), προσώπατα—*N* τόνε, μάσε, αὐτόνα, ἐφίλειε (cp. 130. 574).

132<sup>b</sup>. In *N* speech the paragogic suffix is either *analogical*, as : ἐψίς (after ἐχθός), ἐμένα (after τινά, δεινά), ἐφίλειε (after ἔλνε, ἔλεγε (857) ; or *protective* of the final and untenable *v* (219), as : ἀνε (for ἄν), ἤμουνε & ἤμουνα (for ἤμην, after εἶχα ?), θέλουνε (for θέλουν), ἔνα (for ἐν 621),

[<sup>1</sup>] The *N* verb ἐμπορῶ does not come from ἐμπορος, but from ἐπωρῶ through the successive stages : ἐπωρῶ (as Span. 110, 116, 119, etc.)—\*φορῶ—\*πορῶ (721; cp. Εὐστάθιος -θης, Στάθης, Εὐστράτιος Στρατῆς, εὐπρέπεια πρεπεία)—δὲν πορῶ or δεμπορῶ—μφορῶ. From this last form then, which is the genuine popular, *N* scribes have evolved ἐμπορῶ by mistaking the initial *μ* of μφορῶ for part of the preposition ἐν. For the popular ἐμφορῶ or ἡμφορῶ see 132<sup>b</sup>.

δένε (for δέν, App. iii. 24 f.), ἔξε;—or *anaptyctic* (*epenthetic*), developed for clearness' sake, as: τότε γνωρίζω I know him (τὸ γνωρίζω I know it); δένε ριγῶν δέν ἐργῶ (Crete), τῶνι δὺο for τῶν δύο (τῶ δὺο=τὸ δὺό), δένε μπορῶ (whence δέν ἐμπορῶ) or δένι μπορῶ (whence δέν ἤμπορῶ (as Span. 230)) 'I cannot.' (So too perhaps δένι ξεύρω, ἡ-ξεύρω, δένι \*στάνομαι, ἡ-στάνομαι 996<sub>n</sub>.) This last kind of paragon often appears as *retentive* in that, though virtually constituting a prefix to the next following word, it is mistaken for a suffix to the preceding (mostly proclitic) word, and so is transferred to it (cp. 130), as: τὸν ἔβλεπα 'I was seeing him,' τότε βλέπω 'I see him'; also ἔξη (from ἔξε ἡμῖν 641) current even in *M*, as: Prodr. 3, 242, and Pul. 237 (cp. 208. 725. App. iii. 24 ff.).

C. RETRENCHMENT OF WORDS.

133. A word is often shortened for the sake of convenience by dropping one or more letters from the beginning, middle, or end (initial, medial, and terminal retrenchment). In the first case the retrenchment is conventionally called *aphaeresis* (also *prodelision*), in the second *syncope* (with *hyphaeresis*), in the third *elision* (with *apocope*).

133<sup>b</sup>. *Aphaeresis* occurs chiefly in poetry and popular speech.

Thus Δ μὴ ἐγὼ ἢ ἐμοῦ ἰμάσθλη — G-N αὐτὸν ἐκείνος  
become μὴ 'γώ ἢ 'μοῦ ἰμάσθλη „ τον κείνος.

134. In *N* aphaeresis is due chiefly to popular misconception, the part dropped being mistaken for an alien element, or suffix to the preceding word. Thus unaccented initial α-, ο-, ι-, κ-, and above all ε-, is dropped owing to its being associated or identified with the final -α, -ο, -ι, -ν, -ε of some proclitic like εἶνα, μία, ὁ, τό, ἡ, τὸν; δέμε' τόνε' (μάσ', σάσ')—or for the augment ε- (208. 723). Aphaeresis then is the reverse of protraction (prothesis), and affects particularly nouns and verbs of more than two syllables. Thus—

a.	ὀμφαλὸς	was mistaken for	ὀ'μφαλὸς	and produced	N φαλός
	ὀφθαλμός	"	ὀ'φθαλμός	"	φταρμός
	Ἰωσήφ(ης)	"	*ἰω-Σήφης	"	Σήφης
	λίγος	"	ὀ'λίγος	"	λίγος
b.	τ' ὀνύχιον	"	τὸ 'νύχιον	"	νύχι
	τ' ὀφρύδιον	"	τὸ 'φρύδιον	"	φρύδι
	τ' ὀρολόγιον	"	τὸ 'ρολόγι	"	ρολόγι
	τ' ὀψάριον	"	τὸ 'ψάριον	"	ψάρι
	τ' ὀψώνιον	"	τὸ 'ψώνιον	"	ψώνι
	τ' ὀρύσιον	"	τὸ 'ρύσιον	"	ρύσι
	τ' ὀξειδιον	"	τὸ 'ξειδιον	"	ξειδι
	τ' ὀστρείδιον	"	τὸ 'στρείδιον	"	στρείδι
	τ' ὀμμάτιον	"	τὸ 'μμάτιον	"	μάτι
	τ' ὀπωρικόν	"	τὸ 'πωρικόν	"	πωρικό
	τ' ὀδόντιον	"	τὸ 'δόντιον	"	δόντι
c.	τὴν Νάξον	"	τὴν 'Αξον	"	'Αξιά
	τὴν Ναύπακτον	"	τὴν 'Αυπακτον	"	'Επαχτο
	ἐν μύγδαλον	"	ἐνα 'μύγδαλον	"	μύγδαλο
	ἐν στακόν	"	ἐνα 'στακόν	"	στακός
	ἐνα ἰχνάρι	"	ἐνα 'χνάρι	"	χνάρι
	ἐνα ὑπόδημα	"	ἐνα 'πόδημα	"	πόδημα
d.	initial ε-	"	augment	"	(723)
	τὸν ἑρωτῶ	"	τονε 'ρωτῶ	"	ρωτῶ
	τὸν ἑτεράζω	"	τονε 'τεράζω	"	τετάζω
e.	ἡμέρα	"	ἡ 'μέρα	"	μέρα
	ἐπεριφανία	"	ἡ 'περιφανία	"	περιφανιά
	ἡγεία	"	ἡ 'γεία	"	γεία
	εἰκόνα	"	ἡ 'κόνα	"	κόνα (= εἰκόν)



135. To similar influences are due numerous other cases of *N*aphaeresis in which initial *ε*- is mostly affected (723), as :

μπαίνω	(for ἐμβαίνω)	βγαίνω	(for ἐκβαίνω)
ἐμπνῶ	(,, ἐξμπνῶ)	ντρεπομαι	(,, ἐντρεπομαι)
γδύνω	(,, ἐκδύνω)	θυμούμαι	(,, ἐνθυμούμαι)
παινῶ	(,, ἐπαινῶ)	ῥημάζω	(,, ἐρημάζω)
βρίσκω	(,, εὐρίσκω)	βλογῶ	(,, εὐλογῶ)
φκαριστῶ	(,, εὐχαριστῶ)	ξερωῶ	(,, ἐξερωῶ)
παίρνω	(,, ἐπαίρνω)	σοδιάζω	(,, ἐσοδιάζω)

135<sup>b</sup>. So further :

βλογιά	(,, εὐλογία)	λευτεριά	(,, ἐλευθερία)
βαγγέλης	(,, Εὐάγγελος)	νοῖκι	(,, ἐνοίκιον)
Φροσύνη	(,, Εὐφροσύνη)	λάφι	(,, ἐλάφιον)
πισκοπή	(,, ἐπισκοπή)	σάφα	(,, ἐσχάρα) [1]
πιστάτης	(,, ἐπιστάτης)	πίτροπος	(,, ἐπίτροπος)
Λεψίνα	(,, Ἐλευσῖνα)	πετραχήλι	(,, ἐπιτραχήλιον)
πίβουλος	(,, ἐπίβουλος)	πιτήδειος	(,, ἐπιτήδειος)
γλήγορος	(,, ἐγρήγορος)	πιδέξις	(,, ἐπιδέξις)
περήφανος	(,, ὑπερήφανος)	ψηλός	(,, ὑψηλός)
γούμενος	(,, ἡγούμενος)	πουργός	(,, ὑπουργός)
δυόσμος	(,, ἡδυόσμος)	διάργυρος	(,, ὑδράργυρος)

136. *Syncope* (συγκοπή) is the suppression of one or more interconsonantal sonants [2] for the sake of convenience or phonetic accommodation. It is due mostly to the effect of accent which overpowers the post-tonic and pre-tonic syllables, especially those consisting of the weaker sonants *i* and *e*, also *u*. (Cp. 144-155 ; App. I. 16, also 030.) *E. g.*

1. <i>Α</i> ζῆσαι	from ζῆσαι	ζῆσχον	from *ζῆσεχον
ἐπτόμην	,, ἐπετόμην	πατρός	,, *πατερός
πτήσομαι	,, πετήσομαι	γενόμενος	,, *γιγενόμενος
φιλέτρου	,, φιλετρου	τουτί	,, τουτοί
ηγρόμην	,, ηγερόμην	ἀλφα	,, αλεφῆ
βερνίκη	,, βερενίκη	τάρχος	,, τάριχος
οὔτρανος	,, veteranus	Βύβλος	,, Bibulus
Λέντυλος	,, Lentulus	Πρόκλος	,, Proculus
2. <i>Ν</i> πέρσι [3]	,, πέρσι	περβόλι	,, περιβόλι
κορφή	,, κορυφή	περπατῶ	,, περιπατῶ
καθημερνός	,, καθημερινός	χοιρνός	,, χοιρινός
στάρι	,, σιτάρι	φλακή	,, φυλακή
σκῶτι	,, συκῶτι	(σ)κορδαλλός [4]	,, κορδαλλός
πάρτε	,, πάρετε	πιάστε	,, πιάσετε
όρίστε	,, όρίσετε	ἄστε	,, ἄσετε
διαρμίζω	,, διαρρυθμίζω	εἰκοσπέντε	,, εἰκοσιπέντε
σμίγω	,, συμμίγω	κάτσε	,, κάθισε
τυρνή	,, τυρινή	σπίρτο	,, σπρίτιο

136<sup>b</sup>. For further examples in archaic and *A* Greek see App. I. 16.—On this principle *G-B* λάμνα stands for *lamina* Great Louvre Pap. 2115. 2116. 2238. 2226 ; while *μαρέ* (properly vocative of *μαρός*, 'fool,' but now used as an exclamation, 'I say !') becomes *μ'ρέ* (so now in Crete and elsewhere), then *ρ'έ* now current, especially in northern *N* speech (030. 251 f. 1254).

[1] So even in CGL 650, 9 σχάραν.

[2] Among ancients the term *συγκοπή* is wider, in that it means the reduction of a word by the suppression of a sonant, consonant, or whole syllable.

[3] So as early as in *Hermas* 2, *περσινός*, also *Porph. Car.* 660, 30.

[4] So even in *Prodr.* 4, 429. For the initial *σ*- see 130.

137. All vowels in Greek having been almost isochronous (24. 35<sup>b</sup>. App. ii. 1 & [1]) and the accent (stress) much weaker than in those modern languages which distinguish quantity (English, German, etc.), a balance of quantity was thus maintained, which greatly checked the operation of syncope. (App. i. 17.)

138. A variety of syncope is *hyphaeresis* (ὑφαίρεσις) which consists in the dropping of a sonant before or after another homophonous sonant. For examples see 148 f.

139. *Elision* (ἐκθλιψις) is the dropping of a final sonant when the next word begins with another sonant. The final sonant thus elided is indicated by the spiritus lenis ('), called in this particular case *apostrophe*.

μετ' ἐμοῦ for μετὰ ἐμοῦ, ἐπ' αὐτῷ for ἐπὶ αὐτῷ, γένονται' ἄν for γένοιτο ἄν.

140. 'The *apostrophe*, whose form varied from a curve to a straight accent or even a mere dot, was very generally placed in early MSS after a foreign name, or a name not having a Greek termination, as, for example, 'Αβραάμ', and after a word ending in a hard consonant, as κ χ ξ ψ, and also ρ.' (EMThompson 72 f.) (Cp. 64.)

141. In *A* elision occurs in words, especially particles, ending in -α, -ε, -ο, -ι, -αι, -οι, except in πρὸ and περὶ (743). In *N* it affects all sonants according to 146-154.

141<sup>b</sup>. Considering that elision is never partial but invariably total in the case of final αι and οι, we may safely infer that these diphthongs had very early assumed a monophthongal sound. (30.)

142. A variety of elision is *Apocope* (ἀποκοπή), which consists in the dropping of one or more terminal sounds notwithstanding that the following word begins with a *consonant*. It occurs rarely and only in ancient dialects and *N* speech. (Cp. App. i. 16.)

ἀν' τε μάχην for ἀνὰ τε μάχην, ἀμ' πέλαγος for ἀνὰ πέλαγος, καγ' γόνυ for κατὰ γόνυ, παρ' τόν for παρὰ τόν—*N* ἀπ' τὰ κόκκαλα or ἀφ' τὰ κόκκαλα.

#### d. METATHESIS.

143. *Metathesis* (μετάθεσις) is the transposition of two letters, one of which is commonly a liquid. It may moreover be accompanied by dissimilation (126).

Thus *A* θάσσος θύμβρος Πύκνα become θράσος θρύμβρος Πινύκα

then γνωρίζω ἐκβάλλω σκορπίζω ἀμείγω Φεβράρης φάντασμα

in *N* γνωρίζω βγάλλω σκορπίζω ἀρμέγω Φλεβάρης σφάνταμα

Likewise ἐκβαίνω ἰδω πικρός

become in *N* βγαίνω (ιδῶ) διῶ πικρός

143<sup>b</sup>. For a metathesis of 'quantity' see 168<sup>b</sup>.

#### A. SONANTIC PHONOPATHY (VOCALISM).

144. Greek *sonantism* or *vocalism* consisted originally—and so does still in *N*—of the five fundamental sounds α, ο, υ, ε, ι (16 b f. 35<sup>b</sup>). These are divided into—

Three *guttural* ('velar' or 'back') sonants ( $\alpha$ ,  $o$ ,  $u$ ) :  $\alpha$ ,  $o$ ,  $ou$ .

Two *palatal* ('dental' or 'front') sonants ( $e$ ,  $i$ ) :  $\epsilon$ ,  $αι$ — $ι$ ,  $\eta$ ,  $υ$  ;  
 $\epsilon$ ,  $οι$ ,  $υι$ .

#### RELATIVE POWER OF SONANTS.

145. Phonetically or dynamically considered, guttural sonants are stronger than palatal sonants, while among co-ordinates, accented sonants are stronger than unaccented sonants.

Thus in *φάγε, μία, λύομεν, λούεις, θέλει, ιδέ*, the black-faced sonants are stronger than their neighbours.

[This phenomenon applies strictly to *P-N*, but cannot be clearly traced in *A* and earlier Greek owing to the then anomalous constitution of the alphabet and the inconsistency of the orthography.]

146. The relative power of the above five sonants (*phonodynamy*, *ἐπικράτεια*) may be roughly represented by the following *phonodynamic scale* :

$\alpha$ ,  $o$ ,  $u$ ,  $e$ ,  $i$ ,

in which, the absence of any interfering consonant given, each sound, propelled by the dominant accent of the word, overpowers and absorbs any one of its successors, and conversely is absorbed by any of its predecessors. Thus—

$$\begin{array}{rcll} \alpha + \alpha & o & u & e & i = \alpha \\ o + o & u & e & i & = o \\ u + u & e & i & & = u \\ e + e & i & & & = e \\ i + i & & & & = i \end{array}$$

147. This phonodynamic scale, which has wrought fundamental changes in the language, particularly since *A* times, was first detected, for aught I know, by EASophocles (Romaic gram. [Hartford, 1842] p. 13; cp. also new ed. [1857] p. 4 & 20). In recent times, it has been fully investigated, independently as it appears, by GHatzidakis (304-305). It may be conveniently memorized by the word *ἀπαθούμενοι* (speak *apothumēni*)—or conversely *ὑπεδούλωσα* (*ipeδūlosa*).

According to this phonodynamic principle :

148. A. Two contiguous *homophonous* sonants are contracted or synopated to one (by *hyphaeresis*, 138. 157), as : Πολυμνίς Πολυμνίς VII-VI<sup>th</sup> B.C. PKretscher; *P ταμειῖον ταμείον*, Ἀβραάμ Ἀβράμ (so WECrum Coptic MSS 46 & 29), Γαβριήλ Γαβρήλης. If either was accented before the contraction, it is this sonant that prevails and so determines the resultant accent. Thus—

<i>A</i>	<i>μελαγχροῖς</i>	<i>κρέα</i>	<i>σῶς</i>	<i>λούουσι</i>	<i>φόνην</i>
become	<i>μελαγχρής</i>	<i>κρέα</i>	<i>σῶς</i>	<i>λοῦσι</i>	<i>φόνην</i>
and	<i>Ἀλαιεύς</i>	<i>Ἐπεικίδης</i>	<i>Πειραιεύς</i>	<i>Θοραιεύς</i>	<i>Νικαιεύς</i>
become	<i>Ἀλειύς</i>	<i>Ἐπεικίδης</i>	<i>Πειρεύς</i>	<i>Θορεύς</i>	<i>Νικεύς</i>
so too <i>P-G</i>	<i>πιεῖν</i>	<i>κυλίειν</i>	<i>ποιῆσαι</i>	<i>ἀφίεις</i>	<i>γένενα</i>
become	<i>πιέν(πιν)</i>	<i>κυλείν</i>	<i>ποιῶσαι (πῆσαι)</i>	<i>ἀφείς</i>	<i>γέννα</i>
and in <i>N</i>	<i>λύεις</i>	<i>πτύεις</i>	<i>χρίεις</i>	<i>κλείεις</i>	<i>καμμάεις</i>
become	<i>λείς</i>	<i>φτείς</i>	<i>χρεῖς</i>	<i>κλείς</i>	<i>καμμείς</i>
further <i>N</i>	<i>λύει</i>	<i>πτύει</i>	<i>χρίει</i>	<i>κλείει</i>	<i>καμμύει</i>
become	<i>λεῖ</i>	<i>φτεῖ</i>	<i>χρεῖ</i>	<i>κλεῖ</i>	<i>καμμεῖ</i>

148<sup>b</sup>. So further *P* *ἐπιείκεια ἐπείκεια, ἐπίγειοι καὶ δέριοι ἐπίγοι καὶ δέροι* (Cleemans Pap. Gr. ii. 15), *ὕγεια ὕγια* or *ὕγεια* [<sup>1</sup>], *ὀρνέειν* (\**δρνύν* and by analogy) *ὀρνέειν, δόηι δοί* (or *δῆ*), *πεποίηκα πεποίηκα* (GKaibel 719); *γίγνα πυρός* (Great Louvre Pap. 3072); *περιπτάμενος* ib. 3026; *ἀρτύεις ἀρτεῖς* (CGL 401, 24 artys);—so *N* *ἐγγυητής ἐγγυτής, κλαετε κλαῖτε, μηλλές μηλές, σκυέες σκυέες, θέ μου θέ μου,—ἡ ἡμέρα ἡ μέρα, καλὴ ἡμέρα* (CGL 229 i. 11) *καλημέρα, (P-N) χρυσοχόος χρυσοχός, ἀκούουν ἀκοῦν, τριήμερα τρίμερα* (MGeorg. Const. 153), *ζῶο' ζό'* (Corn. A 1158).

149. B. Of two contiguous *heterophonous* sonants the stronger prevails over the weaker (146). It thus acquires additional stress and theoretically operates like a 'long' sonant. Accordingly—

150. 1. The *α*-sound prevails over all others :

a.—*α+ο* or *ο+α=α*: [cp. *Α τῷ ἀνδρὶ τάνδρι, δ ἀνὴρ ἀνήρ, Λαοσθένης Λαοσθένης*]; *N* *χασμένος χαμένος* (*ἐχάσας ἐχάσας* Span. 263; MGlycas 206 & 573), *Ἰωάννης Τάνης Τάνης* i. e. *Γιάννης* (155, α), *διὰ δτι (γὰρ δτι) γιατί, παραποίησιν* (524) *παραπίσω, καλοακούω καλακούω, τὸ ἄλογο τ' ἄλογο, δ' Ἀντώνης Ἀντώνης, τὸ ἄκουσα τ' ἄκουσα, ἀπὸ αὐτοῦ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ*,—but *δέκα δεκά δεκοχτά*.

b.—*α+ου* or *ου+α=α*: *Φεβρᾶρις* for *Φεβρονᾶρις* Plut. Quest. Rom. 68 (cp. *Α τάνδρος*); so now *Φλεβάρης, τοῦ ἀφέντη τ' ἀφέντη, νὰ φά(γ)ουσι νὰ φᾶσι*.

c.—*α+ε* or *ε+α=α*: *τίμας τίμα, ἀεργός ἀργός, αἰρήν ἄρην, τὰ ἐπίλοιπα τὰπίλοιπα, τὰ ἐνδον τάνδον, ἐννεακόσιοι ἐνακόσιοι, ἑαυτὸν αὐτόν, ἐὰν ἂν, (ἀγε) δε δ, τὰ ἔργα τάργα, κατέσσω κατάσσω, ἔασε δσε* (949, 996<sub>α</sub>; δs, 949, 1916), *παραμυρὸς* (524) *παραμυρός, δεκαεπτὰ δεκαφτά—νὰ ἐχῷ νὰ χῷ, τὰ ἔδωκα τὰ δώκα* [<sup>2</sup>].

d.—*α+i* (also *i+α*, 151)=*α*: (*Θράξ Θράξ, δάς δᾶς* [not *δαῖς δᾶς*], *ἐλάδες ἐλᾶδες, οἱ ἄνδρες ἄνδρες*), *καῦμένος καμένος, κλαῦμένος κλαμένος, Μιχαήλης Μιχαήλης, δευτάρθενος ἀπάρθενος* (1132), *νὰ εἶχες νὰ 'χες, θὰ ἦτον θά 'τον* (if not *νᾶχες, θάτον*); *σιγαγώνιον σιγάνιον* (so even in Great Louvre Pap. 2898: *σιγαγώνιον*), *ψάβος ψάβη, τρακόσιοι* or *τρακόσοι, τραντάφυλλο' τραντάφυλλο, πά(γ)εις πᾶς* (863) *στάλος σάλιο', ἐκκλησιάρχης κλησάρχης 'churchwarden.'* (So too *φιλία φιλιά, μηλία μηλιά, κλαδία κλαδιά*, etc. 155, c).

[<sup>1</sup>] Moeris 345 *ὕγεια* Ἀττικῶς, *ὕγεια* Ἑλληνικῶς. Mark further that in the inscriptions the proper names are invariably spelt Τ'γεία and Τ'γείους (twenty-four different names; never Τ'γίει-; cp. the Index to CIA iii. p. 376).

[<sup>2</sup>] Hence the common derivation of the *N* word νερό 'water' from νηρόν is indisputable, whereas that from νεαρόν (sc. ὕδωρ) 'fresh water' (cp. Louvre Pap. p. 126 [+ V-VI <sup>h</sup>] 'aqua nero'), which latter I advocated (not as my own) in *Class. Rev.* (viii. 100) and to which undue claims of priority have been raised (ib. 398 f. and *Byz. Zeit.* iv. 188), is improbable. The matter has been fully investigated and correctly explained, long time since, first by EASophocles in his *Glossary* (Boston, 1860) p. 440 f. 'νηρός, ὅν . . . substantively τὸ νηρόν sc. ὕδωρ, water, νερόν Inscr. [= CIG] 5072, 20. The expression νηρόν ὕδωρ means running water, the ρωματιαῖον ὕδωρ of the earlier Greeks and the ὕδωρ (ὥν of the Septuagint and New Testament. In the time of Phrynichos, however, it meant fresh water, in the sense of water just brought from the fountain; that is νηρόν ὕδωρ was confounded with νεαρόν ὕδωρ [the latter was a scholastic paraphrase of the former which was avoided as "common"]. In the course of time, ὕδωρ was dropped, and νηρόν became a substantive. And [when quantity disappeared] νηρόν was written and pronounced νερόν, which see.—νερόν, οὐ, τό, Apophth. Joan. Coleb. 7 [= Migne LXV 202 B ἀνίστη τις πρεσβύτερος μέγας δούναι τὸ καυκάλιον τοῦ νεροῦ]. Porph. Adm. 77, 13. Cer. 466, 17. Et M. 597, 43 νηρόν τὸ ὑρόν . . . καὶ ἴσως ἡ συνθήθεια τρέψασα τὸ Α εἰς Ε λέγει νερόν.—νεαρός a fresh, just brought, as water. Ammon. νεαρόν νεαλοῦς καὶ προσφάτου διαφέρει. νεαρόν μὲν γὰρ ἐστὶ τὸ νεωστὶ κομισθέν ὕδωρ.' So even earlier in his *Rom. Gram.* p. vi.—Compare also Coraes' vague speculations in his Ἀτακτα iv. 349 Νερόν ἀπὸ τὸ Νηρόν ἢ Ναρόν Ἑλλην. τοῦτο δὲ ἢ ὡς ῥηματικὸν τοῦ Νάω, τὸ [sic] μέω, ἢ κατὰ σύγκρασιν ἢ συγκοπὴν τοῦ Νεαρόν, παραγώγου τοῦ Νέον (recent, frais), ἢ, κατ' ἄλλους, συνθέτου ἀπὸ τὸ Νεωστὶ ἀρῆσθαι (nouvellement épuiser).

150<sup>b</sup>. Sometimes the combination *ou* produces *o*, though chiefly in northern *N*, as: *ποῦ ἔχω πὸ 'χω, μοῦ ἔρχεται μὲ 'ρχεται*.

151. Otherwise *i* + *a*, when pronounceable, undergoes synizesis and becomes *ia*, as: *ιατρός ιατρός, θαλός θαλί, εἶα ἰά* (155, *a*).

152. 2. The *o*-sound prevails over *i* *e* *u*: *βοῖδι & βῦδι βόδι or βῦδι, ὀδόγητα ὀδόγητα or ὀδόγητα, τὸ εἶπα τὸ 'πα, (παιδοέγγονα) παιδοέγγονα, τὸ ἔχω τὸ 'χω, (λέγω) λέω λῶ* (863), *τοῦ ὀρφανοῦ τ' ὀρφανοῦ, περιστερεῖν περιστερεῖν, σιάπα σῶπα, Μωυσῆς Μωσῆς, ἑώραν ὥραν* (727), *νεοσσός νοςσός* (as Barn. II, 3), *Θεόδωρος Θεόδωρος, χρεωστῶ χρωστῶ, θεωρῶ θωρῶ, ἔωτ ὤτ (ὥτ) [1], ἀφῶ ἀφῶ* (960), *ποῦ ὀρί(ζει) π' ὀρί(ζει), τρώ(γ)εις τρῶς*. (So further *ποῖος ποῖος, Σμυρναῖος Σμυρναῖος*, 155, *c*). [but *γητεία* (Elegrand Bibl. ii. 277 & 237, MS 1384 A.D.), now *γητεία*, and *γητεύω* for *γοητεία, γοητεύω*! though the alternative of *γοητεία* \**γοτεία* and by dissimilation again *γητεία, γητεύω* is admissible also.]

153. 3. The *u*-sound prevails over *i*, *e*: (cp. *Α λούετε λούτε, τοῦ ἐμοῦ τοῦ 'μοῦ, λούεσθαι λούσθαι, ἀπέλουε ἀπέλου, Ρ-εούρησα ούρησα*) *ἀκούεις ἀκούς, ἀκουε ἀκου* (Cleemans 135 [II-III<sup>rd</sup>]), *49 κατάκου for -ουε, ἀκούετε ἀκούτε, ποῦ εἶσαι ποῦ 'σαι, ποῦ εἶνε ποῦ 'νε, ποῦ ἦσουν ποῦ 'σουν, ποῦ ἦθελες ποῦ 'θελες, σοῦ εἶπα σοῦ 'πα, τοῦ ἐφυγα τοῦ 'φυγα*. (So too *παιδίου παιδιῶ* 155, *c*).

154. 4. The *e*-sound generally prevails over *i*, but often also conversely: *θέλει ἐμένα θέλ' ἐμένα or θέλει 'μένα, καίεις καῖς, κλαίεις κλαῖς, λέ(γ)εις λές, λέ(γ)ει λέ, τί ἔχεις τ' ἔχεις or τί 'χεις, ὅ,τι ἔχω ὅ,τι 'χω or ὅ,τ' ἔχω, σέ εἶδα σ' εἶδα; so too τί ἐν' τα τίντα* (592 f.). (So too *ἐννέα ἐννέα, μηλέα μηλέα* 155, *c*).

155. *Synizesis*. Two successive syllables, of which the first commonly ends in a palatal and the second in a guttural sonant (144 f.)—or conversely—may be so rapidly uttered, under the influence of the accent or ictus, as to form but one syllable. This is called *synizesis* (*συνίζησις*, better *συνεκφώνησις*) and occurs chiefly in verse and common speech. (162. App. i. 14.)

*a*. When the first of the two syllables thus merged ends in a palatal sonant (*i*, *e*), it naturally glides into short *i* or rather into the semi-vowel *ï* (which can even be gutturalized, 155<sup>f</sup>. 155<sup>b</sup>). Accordingly in *N*—

<i>ί, βί, δέ, ρί, μί</i> are sounded	} <i>ί, βί, δι, ρί, μί, as: ἰά (εἶα), ἰά (διά), ἀδία (ἄδεια),</i> <i>μῖα (μά), ὤριας (ὠραῖος), ἰορή (ιορή).</i>
<i>ο, βε, δε, ρο,</i> „	
<i>πί, φί, θί, τί, πτί</i> „	
<i>πε, φε, δε, τε, πτε</i> „	
	} <i>πῡί, φῡί, θῡί, τῡί, φῡί, as: θῡιάφῡια (θειά-φια) φῡάρι (πτυάριον).</i>

Compare ancient *ζα-* from *δια-* (1125), *θιδς* for *θεός* (Laconia), *ῥῆπια* for *ῥῆπα* (Cyprus), *θειο-, θιο-* (Boeotia), (KBrugmann Gr. Gram.<sup>2</sup> 38); further *Σαραπητήρ*, *Τρατιανός*, *τερο[ύ]* ὁστέου (60); *σκεῖος* *τυάμιον* ABC 243.

*b*. Of the two sonants thus merged or contracted the stronger (146 f.) usually receives the stress of the syllable:

*Α θεός, νείκεε, χρύσεον ἱππετανόν, Ἑνθαλίω, πόλιος or πόλιως, ἰσχοε, νεανῶν, ἡ οὔκ, δὴ ἔβδομον*.—H (161 B.C.) *τὸν βασιλειά* Gr. Pap. Br. Mus. p. 23, 35. ib. 28, 22;—161 B.C. *τοῦ βασιλείας* Gr. Pap. Br. Mus. p. 28, 2.—*Θ συμφοριάν* (trisyllabic) GKabel 560, 6 (†I<sup>st</sup>).—*N λογαρισμός, ἀγίος, ἀετός, παλαῖος*.

*c*. If the palatal sonant was accented before the synizesis took place, the accent is generally removed to the succeeding stronger

[1] So even in NT Gal. 6, 10 *ἀρ' οὖν ὤτ* (ubi male *ὤτ*) *καιρὸν ἔχομεν ἐργαζώμεθα*. Ignat. ad Smyrn. 9, 1 *ἐβλογόν ἐστιν λαῶν ἀναγῆσαι ἡμᾶς ὡς ἐπὶ καιρὸν ἔχομεν*. So too even *A ὅς ἐν ἡ* from *ὅς ἐν ἡ*, as: Aesch. Sep. 628. Eum. 367. Scph. Tr. 266. 525. O. R. 1248. O. C. 1639. Ai. 442. Eur. Hel. 1124. Med. 955. Pl. Rep. iii. 394 *A τὰ δ' ἀκέραια*. Z 170. M 280. ψ 150. ξ 153. Hdt. i, 205.

syllable, as: *νέος* (*νίος*) for *νίος*, *Μαθηαῖος* for *Μαθηαῖος* (171<sup>b</sup>), *ἐννέα* for *ἐννια*, *φιλιὰ* for *φιλία*, *παιδιοῦ* for *παιδίου*, *παιδιὰ* for *παιδία*, *μηλέα* for *μηλεια*, *ποιός* for *ποιός*, *Ῥωμαῖος* for *Ῥωμαῖος*, *δύο* for *δύο*, *μεθύω* for *μεθύω*, *πίε* for *πία* (996<sub>213</sub>), *φιλίης* for *φιλίες* (152).—But *αἰτία*, *οὐσία*, *ἀμαρτία*.

d. In many places, however, such as Cumae in Euboea, Aegina, Maina, Tsaconia, Pontos, Ionian Islands, South Italy, etc., the synzesis is still often resisted (271), as: *φιλί-α*, *μηλέ-α*, *παιδί-ον*, *παιδί-α*, *λύ-ω*, *πί-ε*, etc.

e. In several insular, especially southern, dialects, including that of eastern Crete, the sibilant syllable *-σι-* loses its *i* before a sonant in the same word, as (*τὸ κρασί* 'wine') *τοῦ κρασοῦ*, *τὰ κρασά* (for *-σιοῦ*, *-σιά*)—*τὰ νησά*, *πλοῦσος* (for *πλοῦσιος*), *ἄξος* (for *ἄξιος*), *μοναξά* (for *-ξιά*), *κλεψά* (for *-ψιά* i.e. *κλοπή*).

f. Conversely, in Cyprus the semivowel *ι* becomes *κ* before a sonant (155, a. 155<sup>b</sup>), as: (*χωρίον* \**χωργόν*) *χωρκόν*, (*ποιός*) *πκός*, (*τρία*) *τρικά*, (*Κυριακός*) *Κυρκικός*.

g. In Cretan speech, unaccented *τι* changes to *θι*, and unaccented *ντι* to *θι*, before a sonant (cp. 181 f.), as: (*φωτιδ*) *φωθιά*, (*τέτοιος*) *τέθιος*, *στρατιάντης*, *στραθιάντης*, (*ἀρχοντιδ*) *ἀρχοθιά*, (*ἐνάντιος*) *ἐνάθιος*—but *αἰτία*, *οὐσία*, *ἀμαρτία*.

155<sup>b</sup>. *Consonantization*.—In *N* the need for perspicuity or emphasis may even prevent phonodynamic fusion by developing an intersonantic *-γ-*, first palatal (*ι*), then guttural (*gh*; cp. 60. 860), as:

(*κλαίγω* in Louvre Pap. 15 [160 B.C.], 61). *παιδοποιῖαν* IStaph. 242. *ἀγούρος* ABC 31, 10. 83, 25. *ἀγέρας* (for *ἀέρας* i.e. *ἀήρ*), *πλέγει & πλέγω* (*πλέω*), *λούγει & λούγω* (*λούω*), *ἀκούγει & ἀκούγω*, *κρούγω*, *νογῶ* (*νοῶ*), *πραγύς* (*πράγς*), *ἀγούρος* (*ἄωρος*),—*ὁ-ἡ-εἰς* (*ὁ εἰς*) *γεις*, *ὁ-γ-οῖς* (*ὁ οἶος*) *γοῖς* (612. 615), *τὸ-ἡ-αἶμα γαῖμα*, *τὸ-ἡ-ὕνι (ὕνισον) γυνί*, *ὁ-ἡ-ἴδιος γίδιος*, *τὸ-γ-οῦλι (οὔλον)*, *ἡ-γ-μνη γούρνα* (cp. 155, a).

155<sup>c</sup>. *Suppression of the gutturals γ, κ, χ*. Conversely *N* speech often drops intersonantic *-γ-* (*ι* or *gh*), by extension also *-κ-* and *-χ-*, either by simple volatization or by mistaking them for an intrusive element in the above sense (155<sup>b</sup>; cp. 863), as: *νὰ φύγη φάη φάω*, *νὰ πά(γ)η πάω*, *λέ(γ)ει λέω* (thence *λῶ*), *νὰ σφα(γ)ῇ*, *νὰ σφα(γ)ῶ*, *ἔ(χ)ει*, *ῥ(χ)ι*, *σπά(γ)ος*, *πέλα(γ)ος*, *τα(γ)ίς*, *τα(χ)υτέρου* (Crete), *έ(γ)ῶ*, *ά(γ)ωμε*, (*ἄωμε*) *ἄμε* = *ἄγε*, 'go' *ἄγε* *ἀε* *ἀ* 'let', (*ἄγετε* *ἄτετε*) *ἄντε* 'go'. (Cp. Louvre Pap. 26 [163-2 B.C.], 9 *ὀλίων*; ib. 14 *ὀλίας*. ib. 63 [165 B.C.] 103 *ὀλίους*:—all for *ὀλίγ-*.) Cleemans 23, 4 *κατ' ἐπιταγήν*.—Cp. 59, c & 60<sup>b</sup>.

155<sup>d</sup>. In the dialect of Otranto this extrusion is often extended even to intersonantic *τ δ β γ*, as: *τοῦτο* for *τοῦτο*, *δῖω* for *δῖω*, *βράβ* for *βράβν*, *πρώτα* for *πρόβατα*, *ἐκεῖο* for *ἐκεῖνο*. (HFTözer in Journ. Hall. Stud. x. 18.)

156. *Contraction* is the phonetic or graphic fusion, originally under the influence of accent (85 ff.), of two successive sonants within one word into one sonant, naturally intensified ('lengthened') at the time of the contraction, but soon afterwards unconsciously reduced to the level of normal or common sonants (124<sup>b</sup>. App. ii. 14). The process of contraction, however, so far as it appears in the script, is indicated, for theoretical (metrical and grammatical) purposes, by treating the resulting sonant as 'long' (165 f.).—Contraction is either written or unwritten.

156<sup>b</sup>. I. In *written contraction* two cases must be distinguished:

(1) *Phonetic contraction* which occurs within the fixed part (stem) of a word. Here a sonant overpowers and absorbs another sonant chiefly under the stress of the accent, as: *Λαερτίου* *Λαρτίου*, *δῖος* *δῖος*, *πατρός* *πατρός*. More examples in 156<sup>c</sup>. See App. ii. 14.

(2) *Grammatical contraction* which occurs chiefly outside the stem of a word. Here two or more concurrent sonants are fused into one monophthongous sonant determined by grammatical (inflectional or analogical) influences, as: πόλεες πόλεις, φιλέετε φιλείτε, τιμάμεν τιμῶμεν, τείχεα τεῖχη, ὑμέας ὑμᾶς, μέζοας μέζους. See App. ii. 9-15.

156<sup>c</sup>. Thus are (phonetically or grammatically) contracted (165<sup>b</sup>)—

- |   |                                     |
|---|-------------------------------------|
| 1. α + ι to α: γραῖδιον γράδιον             | 3. ο + α to ω: αἰδῶ αἰδῶ            |
| ε + ι ,, ει: γένει γένει                    | α + ο ,, ω: νικάμεν νικῶμεν         |
| ο + ι ,, οι: αἰδῶ-ι αἰδοῖ                   | ο + η ,, ω: δηλόητε δηλώτε          |
| ε + υ ,, ευ: ἐ-ύ (ἐϋ ? γ <sup>8b</sup> ) εϋ | ε + ω ,, ω: φιλέωσι φιλῶσι          |
| η + ι ,, η: κλήθρον κληῖθρον                | ω + α ,, ω: ἥρωα ἥρω                |
| ω + ι ,, ω: πατρίως πατρίως                 | 4. α + ε ,, α: τιμάετε τιμᾶτε       |
| 2. α + α ,, ᾶ: γέραα γέρᾶ                   | α + η ,, α: τιμάητε τιμᾶτε          |
| ε + η ,, η: φιλέητε φιλήτε                  | ε + α ,, η: γένεα γένη, ἔαγον ἔηγον |
| η + ε ,, η: τιμῆεντι τιμῆντι                | 5. ε + ε ,, ει: φίλεε φίλει, σαφέες |
| ι + ι ,, ι: Χίος Χίος                       | σαφεῖς, ἔεχον εἶχον                 |
| ο + ω ,, ω: δηλώωσι δηλῶσι                  | ε + ο ,, ου: γένεος γένους          |
| ω + ο ,, ω: σῶωσ σῶς                        | ο + ε ,, ου: προέχων προύχων        |
|   | ο + ο ,, ου: νόος νοῦς.             |

157. If the constituent parts had, previous to their contraction, a similar sound, and the resulting sonant is also homophonous, the contraction is virtually *hyphaeresis* or absorption, inasmuch as the stronger sonant has prevailed over the weaker sonant (148), as:

(Χίος) Χίος, (δηλώωσι) δηλῶσι, (σῶωσ) σῶς, (χρύσεαι) χρυσᾶ.

157<sup>b</sup>. This is the only kind of 'contraction' obtaining in *N* (148 f.).

157<sup>c</sup>. But if, previous to the contraction, the constituent parts were heterophonous, the resultant may be either homophonous with the stronger sonant (as φιλέουσι φιλοῦσι), or different from either (as δηλόεω δηλῶν, γένεα γένη, βασιλέες βασιλῆς, βασιλεῖς). In the latter case the resultant points not to a different process of phonopathy during *A*, but rather to dialectal (Ionic) influence or to analogy (165<sup>b</sup>. App. ii. 14).

158. The omission of contraction which is peculiar to archaic and early Greek (124) is contradistinguished as *non-contraction* (ἀσυναρπασία), less correct *diaeresis* (21).

159. A variety of written contraction is *Crasis*, that is, the blending of the final sonant of a word (chiefly proclitic) with the initial sonant of the next following word. (App. ii. 14.)

a. Though crasis unites *two separate words* into one, in connected speech and in the 'scriptura continua' it is virtually identical with contraction. Hence it follows the rules of contraction (156 ff. App. ii. 14), and is moreover indicated by the spiritus lenis ('), put over the resultant and called in this special case *coronis* (κορωνίς), as:

τὰ ἀγαθὰ τὰγαθὰ, τὸ ὄνομα τοῦνομα, καὶ ἐγὼ κἀγώ (20<sup>c</sup>), τῶ αὐτῶ ταῦτῶ.

160. The resulting sonant of the crasis is conventionally supplied with an *ι* subscript—in capitals adscript (20<sup>c</sup>. 31)—if previous to the contraction the *second* component had an *ι*, as: (καὶ εἶτα) κᾶτα (ἐγὼ οἶμαι) ἐγῶμαι (20<sup>c</sup>).

161. *δ*. Written crasis occurs chiefly in verse, and that only after very common words, in particular after the article, the relative pronouns, and the conjunction καί:

(τὰ ἐμέ) τἀμέ  
(τὸ ἐναντίον) τοῦναντίον  
(ἃ ἐγώ) ἀγώ

(καὶ ἄν) πᾶν (20<sup>c</sup>)  
(ἃ ἄν) ἄν  
(ὃ ἄνηρ) ἀνῆρ.

161<sup>b</sup>. The coronis is omitted when it coincides with the spiritus asper, as: (ὁ ἄνθρωπος), ἄνθρωπος.

162. II. *Unwritten contraction*. Very commonly contraction (including crasis) is not symbolized by the script, but is none the less indicated by the rhythm or metre. This kind of contraction which takes place in pronunciation only, and so escapes the eye, goes by the special name of *synizesis* (συνίζησις or συνεκφώνησις), and has already been dealt with in 155. (Cp. App. i. 14.)

163. ANTECTASIS. Most frequently one of two or three consecutive consonants which thus form metrical position, is phonopathically extruded (169) and the metrical position leads to a metrical compensation by lengthening or diphthongizing the rhythmically affected syllable (29 ff. App. ii. 9–15) <sup>[1]</sup>. This phenomenon, which is commonly known as ‘compensatory lengthening,’ will be called in this book *antectasis* (ἀντέκτασις).

Thus $\alpha$ becomes $\bar{\alpha}$ (also $\mu$ ):	$\pi\bar{\alpha}s$	$\lambda\acute{\upsilon}σασι$	$\dot{\epsilon}\phi\eta\alpha$	$\lambda\mu\eta\acute{\nu}$
	(from $\ast\pi\alpha\nu\tau\epsilon$	$\ast\lambda\upsilon\sigma\alpha\nu\tau\iota$	$\ast\dot{\epsilon}\phi\alpha\nu\sigma\alpha$	$\ast\lambda\iota\mu\epsilon\nu\varsigma$ )
„ $\epsilon$ „ $\alpha$ (always):	$\chi\alpha\rho\acute{\iota}\epsilon\iota\varsigma$	$\epsilon\iota\varsigma$	$\dot{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\epsilon\iota\lambda\alpha$	$\rho\acute{\eta}\tau\omega\rho$
	(from $\ast\chi\alpha\rho\iota\epsilon\nu\tau\varsigma$	$\ast\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\varsigma$	$\ast\dot{\epsilon}\iota\sigma\tau\epsilon\lambda\sigma\alpha$ )	$\ast\rho\acute{\eta}\tau\omicron\rho\epsilon$
„ $\omicron$ „ $\omicron\upsilon$ :	$\delta\iota\delta\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$	$\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota$	$\pi\alpha\iota\delta\epsilon\upsilon\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota$	$\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omega\alpha\varsigma$
	(from $\ast\delta\iota\delta\omicron\nu\tau\varsigma$	$\ast\gamma\epsilon\rho\omicron\nu\tau\iota$	$\ast\pi\alpha\iota\delta\epsilon\upsilon\omicron\nu\tau\iota$ )	$\ast\gamma\epsilon\rho\omicron\nu\tau\iota$
„ $\iota$ „ $\bar{\iota}$ :	$\dot{\epsilon}\kappa\rho\acute{\iota}\nu\alpha$	$\dot{\epsilon}\tau\bar{\iota}\lambda\alpha$	$\phi\acute{\alpha}\kappa\tau\iota\rho\alpha$	
	(from $\ast\dot{\epsilon}\kappa\rho\iota\nu\sigma\alpha$	$\ast\dot{\epsilon}\tau\iota\lambda\sigma\alpha$	$\ast\omega\kappa\tau\iota\rho\sigma\alpha$ )	
„ $\upsilon$ „ $\bar{\upsilon}$ :	$\phi\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma$	$\delta\epsilon\iota\kappa\nu\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\iota$	$\eta\mu\bar{\omega}\nu\alpha$	
	(from $\ast\phi\upsilon\nu\tau\varsigma$	$\ast\delta\epsilon\iota\kappa\nu\nu\tau\iota$	$\ast\eta\mu\nu\sigma\alpha$ )	

164. a. In the nominative case of the third declension,  $\epsilon$  and  $\omicron$  become  $\eta$  and  $\omega$  respectively (337, c), as:

$\pi\omicron\iota\mu\eta\acute{\nu}$  (from  $\ast\pi\omicron\iota\mu\epsilon\alpha\varsigma$ ),  $\delta\alpha\acute{\iota}\mu\omega\alpha\varsigma$  (from  $\ast\delta\alpha\iota\mu\omicron\nu\varsigma$ ),  $\rho\acute{\eta}\tau\omega\rho$  (from  $\ast\rho\acute{\eta}\tau\omicron\rho\varsigma$ ).

165. b. Strictly speaking, antectasis is the compensation for any loss <sup>[1]</sup>, whether of consonants or sonants, and so virtually comprises all kinds of contraction. In fact antectasis goes back to the first stage of phonopathy and so forms the basis of all prosodic length or ‘quantity,’ inasmuch as the genesis of nearly all long vowels and all the heterogeneous diphthongs (29b)—a very great part of Greek phonology and the whole system of ‘quantity’ in Greek—are the effects of antectasis. That these effects were never physiological but technical, and that from school they passed through the script to actual speech, has been already explained in 29 ff. and will be more fully treated in App. ii. 9–15.

165<sup>b</sup>. Considering that contraction and antectasis had completed their work much anterior to the adoption of the scholastic spelling (6, 29 ff.), at a period when there was as yet no such a ‘vowel’ as  $\eta$  or  $\omega$  in the Attic alphabet, and when  $\epsilon$  and  $\omicron$  performed a variety of functions (6, 12), it is self-evident that a great number of the cases of contraction ( $\eta + \iota$ ,  $\omega + \iota$ ,  $\epsilon + \eta$ ,  $\eta + \epsilon$ ,  $\omicron + \omega$ ,  $\omega + \omicron$ ,  $\omicron + \eta$ ,  $\epsilon + \omega$ ,  $\omega + \alpha$ ,  $\alpha + \eta$ ) and antectasis are virtually speculative. (See however App. ii. 9–15.) Hence it is hard to tell how much of the contraction and antectasis is actually due to the phonetic process, how much to grammatical principles, and how much to the process of transliteration from which it has passed through the script into common speech.

[1] Gellius N. A. ii. 17, 8 ‘detrimentum litterae productione syllabae compensatur.’



In effect, a great many of the above cases of contraction and antectasis (156 ff. 163 f.), so far as they go back to early *A* times, are probably due directly to Ionic and Doric influence. To put it more plainly, those phonetic and grammatical phenomena which *A* shares with Ionic and Doric, were mostly, if not wholly, *borrowed* directly from those time-honoured dialects (o4) previous to the rise of Athens to pre-eminence, and thus, once sanctioned, served as patterns for subsequent formations as well (124<sup>b</sup>). It is therefore erroneous to speak of contraction and crasis as a phonopathic process actually going on during 500-300 B.C., and still more venturesome to seek to determine, on the strength of such a process, the pronunciation of the sonants at the time referred to (20.30.141<sup>b</sup>.165<sup>b</sup>).

### METAPHONY.

166. *Metaphony* is a phonopathic process by which a vowel underwent, in prehistoric times (124<sup>b</sup>), a change under certain conditions. This change appears either as *qualitative* when the sonant has altered its nature or quality; or *quantitative* when the sonant, for theoretical purposes, has altered its quantity only.

[166<sup>b</sup>. I have substituted the tractable term *metaphony* (μεταφωνία after διαφωνία, συμφωνία, etc.) for the cumbersome and unpalatable German Ablaut(ung), notwithstanding that ancient μεταφωνεῖν had a different meaning<sup>[1]</sup>.]

167. *Qualitative metaphony* is the change of a sonant into another heterophonous sonant (cp. 224<sup>b</sup>). Thus we meet with an interchange of—

α and η : μακρός, μήκος ; στατός, στήσω ; τιμάω, τιμήσω.  
 η „ ω : ἀρήγω, ἀρωγή.  
 ε „ ο and ε : τρέπω, τρόπος, ἐτράπην ; στέλλω, στόλος, ἐστάλην ;  
 φθεῖρω (φθερ), φθορά, ἐφθάρην.

168. *Quantitative metaphony* is either the (metrical and grammatical) lengthening of a short sonant, or the (metrical and grammatical) shortening of a long sonant. Thus we meet with an interchange of—

ᾱ and ᾱ̃ : θέαμα, θεάομαι ; κέκραγα, ἐκράγον ; κάλλος & κᾰλλός.  
 ω „ ο : πᾶμα, ποτός ; δᾶσω, δοτήρ ; δουλᾶσω, δουλᾶω.  
 η „ ε : ἥθος, ἐθίζω ; θήσω, θετός ; ποιήσω, ποιέω.  
 ι „ ῑ : τρίβω, τρίβῃ ; κλίνω, κλίσαις ; κρῖνω, κρῖτης.  
 υ „ ῡ : θύμα, θυσία ; λῖσω, λῖσαις ; δμνῡμι, δμνῡμεν.  
 αι „ ῑ : εἶδος, ἰδεῖν ; λείπω, λιπεῖν ; πείθω, πιθανός (32<sup>f</sup>).  
 ευ „ ῡ : τεύχω, τυχεῖν ; φεύγω, φυγή (32<sup>f</sup>).

168<sup>b</sup>. A variety of quantitative metaphony is the case when two contiguous heterosyllabic vowels interchange quantity for metrical purposes. This is commonly called *metathesis of quantity* (ὑπερβιβασμός τοῦ χρόνου, Hdn. ii. 381 & 625). See App. ii. 14, and cp. 143.

Βασιλέως Βασιλῆος Βασιλέᾳ Βασιλῆᾳ ; so too ἱλαῶς ἱλᾰός.

[1] I had coined this term for the purposes referred to, more than two years before the publication of Prof. VHenry's *Compar. Grammar of English and German*, where he first introduced it, together with 'apophony' (p. 43. 74 of his English version), for the German term *Umlaut*. Thus I can have neither claims to priority nor responsibility for the coinage. I only rejoice at the fact that a similar idea should have occurred independently to two different students. At the same time, I must confess my inability to follow Prof. H. in his application of *metaphony* to 'Umlaut' and *apophony* to 'Ablaut.' For whereas *μετά* in Greek composition can mean a *change*, thus corresponding to German *um-* and *ab-*, Greek *δω-* can mean only a 'dropping' or something 'bad' (German *miss-, ver-*). Hence while *μεταφωνία* can mean 'change of sound,' that is Ablaut or Umlaut, *ἀποφωνία* would mean either 'dropping of a sound' (Lautabfall), or a 'bad sound' (Misslaut or Uebellaut), and thus be a variety of 'cacophony.'

## B. CONSONANTAL PHONOPATHY (CONSONANTISM).

## A. INITIAL AND MEDIAL CONSONANTISM.

169. As already explained in 123 f., Greek manifested from the outset an unmistakable aversion to consonantal accumulations. Should therefore two or more incompatible consonants meet together (by inflection, composition, or derivation), an accommodation was brought about either by their commutation or by the sacrifice of one or more of them (cp. ἐνς: ἐς, ἐν, εἰς). The main principles governing in this phonopathic process are laid down in the following paragraphs (170-217).

169<sup>b</sup>. This phonopathic process seems to underlie also the change of the aspiratae χ θ φ to their co-ordinate tenues κ τ π before a dental or μ (172, 177), inasmuch as the aspirata here drops its second constituent H = h (171) before a consonant under certain conditions, as: \*δεδεκῆται δέδεκται, \*ππειθμα \*πειθμα (πείσμα), \*γεγραπῆται γέγραπται. See 171, 172, 177 & 178.

## a. MUTES.

170. When they occur before a sonant originally aspirated, the tenues κ τ π are changed into their co-ordinate aspiratae χ θ φ (i.e. KH TH ΠH) by misappropriating the initial aspiration (H) of the succeeding word (171).

Thus	οὐκ Ηοσίως	πάντ' Ηόσα	ἀπ' Ηοῦ	ἐπ' - Ηοδός
become	οὐκH οσίως	πάνTH όσα	ἀΠH οῦ	ἐΠH οδός
i. e.	οὐχ όσίως	πάνθ όσα	ἀφ' οῦ	ἐφ - οδος [1]

171. As the aspiration was hardly perceived even in earlier A (72 f.), the above rule cannot have applied to A-P Greek, either written or spoken. As a matter of fact, the phenomenon represents not a phonetic but a graphic union of κ + h, τ + h, π + h, these pairs being mistaken, in the *scriptura continua*, for the old biliteral consonants KH, TH, ΠH (i.e. χ, θ, φ; cp. 3. 6. 12). It will be remembered that in primitive Greek the aspiration h was represented in the script by the symbol H (72), so that combinations like the above were written in the *scriptura continua*: OKHOΣIOΣ, ΠANTHOΣA, METHIEMI, AΠHOΔOΣ, EΠHOΔOΣ, AΠHIEMI. We further know that H, besides its phonetic value as h, formed the second constituent of the then biliteral consonants χ, θ, φ (KH, TH, ΠH; 12). In progress of time when the aspiration became mute (72), its symbol H began also to be dropped from the script everywhere except after κ, τ, π, with which it seemed to form a natural and familiar digraph. Accordingly in οὐχ όσίως, πανθ' όσα, μεθίημι, ἀφ' οῦ, ἐφοδος, ἀφίημι, and the like, there is no phonetic change of the tenues κ τ π into the aspiratae χ θ φ, but a mere mechanic reversion and incorporation of the initial H (h) into the preceding final tenuis, just as it is mechanically done in the case of two words spoken by two different persons, as in dialogue (cp. Soph. EL. 1502: OP. ἀλλ' ἐρφ'. AI. ὑφ' ἡγού—where no man can contend that Orestes had anticipated Aegisthos' reply and so snatched his opening h; cp. App. ii. 5). In all other cases where the aspiration symbol H could not be graphically blended with the preceding letter (cp. σύν-Hodos, πάρ-Hodos, ἐξ-Hodos, ἐπὶ-Hodos, τρίβ' - hούτως, λίγ' ἡτέραν, οὐδ' ἡμέρις), it was altogether dropped even in pre-Attic times [2],

[1] Hence the repetition of the aspiration (h + ') is irrational, and we ought to spell: οὐχ όσίως, πανθ' όσα, ἀφ' οῦ (if not οὐχ οσίως, πανθ' όσα, ἀφ' οῦ).

[2] Even Doric, which preserved the sign of aspiration (H) the longest, discarded the rule in the case of κ τ π, according to Dion. Comp. 335 B: ἀπειράκεις τὰ Δωριεὶ διὰ ψιλῶν ἀντιστοίχων τὰς συναλοιφὰς ποιεῖται. Κῶ τοῦτότης Ἡρακλέης,

notwithstanding that in most of these cases it was far easier to pronounce than after the tenues *ἐπ-Ἠοδος*, *κἀτ-Ἠοδος*, which physiologically are explosive aspirates, thus containing in themselves the aspiration (cp. 56 & 72).—See Dion. Th. in Bekk. An. 631, 25 ff. & 813, 2 ff.

171<sup>b</sup>. Should a tenuis *κ τ π* be followed by an aspirata, it is often phonopathically assimilated to its co-ordinate aspirata (if not dropped, 179. 195). This is regular in *P-N* speech, as: *Βάκχος Βάχχος*, *Ἀθῆς Ἀθῆς*, *Ματθαῖος Μαθθαῖος*, *Σαπφὼ Σαφφῶ*. (See also 56 & 56<sup>b</sup>.)

172. Should a labial or guttural be succeeded by a dental, it becomes co-ordinate with the dental. (169<sup>b</sup>.)

The only combinations admissible here are: *κτ*, *γδ*, *χθ*—*πτ*, *βδ*, *φθ*.

Thus <i>βτ</i> and <i>φτ</i> become			
<i>πτ</i> :	( <i>*τετριβται</i> )	<i>τέτριπται</i>	
<i>πδ</i> „ <i>φδ</i> „	<i>βδ</i> :	( <i>*γραπδην</i> <i>*γραπδην</i> )	<i>γράβδην</i>
<i>πθ</i> „ <i>βθ</i> „	<i>φθ</i> :	( <i>*λειπθην</i> )	<i>λείφθην</i>
<i>γτ</i> „ <i>χτ</i> „	<i>κτ</i> :	( <i>*λελεγται</i> <i>*λελεκται</i> )	<i>λέλεκται</i>
<i>κδ</i> „ ( <i>χδ</i> ) „	<i>γδ</i> :	( <i>*πλεκδην</i> )	<i>πλέγδην</i>
<i>κθ</i> „ <i>γθ</i> „	<i>χθ</i> :	( <i>*ιλεγθην</i> )	<i>έλιχθην</i>

173. The preceding rule holds good only for literary *A*. On the other hand, the frequent occurrence, in *A* inscriptions, as well as in papyri, of combinations like—

<i>ἐχ θητῶν</i>	<i>ἐχ φυλῆς</i>	<i>ἐχ Χαλκίδος</i>
<i>ἐχ Θετταλίας</i>	<i>ἐχ φορήσαντι</i>	<i>ἐχ Λέσβου</i>
<i>ἐγβάτης</i>	<i>ἐγγονος (= ἐκγ-)</i>	<i>ἐγλέγειω</i>
<i>ἐγβολῆς</i>	<i>ἐγ Γαργηττίων</i>	<i>ἐγλυθέντα</i>
<i>ἐγ Βυζαντίου</i>	<i>ἐγδοσιν</i>	<i>ἐγ Λέσβου</i>
<i>ἐγμακτος</i>	<i>ἐγδάκτυλος</i>	<i>ἐγ Τυμοῦ</i>
<i>ἐγ μεγάλων</i>	<i>ἐγ νήσαν</i>	<i>ἐγ Δρυμοῦ</i>

and many others (KMeisterhans<sup>2</sup> 82-84), then *Ἐχτωρ* on *A* vases (PKretschmer 155 & 235)—all dating before the III<sup>d</sup> B.C.—show that even *A* speech deviated from literary usage in the direction of consonantal accommodation, as illustrated in the following sections (174. 176. 179) of *N* consonantism.

174. While retaining the groups *γδ* and *βδ*, uncultivated *N* speech has changed *κτ* and *χθ* into *χτ*, and *πτ* and *φθ* into *φτ*, so that it does not admit of the concurrence of either two tenues or two aspiratae. Should such incompatible consonants concur, the resultant is always an aspirata with a tenuis (cp. 885), as: *ὀχτώ*, *χτύπος*, *χτί(ω)*, *δαχτύλι*, *νύχτα*, *ἐχ τὸν* (for *ἐκ τὸν*, 1571); *φτωχός*, *φτέρνα*, *φτερό*, *ἐφτά*, *κλέφτης*, *ἐφε(λ) οὐ εὐκ(η)* (i.e. *εὐχ(η)*, so even in Vita SA. 8<sup>a</sup> v), *φτάνω*, *(ἐ)προχτής*; (*εὐχθέντες*) *ζευθέντες* (Acta Xanth. 60, 32), *πέμπτη* (*\*πεπτη*), *πέφτη*.

174<sup>b</sup>. The combinations *κτ* or *χτ* and *πτ* or *φτ* are treated differently in South Italian Greek, the Otrantine idiom changing *χτ* (*κτ*) to *φτ*, while that of Bova turns *φτ* (*πτ*) to *στ*, as: *νύφτα* for *νύχτα*, *ἑστὰ* for *ἐφτά* (*ἑπτά*).

175. Before *μ*, a labial becomes *μ*: (*\*γραφμα* *\*γραπ(η)μα*) *γράμμα*.  
 „ „ „ guttural „ *γ*: (*\*διωκμός*) *διωγμός*.  
 „ „ „ dental „ *σ*: (*\*πειθμα* *\*πειτ(η)μα*) *πείσμα*.

176. On this principle, the change into *σ* of a dental before another dental is not physiological or phonopathic, but analogical (124<sup>b</sup>). Thus the change of *\*ιδτε* *\*ιδθι* *\*πειπθται* *\*πειθθην*, into *ἴστε* *ἴσθι* *πέπεισται* *πέπεισθην*, is due to *ἴσμεν* *πέπεισμεθα*, *πέϊσμα*. (Cp. 169<sup>b</sup> & 196.)

*κάλλιστ' ἱπυαλὲν. Κάμεγασθενῆς Ἀσαναία. Μελάμποδα τ' Ἀρπώλυνόν τε. ἀρχοι-  
 μεν γὰρ κῶθρασίαν.* (TBergk iii<sup>4</sup>. 697.)

177. But actual speech of all times changes the combination *σθ* to *στ* (cp. 173. 885), as:

Λυσάστω IGA 109. 111. 117. 119. 121. 322, 16 ἐλέσται. 321, 19, 23, 26, 28 χρῆσται. Ἀθῆν. Ε' 417 Ἀλκιστίου (iv-iii<sup>b</sup> B.C.).—200-190 B.C. θέσταν GDittenberger 294, 68. ἀποπολιτεύσασται ib. 294, 55.—161 B.C. μνήτῃτι Gr. Pap. Br. Mus. p. 24, 4, 26, 4.—± 150 B.C. παραγενίσται GDittenberger 323, 12.—± 140 B.C. καταρχίσταν ib. 233, 65.—91 B.C. ἀγείστω (= ἀγέσθω) ib. 388, 28.—I<sup>st</sup> B.C. καθαρίσκτω GDittenberger 379, 3; CIA iii. 73, 9-10; 74, 3.—ἐντείλασται Bull. Corr. Hell. 1894 p. 14.—± 197 A.D. τρέφεσται Gr. Urk. Berlin 15, 21.—III<sup>rd</sup> A.D. γενέστω, ἀπογραφέστω, Mitth. xix. 250, 27, 83 (Athens).—ἀποθέσται for ἀποθέσθαι, ib. xviii. 64 (Athos).—313 A.D. μεμίστωέναι Gr. Urk. Berlin 343, 5.—So too generally in old Locrian, Boeotian, Thessalian, Phocæan, Eolian, and Messenian.

So now ἀστενής, μιστός, ἔρχεσται, etc.

177<sup>b</sup>. In the same way, the combination *σχ* becomes *σκ*, as IGA 112 πάσκει—now πάσκει, then σχίζω σκίζω, σχολεῖον σκολεῖό (174).

178. But sometimes a guttural before a dental remains unchanged in *A*, as: ἀκμή, ἐρετμός, ἀρθμός. (Cp. 169<sup>b</sup>.)

179. In uncultivated *N* speech a guttural is usually, and a labial always, dropped before *μ*, as: τυλιμός (even in Et. M. 773, 5) but also τυλεγμός,—σα(γ)μάρι, βρε(γ)μένος, πᾶ(γ)μα, θίμασμα (from θαυμάζω), ῥέμα (ῥεύμα), πνέμα (πνεύμα) [1];—whereas a dental either becomes aspirata, changing at the same time *μ* to *ν*, as: ἀχνός for ἀτμός, ἀρίφνητος for ἀναρίθμητος, στάφνη for στάθμη, παχνί for παθνίον from πάλη (Moeris 356; Geop. 15, 4, 1) for φάνη;—or develops a sonant between *τ* and *μ*, as: Gloss. Laod. 66 ἀτομός, ἀτομίω (for ἀτμός, ἀτμίω); so too now τμήμα (for τμήμα cp. OGL 414, 55 praeecismus est tetimemenon estin, i.e. τετμημένον ἐστίν), ἡ Πάτω (for Πάτμος), etc. (Cp. 131 & 187.)

180. Followed by *σ*, a labial produces (124<sup>b</sup>) *ψ*: (\*τερπισι) τέψις.

„ „ „ guttural „ ξ: (\*πραγσω) πράξω.

„ „ „ dental is dropped (169): (\*πειθσω) πείσω.

180<sup>b</sup>. So still in *N*, as: τρίψω, κράξω, κλώσω—then χορέψω, δουλέψω, Λεψίνα, πάψω, κλάψω, κάψα (for χορεύσω, δουλεύσω, Ἐλευσίνα [135<sup>b</sup>], παύσω, κλαύσω, καύσις)—since here *αυ* = *αφ* *εφ* (51 ff.).

180<sup>c</sup>. In South Italian Greek, the idiom of Otranto resolves *ψ* to *φσ*, as: κλάφσω, ἀφσῆλος (ὕψηλος).

181. The syllable *τι* (and *ντι*) is often changed to *σι*, especially when followed by a sonant (124<sup>b</sup>). This is called *assibilation*.

Thus \*πλουσιος, \*ἄδυνατια, \*γεροντια, \*λεγοντι,  
become πλούσιος, ἄδυναστία, γερονστία, λέγουσι.

181<sup>b</sup>. For a dentalization instead of assibilation in *N* see 155, g.

## b. ASPIRATAE.

182. Two contiguous syllables in the same word, beginning with an aspirata, undergo the following dissimilative changes (124<sup>b</sup>. 126):

a. In reduplication, a tenuis is substituted for the aspirata, as: πέφυκα and τίθημι for φεφυκα and θιθημι. (But see 184 f. and cp. 730.)

[1] Assuming that in their actual speech the ancients did not practise gemination (92<sup>b</sup>), but pronounced γράμα (γῤῥαμα) for γράμμα, τέτρημαι for -μματα, we are justified in applying this historical orthography to *N* as well, and so write: τυλιμός, σαμμάρι, βρεμμένος, πῤῥαμα, θάμματα, ῥέμα, πνέμα.

b. The imperative ending *-θι* becomes *-τι* in the first aorist passive : (λυθῆθι) λύθητι (808. 920).

c. The stems *θε-* and *θυ-* become *τε-* and *τυ-* in the first aorist passive : (\*ἐθεθην) ἐτέθην, (P ἐθύθην) ἐτύθην.—Cp. 176.

183. In monosyllabic stems beginning with *τ* and ending in *φ* or *χ*, the aspirata (*φ*, *χ*), when removed from its place, is transferred to the beginning (124<sup>b</sup>) :

Stem <i>τριχ-</i>	<i>τριχός</i>	<i>θρίξ</i> , <i>θρίξιν</i>
„ <i>ταχ-</i>	<i>ταχύς</i>	<i>θάσσω</i> or <i>θάπτω</i>
„ <i>ταφ-</i>	<i>ταφή</i>	<i>θάπτω</i>
„ <i>τρεφ-</i>	<i>τρέφω</i>	<i>θρέψω</i>

184. That the two preceding rules of dissimilation (182 f.) did not hold good for popular speech even in *Δ*, appears sufficiently from the ancient inscriptions and papyri, as :

ἐνθανθοί, ἀνεθίθη, ἐθίθη  
*Χόλχος* (for *Κόλχος*), *χάλχη*, *Χαλχηδόνιοι*  
*Φάνφαιος* (beside *Πάνφαιος*), *χιδάν* (beside *χιδών*)  
*Νίχαρχον*, *θροφός*, *θηθίς* (for *τηθίς*)  
*χυθρίς* (beside *χυτρίς*), *Θαθύβιος*.

184<sup>b</sup>. These inscriptional evidences, beside many others (KMeisterhans<sup>2</sup> 78-82; Blass-Kühner, i. 277 f.), are anterior to the III<sup>rd</sup> B.C.—Compare further *ἐφθίθ' οὗτος* Aesch. Eum. 458; *σώθηθ' ὅσον* Eur. Or. 1345; *θρεφθείσι* Pl. Pol. 310 A; *θρεφθείς* GKaibel 71, 5 (IV<sup>th</sup> B.C.),—and the regular forms *ἐχύθην*, *ἐθελχθην*, *ἐθλιφθην*, *ἐλιώθην*, *φάθι*, *τέθναθι*.

184<sup>c</sup>. Influenced by Italian phonology, the idiom of Otranto changes initial *θ* to *τ*, and intersonantic *θ* to *σ*, as : *τέλω* for *θέλω*, *τάλασσα* for *θάλασσα*, *τωρῶ* for *θωρῶ*, *σπασί* for *σπαθί*, *λίσარი* for *λιθάρι*, *πασαμμένο* for *πεθαμμένο*.

### C. LIQUIDS AND NASALS.

185. Technically initial *ρ* is usually doubled when, by inflection or composition, a short vowel is prefixed to it (64), as :

*ρίπτω*, *ῥριπτον*, *καταρρίπτω*—*ῥήτός*, *ἀπόρρητος*. See 64.

185<sup>b</sup>. In the script this rule has been conventionally adhered to through all P-B antiquity, and is still observed in *N*.

186 The doubling of *ρ* here is believed to have originated in the presence, before initial *ρ*, of a primordial *f* or *σ* which was assimilated to *ρ*. Thus *φρητος*, *ρρητος*, *ρητός*. The phenomenon, however, is probably connected with the trilling character of Greek *ρ*. (See 64, and cp. 51<sup>b</sup>. 209 f. 712.)

186<sup>b</sup>. That (unaccented) initial and medial *tr* becomes *σr* in *G-N*, has been explained in 40, where add : *ύγιερός*, *κερδ* for *κυρά* (i.e. *κυρία*), *κερί* for *κηρίον* (cp. *Δ γέρας γήρας*), but *σφυρί*, *τυρί*, *βούτυρο*, *Κυριακή*, *μαρτυρώ*, etc.

186<sup>c</sup>. For the almost regular appearance of *-ρα* for *-re* or *-ri*, in *δευτέρα*, *ἀργυρᾷ*, *θηρᾶσω*, *χρᾶσθαι*, *ἐπέρασα*, etc., see 65. (Cp. also 269, 4. 839. 892.)

187. Before a consonant, P-N uncultivated speech changes *λ* to *ρ*, or interposes *ι* (131. 179), as :

*Ἐτέρπιστος* CIA iii. 1202. *Ἐρπιδίον* 3466 (beside *Ἑλπ.* 3415 and 3475). *Ἐρπινίκου*, *ἀδερφοί* 3526. *τορμήσι* (for *τολήμει*) Jour. Hell. Stud. 1896 p. 226, 24.—*κεφαλαργήσης* Great Louvre Pap. 137.—*Ούρφίλας* Philostorgios (425 A.D.) 468 B & C. CGL 296, 46 *κεφαλαργία*. *υδάρμη* for *υδράλη* Alchem. 348, 9.—Hence *τολήμηση* *τορμήση* *τρομήση* CIA iii. 1433.

So now : *ἀρμυρίς*, *σαρμυρίς*, *φταρμός* (*ὀφθαλμός*), *ἀδερφός*, *Ἀρβανίτης* for

'Αλβανίτης i.e. 'Αλβανός (JScylitsea, 739), βάσσαμο & βάσαρμος, κέρφος (εἰλως 'lap,' 'bay'), σφαρτός (σφαλτός), etc.—ψαλιτήρι, δίψα, etc. 131.

187<sup>b</sup>. However, the combinations -λμ- and -λν- are not unpopular, particularly in northern and Levantine speech, as : σφαλνῶ, στέλνω, βαλμένος (cp. 904).

187<sup>c</sup>. In Samothrace the liquids λ ρ are dropped altogether (cp. 863), as : μέ'ι, κα'ός, π'ύνω, χ'ά'α, τυ'ί τ'είς. So further in Tsaconic, though only before α ο υ, as : ε'α for ελα. A similar phonetic phenomenon is witnessed in Sphakia of Crete, where λ before α ο υ becomes guttural, thus approaching γ (67), as : καγός φίρος, μῆγο, καγάθι ;—then at Lakkoi of Canes where λ before α ο υ is reduced to a short semivocalic ʎ, English w, as : καωός φίρος, σῆωος (οὔλος, i.e. δλος), καωά κοινοσύρια (καλὰ κοιλλούρια).—Again in Ionian the syllables λί and νί are, under Italian influence, palatalized sounding like Italian gn or ñ and gl, as : καγιή νύχτα.

188. Between liquids and nasals, a consonant is sometimes phonophaetically developed (epenthesis, 131) to facilitate pronunciation. Thus is developed—

between μ and λ, and μ and ρ, α β, as : μέμ-β-λωκα, γαμ-β-ρός

„ „ „ ρ α δ, as : αν-δ-ρα.

189. Before gutturals, ν is usually, by phonetic accommodation, changed to γ nasal, that is to a weak n (58, 203<sup>b</sup>).

Thus ἐν-καλῶ συν-γενής τὸν κήρυκα  
become ἐγκαλῶ συγγενής συγχωρῶ τὸν κήρυκα.

190. So still in N (58), with the only difference that in uncultivated speech γ altogether dwindles away before κ, χ, ξ (193), as : συ-χωρῶ, σφιγχτός (for συγχωρῶ, σφιγκτός), σῦζυλος.

191. This phonetic departure, however, is of no recent date. Cp. σαλπικτής CIA iii. p. 312. ἐλέξι (for ἐλέγξει) Sept. Jes. 2, 4 (N). ἐλέξει 11, 13. φάραξιν 57, 5. φθεγέσθωσαν Jer. 9, 17. σάλπικτιν 1 Mac. 6, 38 (N). φάρυξ Cant. 5, 16. λάρυξ John 6, 30, 12, 11. Ps. 5, 10. Rom. 3, 13. σάλπιξ 1 Cor. 14, 8. δσπλαχνος Gloss. Laod. 65. λύξ ib. 88.

192. Before labials, ν changes, by phonetic accommodation, to μ, and is usually so written (203<sup>b</sup>).

Thus ἐμπίπτω ἐμβαίνω συμφέρω ἔμψυχος,  
but also ἐν-πίπτω ἐν-βαίνω συν-φέρω ἔν-ψυχος

193. In N the combination μπ still holds good, but in those of μβ, μφ, μψ, μπτ, uncultivated speech drops the μ. However, this phenomenon—which by the way points to the pronunciation of β and φ as v and f (63, 56<sub>11</sub>)—can be traced back to A-P times.

Cp. Α λά(μ)βδα ; ἐμβάλλεσθαι CIA ii. add. 52, c, 8 (368 B.C.).—συνφέρουσι Gr. Inscr. Br. Mus. 477, 32.—τῆς συμβίου CIA iii. 3510.—συββῆ, συββήσετε Gr. Pap. Br. Mus. 117, 38-39 (†IV<sup>th</sup>).—τῇ ψῆφον ib. 117, 48 (†IV<sup>th</sup>).—λαψάνη (for λαμβάνη) Pallad. 1105 v; also Hesych. τῇ βελτίωσιν CWessely Prol. 29 (†VI<sup>th</sup>).—Ν ἔμπα, κάμπος, ἐμπρός; but σύβουλος, συμφέρο, ὀφθαλός, σόψυχος (πέμπετη \*πέππετη) πέφπη. (Cp. 190.)

194. Before dentals, ν holds its own in A composition (though CIG 129 ἔχωμ διετέλει), but in P-N uncultivated speech it is generally dropped before θ and δ (because of θ and δ = β and δ, 56 f. 61). Moreover νδ in N also appears as ντ.

τῷ δυνάμειν Gr. Pap. Br. Mus. 41, 118 f. (158 B.C.). ἀθρόπους CIA iii 171, ii. 4 (†III<sup>rd</sup>).—κάθαρον Great Louvre Pap. 65. τῷ δὺν ἱεράκων Gr. Pap. Br. Mus. 119, 100.—σαντάλιον ib. 122, 33 (†IV<sup>th</sup>). Porph. Adm. 144, 11 συμπεθερίας.

194<sup>b</sup>. So too now in uncultivated speech: *ἀδῶ, κολοκίθι, σπίθα, τὸ θεῶν, τὸ διᾶκον, τῷ δασκάλῳ*, &c. (beside cultivated *ἀνθῶ, σπυγθήρ, τὸν θεόν, τὸν διᾶκον, τῶν (δι)δασκάλων*)—*ἀντρας, ντύνω (ἐνδύνω), σφεγντόνη (σφενδόνη), σφόντυλος*.

195. Before  $\mu$  or a liquid,  $\nu$  is usually assimilated (or dropped?) 171<sup>b</sup>. 179 & [1]. 201). Cp. 203<sup>b</sup>.

Thus	<i>ἐμμένω</i>	<i>συλλέγω</i>	<i>συρράπτω</i>	<i>τὸλ λόγον</i>	<i>ἀμ μῆ</i>
beside	<i>ἐν-μένω</i>	<i>συν-λέγω</i>	<i>συν-ράπτω</i>	<i>τὸν λόγον</i>	<i>ἄν μῆ</i>

But also *τῇ μίσθῳ* in CWessely Akad. Wiss. 1889, p. 115. *ἐμ μῆνι* CWessely Prol. 64. *εἰς τῷ Μητρώδωρον* (for *τὸν Μ.*), *εἰς Βορρά μετὰ ib.* CLeemans passim. So *N* *ἀμ(μ)ῇ* for *ἀν μῆ* (Span.<sup>3</sup> 108)—*τὸ(μ) μῆνα, τὸ(λ) λόγον, τὸ(ρ) ῥάφτη*, &c.

195<sup>b</sup>. For particulars regarding the frequency of permutation, in the  $\Delta$  public inscriptions during the V-IV<sup>th</sup> B.C., of final  $\nu$  before labials, gutturals, and liquids, see 203<sup>b</sup> and MHecht i. 5-30.

195<sup>c</sup>. For suffixal or terminal and movable  $\nu$ , see 219, 221, and App. iii.

196. The combination  $\nu\mu$  becomes  $\sigma\mu$  in the perfect passive and in verbal substantives having a  $\nu$ -thematic (897—on the analogy of 176?).

Thus	<i>*πεφανμαι</i>	<i>*φανμα</i>	<i>*μανμα</i>
become	<i>πέφασμαι</i>	<i>φάσμα</i>	<i>μιάσμα</i>

196<sup>b</sup>. This is applicable to  $N$  also, as far as regards verbal adjectives. For the perfect passive see 688, 1875, & 2140.

197. Final  $\nu$ , when followed by  $\sigma$ , is usually retained (201); but medial  $\nu$  is dropped with (prosodic) antectasis in the following cases (cf. 29 ff. 123. 202. See App. ii. 8-15):

a. In some nominatives, as: (*μελανς*) *μέλας*, (*ἐνς*) *εἷς*.

b. In the accusative plural of sonantic stems.

Thus	<i>χώρανς</i>	<i>*λυσανς</i>	<i>*λογονς</i>	<i>*συνς</i>
become	<i>χώραις</i>	<i>λύσαις</i>	<i>λόγοις</i>	<i>σούς</i>

c. In the verbal ending  $\nu\sigma\iota$ .

Thus	<i>*παιδενονσι</i>	<i>*λελυκανσι</i>	<i>*διδωσανσι</i>
become	<i>παιδεύουσι</i>	<i>λελύκασι</i>	<i>διδόασι</i>

198. 1. But in the dative plural,  $\nu$  is dropped without antectasis.

Thus	<i>μέλανσι</i>	<i>ποιμένσι</i>	<i>δαίμονσι</i>
become	<i>μέλασι</i>	<i>ποιμέσι</i>	<i>δαίμοσι</i>

199. 2. The preposition *ἐν* retains (by constraint) its  $\nu$  unchanged before  $\rho$ ,  $\sigma$ ,  $\zeta$ , as: *ἐνρίπτω, ἐνσεύω, ἐν(εὐ)γγυμ*.

200. 3. Metrically the preposition *σύν*, when followed by a simple  $\sigma$ , generally assimilates  $\nu$  to  $\sigma$  [but cp. 195]; but when it is followed by a combination of  $\sigma$ , or by  $\zeta$ , it generally drops its  $\nu$ .

Thus	<i>σύν-σιτος</i>	<i>συν-σκενάζω</i>	<i>συν-ζυγία</i>
beside	<i>σύσ-σιτος</i>	<i>συ-σκενάζω</i>	<i>συ-ζυγία</i>

201. The preceding rules 197-200 deal with a process initiated and completed in pre-classical Greek and subsequently repeated in literary style by mere analogy (124<sup>b</sup>). On the other hand, popular speech, both ancient and modern, invariably drops or assimilates  $\nu$  before  $\sigma$ ,  $\rho$ ,  $\zeta$  (195; cp. 190. 193 f.). This is shown (1) by the inscriptions and papyri of the time (KMeisterhans<sup>2</sup> 86 f.); (2) by other casual instances where  $\nu$  is dropped or assimilated even by  $\Delta$  authors; and (3) by  $N$  consonantism which does not tolerate  $\nu$  before  $\sigma$ ,  $\rho$ ,  $\zeta$ .

Thus in $\Delta$ , beside	<i>ἐν σανίδι</i>	<i>ἐνστήσαντι</i>	<i>ἐν ῥόδῳ</i>	<i>τὸν λόγον,</i>
occur	<i>ἐσανίδι</i>	<i>ἐστήσαντι</i>	<i>ἐ(ρ) ῥόδῳ</i>	<i>τὸ(λ) λόγον.</i>

202. The consonantal groups  $\nu\tau$   $\nu\delta$   $\nu\theta$  before  $\sigma$  are dropped with antectasis (29 ff. 123. App. ii. 9 ff. 14).

Thus \* $\pi\alpha\nu\tau\sigma\iota$       \* $\sigma\pi\epsilon\nu\delta\sigma\omega$       \* $\delta\iota\delta\omicron\nu\tau\sigma\iota$   
 become  $\pi\acute{\alpha}\sigma\iota$        $\sigma\pi\acute{\epsilon}\iota\sigma\omega$        $\delta\iota\delta\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota$

203. Strictly speaking, this rule applies only to archaic Greek, for the occurrence of combinations like  $\nu\tau\sigma$ ,  $\nu\delta\sigma$ ,  $\nu\theta\sigma$  had become impossible even in  $A-P$  compositions (124, 169). In  $N$  speech, however, such occurrences are not rare, first owing to its fondness for syncope, and then in consequence of its adoption of foreign elements having the consonantal combinations referred to (cp. 205). In all these cases then  $N$  drops  $\nu$  and the resulting sound is  $\tau\sigma$  (i.e.  $ts$ ) and  $\tau\zeta$  (i.e.  $dz$ ). Cp. 205.

203<sup>b</sup>. As shown in the public inscriptions of the V-IV<sup>th</sup> B.C., the actual condition in  $A$  of final  $\nu$ , especially that of the proclitics  $\tau\acute{\omicron}\nu$   $\tau\eta\eta$   $\tau\acute{\omega}\nu$   $\epsilon\nu$   $\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\nu$ , before the labials, gutturals, liquids, and the sibilant  $\sigma$ , notably of enclitics, is illustrated by the following synoptical table (based on MHecht i. 6-27). That many of the cases, especially those between lengthy and independent words, and above all those between clauses separated by a pause, do not represent a phonopathic, but a mechanical or analogical process (25<sup>c</sup>), due to the *scriptura continua*, is more than probable. Cp.  $\sigma\tau\acute{\eta}\sigma\alpha\mu$   $\pi\rho\acute{o}\sigma\theta\epsilon$  (460 B.C.),  $\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\iota\mu$   $\pi\epsilon\rho\acute{\iota}$  (400-350 B.C.),  $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\kappa\eta\sigma\iota\gamma$   $\kappa\alpha\iota$  (before 376 B.C.),  $\tau\alpha\rho\rho\acute{o}\mu$ ,  $\pi\eta\delta\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\alpha$  (235 B.C.),  $\delta\phi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\lambda\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota\mu$   $\Phi\iota\lambda\acute{o}\delta\eta\mu\omicron\varsigma$  (323 B.C.). KMeisterhans<sup>2</sup> 86, 2. Cp. GIB no. 925, 4, 12, 15, 20, etc.

Final $\nu$ before	LABIALS			GUTTURALS				LIQUIDS			SIBILANT
	$\Pi$	$\Phi$	$B$	$K$	$X$	$\Gamma = g^h$ guttural	$\Gamma = j$ palatal	$\Lambda$	$M$	$P$	$\Sigma$
assimil.	97	5	24	18	14	18	(1) <sup>[1]</sup>	8	42	3	15
not ass.	202	16	46	183	36	25	3	28	63	4	30

#### d. SPIRANT $\sigma$ .

204. Interconsonantal  $\sigma$  usually dwindles away (124<sup>b</sup>. 884, d).

Thus \* $\tau\epsilon\tau\alpha\rho\alpha\chi\sigma\theta\epsilon$       \* $\gamma\epsilon\gamma\rho\alpha\phi\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$       \* $\lambda\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\chi\sigma\theta\omega$       \* $\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\alpha\lambda\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$   
 become  $\tau\epsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}\rho\alpha\chi\theta\epsilon$        $\gamma\epsilon\gamma\rho\acute{\alpha}\phi\theta\alpha\iota$        $\lambda\epsilon\acute{\lambda}\epsilon\chi\theta\omega$        $\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\acute{\alpha}\lambda\theta\alpha\iota$ .

205. So still in  $N$ , the only combinations tolerated being  $\tau\sigma$  (=  $ts$ ) and  $\tau\zeta$  or  $\nu\tau\zeta$  (=  $dz$ ) (203) as:  $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\tau\sigma\epsilon$  (from  $\kappa\alpha\theta'\sigma\epsilon$ , i.e.  $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\theta\iota\sigma\epsilon$  [136] =  $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\theta\iota\sigma\omicron\nu$ ),  $\tau\sigma\eta$  (from  $\tau\zeta$  i.e.  $\tau\eta\varsigma$  562),  $\kappa\omicron\upsilon\tau\sigma\acute{o}\varsigma$ ,  $\tau\sigma\acute{\alpha}\pi\alpha$ ,  $\tau\sigma\acute{o}\chi\alpha$ ,  $\chi\alpha\tau\zeta\eta\varsigma$ ,  $\delta\upsilon\tau\zeta\alpha$  (i.e.  $\acute{\alpha}\delta\alpha$ ).

206. After a liquid  $\lambda$   $\mu$   $\nu$   $\rho$ , the sibilant  $\sigma$  is generally dropped, and the (rhythmically affected) preceding syllable is compensated either by inserting into it a (silent)  $\iota$ , or by doubling the liquid (29 ff. 215. App. ii. 9 ff. & 14).

Thus \* $\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\epsilon\lambda\sigma\alpha$       \* $\acute{\epsilon}\phi\theta\epsilon\rho\sigma\alpha$       \* $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\epsilon\mu\sigma\alpha$       \* $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\rho\iota\nu\sigma\alpha$   
 become  $\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\epsilon\iota\lambda\alpha$        $\acute{\epsilon}\phi\theta\iota\upsilon\rho\alpha$        $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\epsilon\iota\mu\alpha$        $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\rho\iota\nu\alpha$   
 or Aeolic  $\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\epsilon\lambda\lambda\alpha$        $\acute{\epsilon}\phi\theta\epsilon\rho\rho\alpha$        $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\epsilon\mu\mu\alpha$        $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\rho\iota\nu\nu\alpha$   
 Cp. Old Attic       $\theta\acute{\alpha}\rho\sigma\omicron\varsigma$        $\chi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\sigma\omicron\varsigma$        $\chi\epsilon\rho\sigma\acute{\omicron}\nu\eta\sigma\omicron\varsigma$   
 with New & P Attic  $\theta\acute{\alpha}\rho\rho\omicron\varsigma$        $\chi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\rho\omicron\varsigma$        $\chi\epsilon\rho\rho\acute{\omicron}\nu\eta\sigma\omicron\varsigma$

207. The results of the two preceding rules 206-7 are applicable to  $N$  also.

[1] CIA i. 324, c, 21  $\tau\eta\gamma$   $\gamma\upsilon\nu\acute{\alpha}\iota\kappa\alpha$  (408-7 B.C.)



208. Note finally that, in the case of *els* (1554, b), and of the proclitic pronouns *τον την των της τους τας mas sas tous (tas)*, instead of dropping their final *ν* or *σ*, or accommodating it to the following initial consonant, popular *N* speech very frequently inserts a protective or repective -ε (132 f. 536. 725), for the sake of perspicuity, as: *τονε θαρω, τηνε βλέπω, σασε χαιρετῶ, εἰσε χρόνια πολλά, ζῶ σε λόγου σου, εἰσε θυδ (treis, πέντε) μήνες*, etc.

ELegrand Bibl. ii. [MS 1384 A.D.], 233 *els πόνον καὶ εἰσε βῆχαν*. ib. 437 *εἰσε συκοφαντίαν*. CGeorgillas Const. 471 *νὰ τὸνε ξεριζώσετε*. 473 *νὰ cace φωτίση*. 492 *νὰ τὸνε φάγη*. 546 *νὰ τὸνε νικήσετε*. 695 *εἰσε κληρονομίαν των*. 921 *νὰ cace διορθώση*. (ib. 929 *even τινὰς οὔκε σαλεύεται*!)

### e. PRIMITIVE SEMIVOWELS *i* AND *f*. (See App. ii. 9 ff. & 14.)

209. *Remark*. Of these two letters, *i* never occurs in any Greek dialect; it has been recently assumed or deduced by philology from the cognate fields of Indo-European languages, and naturally refers to primordial Greek only (cp. 11. 29 ff. App. ii. 9 ff. & 14). On the other hand, *f* is found in archaic and dialectal Greek (3. 11).—As a matter of course, neither *i* nor *f* plays any part in the historical period of the Greek language, so that the following remarks (210-217) refer to primitive and archaic Greek of which we have no adequate literary relics in their original or genuine spelling.

210. The semivowels *i* and *f* appear to have interchanged with their cognate vowels, that is *i* with *ι* (first silent then voiced, App. ii. 9 ff. & 14), and *f* with *υ* and *β* (51. 63), or to have dwindled away when they happened to stand between two sonants (App. ii. 9). Compare—

*βοῦς βοῦν βοf-ος βοf-ι (bovi)*  
*ναῦς ναῦν νηf-ος νηf-ι (navi).*

211. The semivowel *i* when preceded by a palatal, presumably became *σσ* or *ττ* (App. ii. 9 ff. & 14).

Thus the assumed forms	*φυλακ-ιω	*ταρακ-ιω	*ταχ-ιων
anowedly became	φυλάσσω	ταράσσω	θάσσω
or	φυλάττω	ταράττω	θάττω

212. Sometimes *i* was apparently blended with a dental into *σσ* or *ττ*.

Thus	*πλατ-ιω	*κορυθ-ιω	*χαριετ-ια
became	πλάσσω	κορύσσω	χαρίεσσα.

213. The combination *ντι* apparently became *σ* (cp. 202).

Thus	*παντ-ια	*λυθεντ-ια	*δκοντ-ια
became	πάσα	λυθείσα	δκουσα.

214. Preceded by *δ* (and sometimes by *γ*), *i* apparently became *ζ* (App. ii. 9 ff. & 14).

Thus	*ἐλπιδ-ιω	*ἱδ-ιομαι	*οιμωγ-ιω
became	ἐλπίζω	ἱζομαι	οιμῶζω.

215. After a liquid *λ ν ρ*, the semivowel *i* is dropped and the (rhythmically affected) preceding syllable is compensated either by inserting into it a (silent) *ι*, or by doubling the liquid (29 ff. 206. App. ii. 9 ff. & 14).

Thus	*μελαν-ια	*φαν-ιω	*μακαρ-ια	*μορ-ια
become	μέλαινα	φαίνω	μάκαιρα	μοίρα
and	*άλ-ιος (alias)		*μαλ-ιον	*άλ-ιομαι (salio)
become	ἄλλος		μᾶλλον	ἄλλομαι.
Again	*χερ-ιων	*φθερ-ιω	*κλιν-ιω	*οικτιρ-ιω
become	χείρων	φθείρω	κλίνω	οικτιrow
but in Aeolic	χέρρων	φθέρρω	κλίνω	οικτίρρω.

216. Initial *f* was apparently dropped.

Cp. <i>οἶκος</i> with <i>vīcus</i>	<i>οἶνος</i> <i>vinum</i>	<i>ἔργον</i> ( <i>work</i> )	<i>ἔσθης</i> <i>vestis</i>	<i>ἔννυμ</i> <i>vestīve</i>
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217. Intersonantic *j* and *f* were apparently dropped.

Thus became	<i>βοφος</i> <i>boōs</i>	<i>ἡδεφος</i> <i>hēēos</i>	* <i>πλευω</i> <i>plēō</i>
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B. TERMINAL CONSONANTISM.

a. *Constituent Final Consonants.*

218. A Greek word can close with any sonant, but no other consonant is admissible at the end of a genuine Greek word, than *σ*, *ν*, *ρ*—also *ξ* and *ψ* as combinations of *σ*. (91. Cp. [Arist.] *Poet.* 1458 a *εἰς ἄφωνον οὐδὲν ὄνομα τελευτᾷ*.) Any other final consonant is simply dropped.

Thus become	* <i>παῖδ</i> <i>paī</i>	* <i>σωματ</i> <i>sōma</i>	* <i>μέλιτ</i> <i>mēli</i>	* <i>γάλακτ</i> <i>gála</i>
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218<sup>b</sup>. So too in *P-N* (but see 219 f.). Even Biblical nouns (Scripture names) familiar to the masses, notwithstanding Christian piety, conform to this rule, inasmuch as a final consonant other than *σ*, *ν*, *ρ*, is either dropped, or, more commonly, the word is Grecized by annexing a familiar ending. Only in *cultivated* speech is it retained, though even here its pronunciation appears rather affected. Compare :

*Ἰακώβ* *Ἰάκωβος*. *Ἀδάμ* *Ἀδαμος*, *N* *Ἀδάμης*. *Ἰωσήφ* *Ἰώσηπος*, *N* *Σήφης* (134, a). *Γαβριήλ*, *N* *Γαβρήλης*. *Μιχαήλ*, *N* *Μιχαήλος* and *Μιχάλης*. *Ἐλισάβετ*, *N* *Ἐλυσάβη* and *Ἀλυσάβη* and *Ἀλυσάβα*. *Βαροῦχ* *Βαρούχας*. (Cp. App. vi. 25 [1].)

218<sup>c</sup>. The two particles *ἐκ* and *οὐκ* are only apparent exceptions, inasmuch as, being proclitics (97 f.), they generally attach themselves to the next following word.

218<sup>d</sup>. Labials, however, are sometimes allowed at the close of a word, especially in exclamations, as: *λόφ*, *ώόπ*; cp. *φεῦ*, *βασίλειῦ*, *γραῦ* (where *ν=φ*; 51-53).

219. The above leading rule, 218, which is peculiar to Greek alone, has been in full force through all stages and periods of the language in written composition. But in popular speech it began as early as *H* to receive further limitations by the successive dropping first of *ρ*, then of *ν* also, so that present *N* speech admits of no other terminal consonant than *σ* (but see 221), then of *ν* in proclitics followed by a sonant or *κτπ*. Only the dialects of the northern Sporades show a fondness for final *ν* (221), and Tsaconic for final *ρ*. [See also 219°.] For further particulars see App. iii. 11-15.

219<sup>b</sup>. On the other hand, owing to fundamental changes in their phonology (930 f.), northern (Epirotic, Thessalian, Macedonian, etc.) and Pontic dialects can close a word with any consonant, as: *γλέπ* for *γλέπει* (*βλέπει*) 'he sees,' *βράδ* 'evening,' *νὰ κάμ* 'to do,' *θέλς* 'thou wilt,' *νὰ κόψ* 'to cut,' *π'λάρ* for *πουλάρ* 'foal,'—*λιοντάρ* 'lion,' *μοιάς* 'resembles,' *ἀθρῶν* for *ἀνθρωποι*, etc.

219<sup>c</sup>. Conversely, Tsaconic systematically drops final *-ς*. This is naturally the case with South Italian Greek also, owing to Italian influence, as: *παίς* 'γὰπ for *παῖς* *ἀγαπᾷς*, *τεδ* for *θεός*.

b. *Euphonic (Movable) Consonants ν, σ, (κ).*

**220.** Before a sonant or full stop, certain endings may annex a final ν—called *movable* or ν ἐφελευστικόν. These endings are—

1. The nominal verbal and adverbial ending -σι, as : πᾶσι, Ἀθήνησι, διδοῦσι, λέγουσι, φησι.
2. The verbal ending -ε, as : ἔλεγε, εἶπε, ἐπαίδευσε, εἴρηκε.
3. The words εἰκοσι and παντάπασι.
4. The word ἐστί.
5. Sometimes the 3<sup>d</sup> person singular of the pluperfect, as : ἦδε.

**221.** The preceding remarks do not strictly apply even to A, inasmuch as, to judge from the inscriptions, papyri, and earlier MSS, movable ν is almost indiscriminately appended to the above endings (HMaassen in Lpz. Stud. iv. 1-64), and frequently stands even against metre (Fallen in Arch. Inst. Amer. iv. p. 158; RWagner 65 f.). In the course of P-B times, this tendency for annexing euphonic ν steadily increased, and gradually led to the identification in the popular speech of the intrusive element with the constituent final ν, and its consequent extension, especially since G, to almost every verbal ending, as : ἱστορήθη ὁ ναός, πατρίς δέ μοι ἦτον, ὅπως ἄλκιπος ἦν—since B even to nouns, particularly neuters in -μα, as : στόμα, θέλημα. This practice was very general in M speech and is still surviving in several dialects, particularly in the insular group of the northern Sporades, Cyprus, Rhodes, Cos, Calymna, etc. up to Icaros and Chios, then Pontos, etc. (219).—At the same time, when the use of such final ν had become so common and indiscriminate, a reaction set in which gradually affected every final ν, whether movable or constituent, and eventually led to its dropping from all endings, so that it has almost retreated from N speech except in the few dialects just referred to. For more details and examples see App. iii. 16-30.

**222.** A movable σ is attached to the adverb οὕτω [and the preposition ἐκ], in P also to μέχρι and ἄχρι, which thus become οὕτως, [ἐξ], P μέχρις, ἄχρισ.

**223.** A movable κ appears in the negation οὐ which, when followed by the spiritus asper, becomes οὐχ (170), as : οὐκ ἀγαθόν, οὐχ ὄσιον.

**224.** Accented or emphatic οὐ (not οὐκ) stands before a stop (100), as : ἐξικνούντο γὰρ οὐ, οὔτε ἐβλαπτον οὐδένα (Xen. An. 4, 8, 3).

# PART SECOND.

## MORPHOLOGY.

### I. ACCIDENCE.

#### A. THE NOUN.

##### GENERAL REMARKS.

**225.** In the Greek noun (and by noun we mean any substantive or adjective) there are conventionally distinguished—

**A.** Three *declensions* : First, Second, and Third. (238, 253.)

**226.** All three declensions are still substantially preserved in *N*, but the latter shows a frequent interchange and assimilation among them (256. 264-8. 338-346).

**227.** **B.** Three *genders* : Masculine, Feminine, and Neuter, —all still preserved in *N*.

**228.** **C.** Three *numbers* : Singular, Plural, and *Dual*.

**229.** The dual refers to two, as : τὰ ἄνθρώπων λέγοντες, 'the (two) men speak.' Whether it was universally current in pre-Attic speech is an open question. This much however is certain : that it was absent from Aeolic and Ionic ; that, with the close of the V<sup>th</sup> B.C., it generally retreats from the *A* inscriptions ; that even *A* writers make a limited use of it ; and that at the end of the IV<sup>th</sup> B.C. it had entirely disappeared from the language (631<sup>b</sup>. 633. 668 ; cp. 315).

**230.** The singular and plural are still preserved in *N*.

**231.** **D.** Five *cases* : Nominative, Vocative (both distinguished as *casus recti*) ; Accusative, Genitive, Dative (called *casus obliqui*, or *oblique cases*).

**232.** All the cases are still preserved in *N* except the dative, which has been replaced partly by the simple accusative, partly by the genitive, rarely by a prepositional circumlocution (1242-7. 1348-95.)

[**233.** Literary *N* has to a certain extent preserved or revived the dative, especially in prepositional and adverbial expressions, as : σὺν Θεῷ 'with God's help,' ἐν τοῖς 'with all that,' ἐν ᾧ 'while,' παντὶ σθένει 'with all one's power,' ἐν ᾧ ὀνόματι 'in the name,' 'in behalf.' Several of these turns have passed into popular speech. See also 1247.]

**234.** Identical in form are :—(1) The neuter nominative, vocative, and accusative in all three numbers ; (2) the plural nominative and vocative of masculines and feminines ; (3) the dual nominative, vocative, and accusative of all genders ; so too the dual genitive and dative.



**235. E.** One definite *article* with three distinct forms for the three genders:  $\delta$ ,  $\tau\acute{o}$ ,  $\eta$ , 'the' ( $\delta$  masculine,  $\tau\acute{o}$  neuter,  $\eta$  feminine).

**235<sup>b</sup>.** The article still survives in *N* (251 f.).

**236.** Originally the article was a demonstrative (558 f. 1195-8), like the English *the*, the German *der*, *die*, *das*, and the Romanic *il*, *le*, *lo*, &c.

**237.** The function of the *indefinite article*, as represented in English by *a* or *an*, was commonly performed in *A* Greek by the mere absence of any article (624), and this usage is, on the whole, still the one prevailing in *N*. In many cases, however, its place in *A* was taken by the indefinite pronoun  $\tau\iota\varsigma$  (595). On the other hand *P* Greek introduced, besides  $\tau\iota\varsigma$ , the numeral  $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$  'one,' which, under certain conditions, has ever since remained in similar use (594 ff. 622 ff. 1206. 1448 ff.).

**238. F.** Modern grammarians—since the XVII<sup>th</sup> (239)—further distinguish : three Declensions : First for nouns ending in *-a* or *-n* ; Second for nouns ending in *-o* ; and Third for nouns ending in a *consonant*, also *-i* or *-u* (253).

**239.** Ancient grammarians distinguished no less than ten declensions. Some also treated each gender separately, and laid down thirty-five rules for masculines, twelve for feminines, and nine for neuters. Our present system of distinguishing three declensions has been adopted since the XVII<sup>th</sup>, chiefly through the grammar of Jac. Weller[us], issued first in 1634 (cp. KEASchmidt 283).

**240.** The *gender* is determined in Greek partly by the sense, partly by the ending of the nominative singular. According to the *sense*—

**241.** *Masculine* are words denoting *males* ; also names of *winds*, *ivers*, *months*.

**242.** *Feminine* are words designating *females* and *trees*, both conceived as fruit-bearing beings ; also most names of *countries*, *islands*, and *towns* ; then *abstract* nouns denoting a quality, state, or action.

**243.** *Neuter* are the names of *fruits*, and those of most *diminutives* ; also indeclinable words conceived as nouns.

**244.** Of *common gender* are nouns which may be used with either the masculine or feminine article ( $\delta$ ,  $\eta$   $\theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$ ). Conversely names of animals usually admitting of only one form of article for both genders are called *epicoene* ( $\epsilon\pi\acute{\iota}\kappa\omicron\iota\nu\alpha$ ), as :  $\delta$   $\acute{o}\nu\omicron\varsigma$ ,  $\eta$   $\acute{\alpha}\rho\kappa\tau\omicron\varsigma$  ' (he or she) ass, bear.'

**245.** All the above remarks respecting the determination and qualification of gender (241-244) are still substantially applicable to *N*. The only signal departure therefrom is that names of trees in *-os*, which in *A* were feminine, now very often appear as masculines (cp. 292). This change, however, goes, in many cases, back to *P* times:—

$\eta$   $\kappa\acute{o}\mu\alpha\rho\omicron\varsigma$ , *P*  $\delta$   $\kappa$ -, *N*  $\delta$   $\kappa\acute{o}\mu\alpha\rho\omicron\varsigma$ .  $\eta$   $\pi\acute{\rho}\iota\nu\omicron\varsigma$ , *P-N*  $\delta$   $\pi\rho$ - (even *Ar. Ran.* 859).  $\eta$   $\delta\rho\upsilon\varsigma$ , *P-N*  $\delta$   $\delta\rho\upsilon\varsigma$  (or *N*  $\delta$   $\delta\rho\eta\varsigma$ , 343).  $\eta$   $\beta\acute{\alpha}\tau\omicron\varsigma$ , *P-N*  $\delta$   $\beta$ -.  $\eta$   $\pi\lambda\acute{\alpha}\tau\alpha\nu\omicron\varsigma$ , *P-N*  $\delta$   $\pi\lambda$ -.  $\eta$   $\sigma\phi\acute{\epsilon}\nu\delta\alpha\nu\omicron\varsigma$ , *N*  $\delta$  ( $\delta$ )  $\sigma\phi\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\alpha\nu\omicron\varsigma$ .  $\eta$   $\kappa\upsilon\pi\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\sigma\sigma\omicron\varsigma$ , *N*  $\delta$   $\kappa$ -.  $\eta$   $\sigma\chi\acute{\iota}\nu\omicron\varsigma$ , *P-N*  $\delta$   $\sigma\chi\acute{\iota}\nu\omicron\varsigma$  (cp. GHatzidakis 24).—So further  $\eta$   $\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\acute{\alpha}\tau\tau\eta$ , *N*  $\delta$   $\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma$ .  $\eta$   $\pi\acute{\epsilon}\nu\kappa\eta$ , *N*  $\delta$   $\pi\acute{\epsilon}\nu\kappa\omicron\varsigma$ .  $\tau\acute{o}$   $\kappa\acute{\rho}\iota\nu\omicron\nu$ , *N*  $\delta$   $\kappa\acute{\rho}\iota\nu\omicron\varsigma$  (cp. 249<sup>b</sup>).

246. The discrimination of gender by means of the *ending* of the nominative singular must be reserved for the respective sections of the declension (252-666). Here suffice it to state broadly that—

247. Nouns ending in a *consonant* (-s, -ν, -ρ; 218) are mainly masculine; nouns ending in a *sonant* are mainly feminine (261 f. 248); while exceptions from masculines and feminines make up the neuter.

248. This broad and general rule assumed, ever since *A* times, a more and more definite shape, the popular tendency being to distinguish the gender by some external (terminal) criterion. A suggestive basis was already afforded by the 1st declension which distinguished sigmatic masculines (-ας, -ης) from vocalic feminines (-α, -η) [261 f.], and thus offered a general principle of classification. Once started, the process of this terminal distinction received additional impetus in the fact that in the 3rd declension numerous feminines in -is (-ις, -υς, -[τ]ης), owing to the homophony of their terminal sonant with the -η of the 1st declension (29<sup>c</sup>. 37 ff.), lent themselves easily to assimilation by simply dropping their final -s (cp. ἡ πρᾶξις—πράξις—πράξη; ἡ ὄψις—ὄψις—ὄψη, etc. 343), thus -s being preserved for masculines only (263. 338. 343). Accordingly in *N* all masculines end in -α, all feminines in a *sonant* (except ἡ γῆς!), whereas neuters may end in either a sonant or in -s (also in ν; cp. 247. 221. App. iii. 12).

249. So far, then, the above process has not materially affected the gender, notwithstanding the long history of the Greek language, which would lead us to expect a radical transformation. The changes effected are, apart from certain localisms and dialectal peculiarities, neither very considerable nor very difficult to explain. They are the result mainly of analogy and association (also dissociation) of meaning. Many of them can, moreover, be traced back to *P* times (cp. GHatzidakis 354-73).

249<sup>b</sup>. Compare among others: ἡ αἰγὴ, *P-N* τὸ αἶγος (suggested by τὸ φέγγος). ἡ βάσανος, *B-N* τὸ βάσανον (τὸ κακόν). ὁ βίος, *N* τὸ βίος (τὸ πλούτος). ἡ βοτάνη, *T-N* τὸ βότανον (τὸ λάχανον). ὁ βουνός, *N* τὸ βουνόν (τὸ ὄρος). ὁ θυθός, *N* τὸ θύθος (τὸ βάθος). ὁ δάκτυλος, *P-N* τὸ δάκτυλον. τὸ δειπνον, *P-N* ὁ δειπνος. ἡ δρόσος, *N* τὸ δρόσος (τὸ κρύος). ὁ ἔλεος, *P-N* τὸ ἔλεος. ὁ ἔπανος, *N* τὸ ἔπανος (τὸ καύχημα). ὁ ἥλος, *G-N* τὸ ἥλος (as *NT*, then Clem. B. Cor. 4, 8-13 often. 6, 1 & 2. 9, 1 τὸ εἰς θάνατον ἄγον ἥλος). ὁ θρήνος, *N* τὸ θρήνος (τὸ κλαῦμα). τὸ θύμον, *P-N* ὁ θύμος (ὁ κούμαρος, σχίνος, 245<sup>b</sup>). τὸ κάρα, *P-N* ἡ κάρα (ἡ κεφαλὴ). ὁ κόκκαλος, *N* τὸ κόκκαλον (τὸ ὀστούν), ὁ κίνδυνος, *N* τὸ κίνδυνον (τὸ πάθος, τὸ πᾶθημα). τὸ κῶλον, *B-N* ὁ κῶλος (ὁ προκτός). ὁ λαός, *N* τὸ λαός (τὸ πλῆθος). ὁ λειχὴν, *N* ἡ λειχὴνα (ἡ ψάρα, πιτυρίασις). τὸ λείψανον, *N* αἰσω ὁ λείψανος (ὁ νεκρός). ὁ μισθός, *N* τὸ μιστόν (τὸ ἔλεος, τὸ καλόν). ὁ μυελός, *N* τὸ μυελόν (τὸ κρανίον, καύκαλον). ἡ μύλη, *P-N* ὁ μύλος. τὸ ναῦλον, *P-N* ὁ ναῦλος. ἡ νίκη, *P-N* τὸ νίκος. ὁ πάγος, *N* τὸ πάγος (τὸ κρύος, τὸ χιόνι) ὁ παράδεισος, *N* ἡ παράδεισο (ἡ κόλασις). ὁ πῆχυς, *N* ἡ πῆχη (ἡ πιθαμή, παλάμη) ὁ πλούτος, *P-N* τὸ πλούτος. τὸ ῥῆγος, *N* ὁ ῥῆγος (ὁ πυρετός). ὁ σείδηρος, *P* τὸ σείδηρον (*N* τὸ σίδερο). ὁ σπλήν, *N* ἡ σπλήνα (ἡ καρδιά). ὁ σφήξ, *N* ἡ σφήκα & σφήγγα or rather σφίγγα (ἡ μέλισσα). ὁ σφήν, *N* ἡ σφήνα (ἡ σχίζα). σιαδύμιον, *T-N* ὁ στάβλος (ὁ ἵππων). ὁ στέφανος, *N* τὸ στέφανον (τὸ κολλοῦρον, or dissociation from ὁ Στέφανος). ἡ τράφος, *N* ὁ τράφος (ὁ τοίχος). ἡ τρύγη, *P-N* τὸ τρύγος & τρύγος. ὁ φθεῖρ, *P* ἡ φθεῖρα, *N* ἡ ψείρα (ἡ κοῖτις or as feminine of ψύλλος)<sup>[1]</sup>. ὁ χόρτος, *N* τὸ χόρτον [also Sept. Gen. 1, 29, as v. 1.] (τὸ λάχανον). ἡ ψήφος, *N* τὸ ψήφος (τὸ σέβας). ἡ ψύλλα, *P-N* ὁ ψύλλος (conceived as the male of ἡ ψείρα)<sup>[2]</sup>.

[1] Phryn. 277 τὴν φθεῖρα λέγουσι τινες καὶ τὴν κόριν· σὺ δὲ ἀρσενικῶς τὸν κόριν λέγε καὶ τὸν φθεῖρα, ὡς οἱ ἀρχαῖοι. Moeris 357 φθεῖρες ἀρσενικῶς, Ἀττικῶς θηλυκῶς Ἑλληνικῶς.

[2] Moeris 380 ψύλλα θηλυκῶς Ἀττικῶς ἀρσενικῶς Ἑλληνες.

## 250. INFLECTION OF THE ARTICLE.

	SINGULAR.			PLURAL.			DUAL.
	Masc.	Neut.	Fem.	Masc.	Neut.	Fem.	M. N. F.
Nom.	ὁ	τό	ἡ	οἱ	τά	αἱ	τώ
Acc.	τόν	,,	τήν	τούς	,,	τάς	,,
Gen.	τοῦ	← =	τῆς	τῶν	← =	← =	τοῖν
Dat.	τῷ	← =	τῇ	τοῖς	← =	ταῖς	,,

251. The interjection ὦ, 'Oh!' serves as a vocative of the article for all genders and numbers. However, besides this ὦ, *G-N* speech, particularly since *T*, often uses αἰ (written also εἰ), an ejaculation now very general in *N*, as: Apophth. 280 C αἰ αἰ δαίμον, ποῦ τρέχεις; Leont. Neap. V. S. 1708 ο εἰ ἀββᾶς μωρός for ὦ ἀββᾶ μωρέ. Pachom. Mon. 135 A ἄλλοι μὲν τὸ ὦ κληρικὸν ἐπίρρημα, ἄλλοι δ' ἀντὶ τούτου τὸ εἰ. (Cp. 136<sup>b</sup>.)

251<sup>b</sup>. Alongside with ὦ we find in *A-P* compositions sometimes, in *G-B* oftener, and in *N* speech very frequently, the term (ὦ) μωρέ (*A* μῶρε or μῶρος, 257<sup>b</sup>), used as a mere exclamation in the sense of *A* ὦ or ὦ οὔτος, as: Ar. Nub. 397 καὶ πῶς ὦ μῶρε σὺ κτλ. Eur. Med. 61 ὦ μῶρος. Xen. Mem. I, 3, 13. Pl. Leg. 857 D. NT Matt. 5, 22 δὲ δ' ἂν εἶπῃ· Μωρέ, ἔνοχος ἔσται. Epict. 3, 22, 85 ἐρῶ σοι, μωρέ, ποῖαν ἀρχὴν κτλ. So 3, 23, 17.—In *N* this μωρέ (fem. μωρή, but also μωρέ as an adverb), which stands for νήπτε (hence τὸ μωρὸν = νήπιον, βρέφος), is often shortened in Cretan speech to μ'ρέ and in northern usually to βρέ, ὠρέ or simple 'ρέ (136<sup>b</sup>), as: μωρέ ('ρέ) 'Ιάννη = ὦ 'Ιωάννη, μωρή (or β]ρέ) Σοφία = ὦ Σοφία, β]ρέ σὺ = ὦ οὔτος.—The same function is performed in *N*, especially in politer parlance, by καλὲ 'I say,' used also as a crystallized adverb (in eastern Crete it is even shortened to simple κα or κά, 2048 [2]), as: καλὲ Μανώλη = ὦ Ἐμμανουήλ, καλὲ μάνα = ὦ μήτερ, καλὲ Χριστιανοί = ὦ Χριστιανοί, καλὲ γειτόνοι = ὦ γείτονες. καλὲ τί λέτε; 'fancy!' 'indeed!'—Not different from this is the use in (northern) *N* speech of ἀντρέ! or ἀπαντρέ! 'I say!' 'What is your name?' [1]

251<sup>c</sup>. The article is substantially preserved in *N* (235<sup>b</sup>). For a few changes see 559-562. Cp. 1248-1255.

## DECLENSION.

## GENERAL REMARKS.

252. The various cases of a noun are formed by adding certain *endings* or *terminations* to a fixed part called the *stem* (or *theme*), of which the closing or final sound is called the *character*. The stem appears in its genuine and full form by dropping the ending of the genitive case.

253. The stem character of a Greek noun can be—

α: 1st declension;

ο: 2nd declension;

α *consonant*, also ι or υ: 3rd declension.

[1] Cp. GHatzidakis in Byz. Zeit. iv. 412 ff.

## ACCENT OF NOUNS—FIRST DECLENSION. [253–261.]

Accordingly the stem character of the 1st and 2nd declensions is always a sonant (α, ο), while that of the 3rd declension is mainly a consonant (238).

**254.** When a sonantic stem is succeeded by a terminal vowel, it undergoes a phonopathic change (contraction), and so does not show its genuine character (342). On the other hand, consonantal stems generally show their true character.

**255.** The 1st and 2nd declensions retain throughout the same number of syllables, and are on this account called *parisyllabic* (ἰσοσύλλαβοι); but the 3rd declension generally exhibits an additional syllable in the oblique cases, and is therefore called *imparisyllabic* (περιττοσύλλαβος).

**256.** In *N* the 1st and 3rd declensions have been, to a large extent, fused into a single declension, the singular of which substantially corresponds to the singular of the ancient 1st declension, and the plural to the plural of the ancient 3rd declension (226. 338–346).

### Principal Rules of Accent.

**257.** The accent remains in its place, as shown in the nominative, unless the constitution or ‘quantity’ of the final syllable calls for a change, as: μέλισσα, μέλισσαν, μέλισσαι—ἄγγελος, ἄγγelon, ἄγγελοι—but μελίσσῃς, ἀγγέλῳ, ἀγγέλων.

**257<sup>b</sup>.** Generally, however, in exclamations (and interjections), it lies in the nature of language to stress the *first* syllable uttered and reduce the end. Hence the vocative also, as the case of exclamation, has the tendency to throw the accent as far back as trisyllabotomy admits (81. 429), as: (ὦ) γύναι, πάτερ, θύγατερ, ἄνερ, δέσποτα, Δῆμητερ, σῶτερ, Δημόσθενες, Σώκρατες, Ἀπολλων, Ἀγάμεμνον, Πόσειδον, εὐδαίμων (353), so too μῶρε, ἀδελφε, πόνηρε, μόχθηρε, ἀληθες. Cp. πάπα, ἄττα, τέττα.

**258.** The above remarks partially hold for *N* also, but in the majority of cases the accent generally conforms not to the ‘quantitative’ but to the *qualitative* changes of the endings. Thus, whenever the terminal sonant of the nominative singular is retained throughout, the accent also remains in its place (cp. 311); whereas a metaphonic change in the terminal sonant often draws the accent from the antepenult to the penult, as: ἡ μέλισσα, τῆς μέλισσας; ὁ ἄγγελος, τὸν ἄγγελο—but τοῦ ἀγγέλου, οἱ ἄγγελοι, τῶν ἀγγέλων (so even in Prodr. ὁκάποιας γαιτόνισσας, δευτερην, σκουμπροπαλαμυδόπαστου).

**259.** Genitive and dative endings, if ‘long’ and accented, have the circumflex.—This applies also to *N*.

**260.** Nominative, vocative, and accusative endings, if accented, have always the *acute*.—So still in *N*.

### FIRST DECLENSION (A-DECLENSION).

**261.** The first declension comprehends only—

Feminines ending in -α, -η;—and

Masculines           ,,           -ας, -ης.



262-267.] HISTORY OF FIRST DECLENSION.

262.

*Endings of the First Declension.*

		FEMININE.		MASCULINE.	
Sing.	N.	-η	-α	-ης	-ας
	V.	„	„	-η	-α
	A.	-ην	-αν	-ην	-αν
	G.	-ης	-ας, °-ης	°-ου	°-ου
	°D.	-η	-α, -η	-η	-α
°Dual		N. V. A.		-α	
		G. D.		-αιν	
Plur.	N. V.		-αι		
	A.		-ας		
	G.		-ων		
	°D.		-αις		

263. Generally speaking, in masculines terminal -ς is the sign of the nominative singular; in feminines, it is the sign of the genitive singular (cp. 247. 276. 339).

HISTORICAL REMARKS.

264. Greek declension began to manifest, as early as *A* times, a tendency towards simplification and uniformity in its terminal vocalism.

*a. P-N Singular.*

265. Thus, if we look at the *singular* of the above endings (262), we find that the prevailing vowels α and η have attracted and eventually assimilated those of their co-ordinate cases which had an heterophonous sonant. Accordingly the consonantal masculine vocative -α, the genitive feminine °-ης, and the masculine genitive °-ου, have been assimilated to the uniform vowel of their other co-ordinate cases, and so become -η, -ας, and -η respectively, after the model ἡ ρίξα, ὁ ρίξα, τὴν ρίξαν, τῆς ρίξας, (τῇ ρίξῃ)—ὁ ναύτης, ὁ ναύτη, τὸν ναύτην, τοῦ ναύτη, (τῷ ναύτῃ). This phenomenon signalized itself as early as *A*, but owing to the Atticistic and scholastic spirit of all *P-B* scribes (οιι), the assimilation of all terminal sonants appears fully established only in *M-N* speech (277-284).

266. The simplicity and regularity thus obtained of the 1st declension rendered it peculiarly appropriate to attract and assimilate other classes of nouns, especially those of the 3rd declension (338 f.).

*b. P-N Plural.*

267. In the *plural* a more striking and fundamental change has taken place. Besides the presence of an identical genitive plural -ων in all declensions, the 1st and 3rd declensions generally had in the accusative—the most familiar of all cases—the common ending -ας. This coincidence then associated them with each other, and led, as early as *P*, to a confusion between them. Such an interchange was moreover to be expected since, with the retreat of the dative (1348-51), there remained only one varying case, the nominative, which ended in -αι (for the 1st decl.) or -ες (for the 3rd decl.). Now the homophony of αι and ε—both sounded like ε (48 ff.)—was in itself suggestive, and the question at issue was which of the two forms should prevail over the other. It was naturally -ες, since this ending was far commoner,

and therefore more familiar. It had also the advantage of a sibilant close (-s), a sound very popular owing to its presence in most of the other plural cases (-as, -ous, -ois, -ais). (Cp. 69 [1].) Accordingly -es met with general acceptance, and gradually supplanted -ai. (Cp. Pallad. Vita Chrys. 33 c γεννάδες for γεννάδαι. Mal. 170, 3 Αλκιδάδες. 331, 7 Πέρσες. Apoc. Mar. 120, 32 οὐ μαργαρίτες. Leo Gram. 78, 14 Σκύθες, as v. 1. Attal. 254, 15 ἱππότες). But as already explained, this process of leveling became manifest as early as *P* times and appears complete in *B-M* popular speech (see 332 ff.). For the accusative plural see 332.

267<sup>b</sup>. Considering that the resultant common ending -es (-ες) is greatly due to the homophony of *ai* and *ε* (χῆραι χεῖρες), the nominative spelling μέλις, τιμαίς, ἡμέραις, ναύταις, πολίταις, etc., now commonly followed by Greeks, is not altogether unjustifiable, since it may be argued that *ai* in this case has been not changed, but retained and amplified to -ais by borrowing final -s from the 3rd declension.

268. I. FEMININES OF FIRST DECLENSION.

		ἡ 'house'	ἡ 'root'	ἡ 'honour'	ἡ 'bee'
Sing.	N. V.	οἰκί- <i>ᾱ</i>	ρίζ- <i>ᾱ</i>	τιμ-ἡ	μέλισσ- <i>ᾱ</i>
	A.	οἰκί- <i>ᾶν</i>	ρίζ- <i>ᾶν</i>	τιμ-ῆν	μέλισσ- <i>ᾶν</i>
	G.	οἰκί- <i>ᾱς</i>	ρίζ-ῆς	τιμ-ῆς	μέλισσ-ῆς
	D.	οἰκί- <i>ᾳ</i>	ρίζ-ῇ	τιμ-ῇ	μέλισσ-ῇ
Dual	N. V. A.	οἰκί- <i>ᾱ</i>	ρίζ- <i>ᾱ</i>	τιμ-ᾶ	μέλισσ- <i>ᾶ</i>
	G. D.	οἰκί- <i>αιν</i>	ρίζ- <i>αιν</i>	τιμ- <i>αιν</i>	μέλισσ- <i>αιν</i>
Pl.	N. V.	οἰκί- <i>αι</i>	ρίζ- <i>αι</i>	τιμ- <i>αί</i>	μέλισσ- <i>αι</i>
	A.	οἰκί- <i>ᾱς</i>	ρίζ- <i>ᾱς</i>	τιμ- <i>ᾱς</i>	μέλισσ- <i>ᾱς</i>
	G.	οἰκί- <i>ῶν</i>	ρίζ- <i>ῶν</i>	τιμ- <i>ῶν</i>	μέλισσ- <i>ῶν</i>
	D.	οἰκί- <i>αις</i>	ρίζ- <i>αις</i>	τιμ- <i>αῖς</i>	μέλισσ- <i>αις</i>

269. In declining a noun of the 1st declension observe that—

1. The vocative and accusative singular agree in accent and quantity.—So too in *N*.

2. The ending -*ας* counts 'long' throughout ;

    "    -*ᾱ*                    "    in the dual ;

    "    -*ῶν* has the circumflex.—So too in *N*.

3. The ending -*η* remains unchanged throughout the singular.—So still in *N*.

4. The ending -*α*, when preceded by a sonant or *ρ* (in which case the -*α* is called *pure*), remains unchanged throughout the singular (cp. 65) ; but when preceded by an ordinary consonant (a *impure*), it counts 'short' and changes to *η* in the genitive and dative singular.

270. In popular speech, ever since the †I<sup>st</sup>, both -*α* (whether pure or impure) and the accent are retained unchanged through all the cases of the singular (277).

271. Agreeably to 155 b-c, in *N* nearly all paroxytone feminines in -*ια* and -*αα* (-*ια*, -*εια*, -*τα*, -*αα*) have become oxytone, as : καρδιά, ἀδικία, κακία, φιλία, (θεία) θειά, (μηλέα) μηλεά (or -ιά), σκευά (or -ιά), δουλειά, ἀντρεία, (γλυκειά) γλυκειά. Nevertheless the paroxytone form is also fairly common in the dialects mentioned in 155 d, especially in Ionian speech (which is moreover influenced by Italian -*ia* and -*ea*), as : καρδιά, μηλέα.

272. *N* feminines in -*εά* (chiefly names of trees) appear also under the form -*ᾶ*. This is due to the circumstance that with the establishment of

# 272-277.] FIRST DECLENSION—MASCULINES.

-es in the plural as the normal ending of the 1st and 3rd declensions (267), the presence of another (thematic) *e* before the ending gave rise to hyphaeresis (-ées) -és (148. 157), and this accented plural now called forth a novel nominative singular in -έ, on the following pattern:

ή μηλέα	pl. μηλέ-es	μηλέ-s	new nom. sing. ή μηλέ
συκέα	,, συκέ-es	συκέ-s	,, ,, ,, συκέ
πετρέα	,, πετρέ-es	πετρέ-s	,, ,, ,, πετρέ
ἐλαία	,, ἐλαί-es	ἐλαί-s (or ἐλέ-s)	,, ,, ,, ἐλαί or ἐλέ.

273. A further consequence of this process was that feminines in -ea affected masculines in -éas and reduced them to -és, so that some *N* dialects (as Crete, Chios, Icaros, etc.) admit of *ὁ βασιλές* beside *βασιλέας*, *ὁ ἱερές* beside *ἱερέας*, *ὁ βαφές* beside *βαφέας*, etc. (407).

273<sup>b</sup>. That in popular *N* the whole plural of the 1st declension follows the plural of the 3rd declension, has been already explained in 267.

## 274. Inflection of *N* Feminines 1st Declension.

Sing. N. & V.	αἰτία (155, c)	καρδιά	ρίζα	τιμή	μηλέ
A.	αἰτία*	καρδιά*	ρίζα*	τιμή*	μηλέ*
G.	αἰτίας	καρδιάς	ρίζας	τιμῆς	μηλές
°D.	—	—	—	—	—

For the plural see 267, 312, c, & 332 ff.

## 275. II. MASCULINES OF FIRST DECLENSION.

375. II. MASCULINES OF FIRST DEGREE				
	‘ὁ young man’	‘ὁ citizen’	ὁ ‘Skythian’	
Sing. N.	νεανί-ās	πολίτης	Σκύθης	Φιλέας
V.	νεανί-α	πολίτ-ᾱ	Σκύθ-ᾱ	Φιλέᾱ
A.	νεανί-ᾱν	πολίτ-ην	Σκύθ-ην	Φιλέαν
G.	νεανί-ου	πολίτ-ου	Σκύθ-ου	φιλέᾱ (sic !)
D.	νεανί-ο	πολίτ-η	Σκύθ-η	Φιλέᾱ
Dual N. V. A.	νεανί-ᾱ	πολίτ-ᾱ	Σκύθ-ᾱ	
G. D.	νεανί-αιν	πολίτ-αιν	Σκύθ-αιν	
Pl. N. V.	νεανί-αι	πολίτ-αι	Σκύθ-αι	
A.	νεανί-ās	πολίτ-ās	Σκύθ-ās	
G.	νεανί-ων	πολίτ-ων	Σκυθ-ων	
D.	νεανί-αις	πολίτ-αις	Σκύθ-αις	

276. The declension of masculines essentially agrees with that of feminines (262), the only deviation being that—

1. The nom. sing. ends in -ς. —So still in *N* (263).
2. The gen. sing. ends in -ου. (For *N* see 265 & 277 f.)

277. In *A* barytone substantives in -as pure (269, 4) occasionally formed the genitive also in -α (after the Doric inflection), as: *τοῦ πατραλοῖα*, *ὀρνιθοθήρα*, *μανδραγόρα*, *δαμοκλία* (CIA ii. 968, 30—II<sup>nd</sup> v.c.), *Ὀρόντα*, *Ἰῆλα*, *Σύλλα*, *Σκόπα*, *Ἀντίβα*, *Ἀγρίππα*, *Ἀκύλα*, *Νέρβα*, *Γέτα*, *Κακίνα*, *Γάλα* (ThEckinger 129). This form gradually affected all substantives in -as and soon became a ruling principle which has ever since remained in full force, as: *τοῦ Ἀντίπα*, *Ἀρέτα*, *Βαρνάβα*, *Ματθία*, *Ἰούδα*, *Καῖᾱφα* (all in the NT; great many more examples in Hdn. ii. 648—655); *τοῦ Ἀνδρία*, *Ἀναβία*, *Ἰωσία*, *Ἀκρίτα*, *κοχλία*, *ταμία*, &c. (so in *N* 655); *τοῦ Ἀνδρία*, *Ἀναβία*, *Ἰωσία*, *Ἀκρίτα*, *κοχλία*, *ταμία*, &c. (so in *N* 655); *τοῦ Νικήτα*, *Πάπα*, *τοῦ χάχα*, *βήγα*, etc.). The popularity of this practice since *H* is moreover expressly attested by Herodian, who in the τII<sup>nd</sup> teaches (ii. 665, 10) that the genitive ending -α had become common: *ἐπὶ τῶν εἰς -ας βαρυτόνων ἔδην εὐρωμεν εἰς -α τὴν γενικὴν, ὅλον τοῦ παντὶ καὶ τοῦ κοχλία, Δωρικὴν αὐτὴν λέγομεν, τῇ κοινῇ διαλέκτῳ κυνήσῃ γενόμενῃ*

# FIRST DECLENSION—CONTRACTED. [277–285.]

(with numerous examples in pp. 648–54). Moeris 241 Μειδίου Ἀττικῶς, Μειδία τό τε ἀναλογικόν καί τὸ Ἑλληνικόν.

277<sup>b</sup>. For those in -ās or -ās see 287–290.

278. The same tendency for equalization soon affected also substantives in -ης, whose *A* genitive -ου was assimilated to the -η of the other endings (265), as : τοῦ Ἐμφάνη, Πασικράτη (CIA iii. 3519, 3459, 3464), τοῦ Ἑρμῆ, Ἀχλλεΐδῃ, οἰκαίτῃ (for οἰκέτου CIA iii. 3513, 3 ± 410 A.D.), Ἀγαθοκλῆ, Διομήδῃ, Ἰωάννῃ, Εὐνύχῃ, Ἀτῇ, Θεαγένῃ, πρεσβευτῇ (CIG 5366, 170 A.D.), (cp. Theoph. 373, 21 f. τοῦ Δάναυρι, Δάναστρι [cp. 298 & 301]; Theoph. cont. 427, 4 ἄλλυ ποταμοῦ)—and this form is now ruling in *N* speech. (430. App. iii. 15.)

278<sup>b</sup>. For contracted or perispomena in -ης see 288–290.

279. 3. The vocative singular ends in -α when the nominative ends in -της, as : ὦ πολῖτα.—So too the vocative of ethnic nouns (1030) and compounds, as : ὦ Σκύθα, Πέρσα, παιδοτριβᾶ.

280. Popular speech since *H* has assimilated the terminal vowel of the vocative to that of the other cases (265. 432, a).

281. 4. The vocative of δεσπότης ‘master,’ is ὦ δέσποτα.

282. The form δεσπότης has been preserved through the church in the sense of ‘bishop,’ while the vocative δέσποτα (title of the clergy) has given birth to a novel nominative ὁ δέσποτας ‘the Reverend.’ (Cp. 386.)

283. Masculines of the 1st declension in -ας are mostly appellatives and proper names (due partly to Doric influence, 287), as :

ταμίας, κοχλίας, ἀκουτίας, παρχαρίας, ἑκτομίας, καικίας, κερατίας, ξιφίας, στιγματίας, (ἀνα)φραγτίας, μαστιγίας, ξυρίας, τρυνητίας, φρονηματίας, καυχηματίας, χρηματίας, παππίας—Ἀγαθίας, Ἀθηναγόρας, Ἀμύντας, Ἀρχίας, Βρασιδίας, Γλανκίας, Γοργίας, Ἐταμεινώνδας, Ἑρμείας, Ἡρέας, Κλενίνας, Λεωνίδας, Μαρσύνας, Πανσωνίας, Πελοπίδας, Πυθαγόρας, Φειδίας, Φιλίας—Μενέλας, Ἰόλας, Νικόλας, etc.

283<sup>b</sup>. Those in -ης are very numerous, especially appellatives in -της, as :

Αἰσχίνης, Ἀλκιβιάδης, Ἀριστείδης, Ἡρακλείδης, Πέρσης, Ἀιδίης—γεωμέτρης, παιδοτριβῆς, πολίτης, τεχνίτης, κλέπτης, στρατιώτης, ναύτης, προδότης, ἐργάτης, ὑπηρέτης—ποιητής, ἀθλητής, κριτής, δικαστής, θεατής, εὐρετής, μαθητής, ληστής, δεσπότης, etc. etc.

283<sup>c</sup>. Since *A* common speech has added considerably to the number of proper names in -ας and -ης, and made either class very popular, as :

Ἀράτας, Βαρνάβας, Ζαχαρίας, Μαθίας (Ματθαίος), Ἡλίας, Τωβίας, Ἰούδας, Σέκτας, Τιμάς, Ἰωσίας, Οὐρίας, Ἀνανίας, Γάλλας, Ἠγησίας, Ἱερემίας, Ἀνδρέας, Κίλας, Λυσανίας, Μαντίας, Μαρτίας, Ὀνάτας, Πάλλας, Χαβρίας, Μεσσάλας—Ἰωάννης.—*N* Γεώργης, Βασίλης, Ἀναστάσης, etc. (Cp. 301.)

## 284. Inflection of *N* Masculines 1st Declension.

Sing. *N*. Ἀνανίας, Νικόλας, μάγερας, πατριάρχης, κριτής, ναύτης

*V*. Ἀνανία, Νικόλα, μάγερα, πατριάρχη, κριτή, ναύτη

*A*. Ἀνανία, Νικόλα, μάγερα, πατριάρχη, κριτή, ναύτη

*G*. Ἀνανία, Νικόλα, μάγερα (& -έρου, 296) πατριάρχη, κριτή, ναύτη.

284<sup>b</sup>. For the plural see 267 & 332 ff.

## CONTRACTED 1ST DECLENSION.

285. Some stems ending in -άα and -έα contract -άα to -ᾶ, and -έα to -ῆ (but -ρέα to -ῤ 269, 4. 441), and drop *a* or *ε* before a ‘long’ sonant (but see App. ii. 14). All resulting contractions technically and conventionally receive the circumflex. (76<sup>b</sup>. 77.)



# FIRST DECLENSION IN *N*—2ND DECLENSION. [288-292.]

τοῦ Βοιβάδος, Βιττάδος, Κυράδος (Hrdn. i. 51; ii. 657); τοῦ Ἀπῶ & Ἀπῶδος, Ἀπολλᾶ & Ἀπολλᾶδος (CIG 3253), Ἐπαφρᾶ & Ἐπαφράδος, Εἰρηνᾶ & Εἰρηνᾶδος, Ζωπᾶ & Ζωπᾶδος, Μηνᾶ & Μηνᾶδος (CIG 3142 iii. 10), Ζωσᾶ & Ζωσᾶδος, Διονυτᾶ (CIG 3137) & Διονυντᾶδος (CIG 3242), Ἡρᾶ & Ἡράδος, Βοττᾶ & Βοττᾶδος (GDittenberger 172, 4—III<sup>rd</sup> A.D.) (also Βοττάτος); τῷ Φιλωνᾶδῃ (CIG 3392); Ζωσᾶδῃ Arch. Inst. Amer. ii. 11.—τοῦ Ἐριμῆ & Ἐριμήδος, Διοκλή & Διοκλήδος, Καλλιελῆ & Καλλιελήδος (GMeyer<sup>2</sup> 336; Kühner-Blass i. 136, 3).

289. This imparisyllabic inflection naturally suggested an imparisyllabic plural in -άδες and -ήδες (so far as a plural form was admissible, as in the case of appellatives 290<sup>b</sup>), and this imparisyllabic plural has ever since remained in common use, and even gained a wider popularity, as:

φαγάδες, παπᾶδες (cp. παπαδία and παπαδίτις found in 'literature' since 500 A.D., as JJejun. 1909 B παπαδίτης), κερατᾶδες, ἀββαδες, ἀμμηρᾶδες, βηγάδες, κεφαλᾶδες, —Νικολήδες, Στεφανήδες, Περιελήδες, Κωστήδες, etc. (290<sup>b</sup>.)

## 290. Specimen of popular *N* 1st declension contracted.

ἡ κυρά 'mistress,' ἡ φακῇ 'lentils,' ὁ βορεᾶς 'north wind,' ὁ φαγάς 'glutton,' ὁ παπᾶς 'priest,' ὁ Μωϋσῆς 'Moses,' ὁ Κουμής 'Jacob.'

Singular :	Nom.	Voc.	Accus.	Gen.
	ἡ κυρά	ὦ κυρά	τήν κυράν	τῆς κυράς
	ἡ φακῇ	ὦ φακῇ	τήν φακῇ	τῆς φακῆς
	ὁ βορεᾶς	ὦ βορεᾶ	τὸν βορεᾶ	τοῦ βορεᾶ
	ὁ φαγάς	ὦ φαγά	τὸν φαγά	τοῦ φαγά
	ὁ παπᾶς	ὦ παπᾶ	τὸν παπᾶ	τοῦ παπᾶ
	ὁ Μωϋσῆς	ὦ Μωϋσῇ <sup>[1]</sup>	τὸν Μωϋσῇ	τοῦ Μωϋσῇ
	ὁ Κουμής	ὦ Κουμῇ	τὸν Κουμῇ	τοῦ Κουμῇ

The plural follows the 3rd declension (267. 332 ff.):

οἱ (ἡ <sup>[2]</sup> ) κυράδες	ὦ κυράδες	τάς (τῆς, τῆς) κυράδες	τῶν κυράδων
οἱ βορεᾶδες	ὦ βορεᾶδες	τοὺς βορεᾶδες	τῶν βορεᾶδων
οἱ φαγάδες	ὦ φαγάδες	τοὺς φαγάδες	τῶν φαγάδων

290<sup>b</sup>. Compare among others: Theoph. 445, 30 (ἀββᾶς) ἀββαδῶν. 451, 24 ἀμμηρᾶδες. 451, 23 ἀμμηρᾶδας. 445, 30 ἀββαδῶν (cp. 405, 30 ἐν ἄλλαις ὁκτὼ ἡμῶν μυριάδες as v. l.). Conc. Const. iv. 869 c βελονᾶδες (cp. 908 c ἀββαδῶν). Porphy. Cer. 674, 13 ἀββαδῶν. Theoph. Cont. 145, 19 καρτσίμαδων. 438, 15 & 439, 1 & 6 δρυσῶδων. FTrinch. 171 (†1141) ἱερουσιαστᾶδες. 441 (†268) & 451 Κρεββατᾶδων. 458 Μανθηλάδων. 480 Φλογειᾶδων. Chron. Mor. Prol. 1049 τοὺς καταπατητᾶδες.—and so on ever since: χορευτᾶδες, διαλαλητᾶδες, ραφτᾶδες, δεσποτᾶδες, μαθητᾶδες, etc. (cp. 289. GHatzidakis 385).

## SECOND DECLENSION (O-DECLENSION).

### I SUBSTANTIVES.

291. The 2nd declension comprehends all nouns of which the nominative ends in -ος or -ον. Those in -ος are mostly *masculine*, rarely *feminine*; those in -ον are all *neuter*.

292. This rule on the whole still applies to *N*. However, *feminines* in -ος, few as they were even in *A*, have been further reduced, one after another having either changed gender (by merely adopting

[<sup>1</sup>] So even in the Sept. Num. 9, 23.

[<sup>2</sup>] See 560.

the article *ὁ*) or exchanged the ending *-η* for that of *-ος* (245. cp. 310), as :

*Α* ὁ (beside *ῆ*) *πῖνος*, *ἀσπάλαθος*, *ὀρίγανος*, *βάτος*, *Ρ* ὁ *σχῖνος*, *πλάτανος*, *δοκός*, *στενωπός*, *στάμνος*, *ἄψινθος*, *δάκινθος* ; *Β* ὁ *πύξος*, *ψήφος*, *βῶλος* ; *Ν* ὁ *ἄμμος* (besides *ἡ ἄμμο*), *γερανός*, *πάπυρος*, *θόλος*, (*γ*)*ῦψος*, *κῆδρος*, *πηλός*, *κυπάρισσος* ; —*Ρ* ἡ *ἀσβόλη*, *χαλκάνθη*, *Σύρα* ; *Ν* ἡ *παρθένα*, *δασκάλα*, etc. (cp. *Α*—*Ρ* ἡ *κάρδοπος* & *-όπη*, *σπάρτος* & *-τη*, *μίνθος* & *-θη*, *ἔβεννος* & *-νη*, *ψάμμος* & *-μη*, *ἀσβολος* & *-λη*, etc. GHatzidakis 245 f.).

292<sup>b</sup>. As a consequence, *N* now preserves only a few feminines in *-ος*, and that subject to rules 247, 263 and 338, as : *ἡ ἄμμο*, *ἑρόσσο*, *Κόρθο* (*Κόρινθος*), *Κύπρο*, *Τήνο*, *Μῆλο*, *Νιό* (*Ἰός*), *Πάτινο* (*Πάτμος*), *Χιό*, *Ῥόδο*, *Κάσσο*, *Θάσσο*. (Cp. Chron. Mor. 127 τῆς *Κόρινθος*. 247 τῆς *Πελοπόννησος*.)—See also 414.

292<sup>c</sup>. Nevertheless the ancient feminine form *-ος* seems to linger still in some isolated idioms, as : (*Icaros*) *ἡ ἀβάτος*, *ἄμμος*, *Χίος*, *Ῥόδος*, *Σάμμος*, *νεόνυφος*.

293. As regards ‘quantity,’ the neuter ending *-α* always counts short, and this still holds good in *N*, as far as regards accentuation.

	δ ‘word’	δ ‘people’	δ ‘man’	τὸ ‘gift’
Sing. N.	λόγος	ἄνθρωπος	δῶρον	
V.	λόγε	ἄνθρωπε	ἄνθρωπον	ἄνθρωποι
A.	λόγον	ἄνθρωπον	ἄνθρωπον	ἄνθρωποι
G.	λόγου	ἄνθρωπου	ἄνθρωπου	ἄνθρωπων
D.	λόγῳ	ἄνθρωπῳ	ἄνθρωπῳ	ἄνθρωποις
Dual N. V. A.	λόγε	ἄνθρωπε	ἄνθρωπε	ἄνθρωποι
G. D.	λόγῳ	ἄνθρωπῳ	ἄνθρωπῳ	ἄνθρωποις
Plural N. V.	λόγοι	ἄνθρωποι	ἄνθρωποι	ἄνθρωποι
A.	λόγους	ἄνθρωπους	ἄνθρωπους	ἄνθρωπους
G.	λόγων	ἄνθρωπων	ἄνθρωπων	ἄνθρωπων
D.	λόγοις	ἄνθρωποις	ἄνθρωποις	ἄνθρωποις

294. The 2nd declension, as illustrated in the above examples, still survives in *N*, the only deviations from *Α* being that : (a) proper names in *-ος* sometimes preserve the *ο* in the vocative, as : (ὦ) *Νίκας*, *Πέτρος*, *Γεώργιος* (from ὁ *Γεώργιος*) ; (b) owing to the influence of the accusative and genitive plural (cp. 379), the nom. and voc. plural of paroxytone substantives accent the penult, and this accentuation is regular even in South Italian Greek, as :

N. & V. Pl.	ἀγγέλοι	after ἀγγέλους, ἀγγέλων (cp. ἀγγέλου)
,,	πολέμοι	,, πολέμους, πολέμων (cp. πολέμου)
,,	ἀνθρώποι	,, ἀνθρώπους, ἀνθρώπων (cp. ἀνθρώπου)
,,	μαγέροι	,, μαγέρους, μαγέρων (cp. μαγέρου).
,,	ἀποστόλοι	,, ἀποστόλους, ἀποστόλων (cp. ἀποστόλου).

295. The accentuation *ἀνθρώποι*, advocated by some recent scholars, is untenable, since the question at issue is not about the ‘nature,’ but about the place of accent.

296. The plural of the 2nd declension, taken in conjunction with the genitive singular, has attracted, since *M* times, a number of polysyllabic masculines in *-ας*, which in *Α* were inflected after the 3rd declension. Their accentuation naturally follows the above rule (294. cp. 346), as :

οἱ *κοράκοι*, *ἀρχόντοι*, *γερόντοι*, *μαρτύροι*, *δαιμόνιοι*.—τοῦ *κοράκου*, *ἀρχόντου*, *γερόντου*, *μαρτύρου*, *δαιμόνου*.—τοῦ *ἀλεκτόρου* (CLEEMANS ii. 33 [+III-IV<sup>th</sup>]),—nom. sing. ὁ *κύρακας*, *ἀρχοντας*, *γέροντας*, *μάρτυρας*, *δαιμόνας*, *ἀλεκτορας* (339. 346).

296<sup>b</sup>. Conversely, the popularity of masculine substantives in *-as* (339) and the need of discrimination between substantives and adjectives in *-os* has recently led to the change of many proparoxytone masculines in *-os* to those in *-as*, as: *μάγας* (for *μάγειρος*), *έμπορας*, *κάβουρας* (*κάβειρος* 'crab'), *έγγονας*, *κάπelas* (*κάπηλος*)—with pl. *μαγέροι*, *έμποροι*, *καβούροι* (296).

297. A couple of neuters form, besides the regular plural, an imparisyllabic plural after the 3rd declension: *όνειρον* 'dream,' pl. *όνειρα* & *όνείματα*; *πρόσωπον* 'face,' pl. *πρόσωπα* & *προσώματα*. This classical peculiarity still survives in *N*, the above substantives having even received a further accretion in the *B-N* word *έλογον* 'horse,' and several neuters in *-os* (424): pl. *έλογα* & *άλόγατα*, *κέρδητα* (beside *κέρδη*), *βάρητα* (beside *βάρη*), etc.

298. Just as the masculine ending *-as* of the 1st declension has called into existence a multitude of shortened names, both proper and appellative (287 ff.), so too the masculine ending *-ης* has given birth to many corresponding shortened names. Thus *ναύτης*, *πατριάρχης*, *σχολάρχης*, etc., '*Αριστίδης*, '*Αλκιβιάδης*, *Σωκράτης*, '*Ιωάννης*, '*Αρσάκης*—'*Αρης*, '*Αϊδης*, *Διομήδης*, *Πολυεύκης*, *Διογένης*, *Δημοσθένης*, '*Αριστοφάνης*, '*Αριστοτέλης*, and all the rest ending in *-γένης*, *-μήνης*, *-σθένης*, *-κράτης*, *-μήδης*, etc., which had already been identified with the 1st declension (432), attracted proper names in *-ίως* and shortened them to *-is*, that is to the familiar ending *-ης* of the 1st declension. This has been particularly the case with proparoxytones in *ζίος* (*ζείος*) which, being polysyllabic and cumbersome, easily lent themselves to abbreviation (1040). Accordingly '*Αποδήμιος* became first '*Αποδήμις*, then '*Αποδήμης* (CIG 9572); *Λύκιος* *Λύκις* *Λύκης*; *Σωτήριος* *Σωτήρις* *Σωτήρης*; *Εὐτύχιος* *Εὐτύχις* *Εὐτύχης*; *Δημήτριος* *Δημήτρις* *Δημήτρης*; '*Αντώνιος* '*Αντώνις* '*Αντώνης*; *Πορφύριος* *Πορφύρις* *Πορφύρης*; *Διονύσιος*, *Διονύσις*, *Διονύτης*; *Βασίλειος* *Βασίλεις* *Βασίλης*. So further '*Απολλώνιος*, '*Αρτέμις*, '*Αφροδίσις*, *Βάκχης*, *Γαίς*, *Κούριτις*, *Λούκις*, *Λουκρήτις*, *Μήνις*, '*Ολύμπις*, *Παρθένις*, etc. (all in CIA iii, index); *Φαρνάκης*, *Εὐσίβης* ib., *Αὐρήλις* *Βιτάλης* (CIG 5700); '*Ζειμάκης*, *Κουρτίκης*; *Σταυράκιος* *Σταυράκις* *Σταυράκης*, etc. etc.—So also proparoxytone appellatives in *ζίος* [paroxytones in *-ίος* having become oxytone *-ίος* 155, c], as: *κύριος* *κύρις* (and since *T*) *κύρης* (then as proclitic title 'Mr.' reduced to indeclinable *κύρ*); *περδικάριος* *περδικάρις* *περδικάρης*; '*Απρίλιος* '*Απρίλις* '*Απρίλης*; *Μάρτιος* *Μάρτις* *Μάρτης*; *Μόλιος*, *Μάις*, *Μάης*,—and the *T-B* nicknames *κοντοχέρης*, *χρυσοχέρης*, *κοντογένης*, *κοντομήτης*, *πλατυπόδης*, *λειχούδης*, *στραβομήτης*, etc. (*ΔΜαυροφρύδης* 424).—That the whole process may have been initiated by neuters in *-ι*, will be seen in 302 f.

299. Corresponding influences of analogy affected some *P-B* proper names in *-αιος*, as: '*Αθήναιος* '*Αθήναις* (*Παναθήναιος*, *Φιλαθήναιος* *-θήναις*), *Ειρήναιος* *Ειρήναις*, *Αρίσταιος* '*Αρίσταις*, '*Εστίαίος* '*Εστίαίς*, '*Ηραϊος* '*Ηραϊναις*, *Λείναιος* or *Λήναιος* '*Λναις*, *Μούσαιος* *Μούσαις*. However, a nominative ending *-es* (*-es*, *-ais*) being abnormal and alien to Greek declension never became popular. [This circumstance, by the way, is an additional proof that neither *η* was then sounded like *e*, nor *αι* like *a-i*, 37 ff. 48 ff.]

300. The *N* ending *-es* (as *καφέs* 'coffee,' *κουταντέs* 'dunce,' *κόντες* 'count') is foreign and of recent origin [in Chron. Mor. *ὁ Ντζεφρέs*, *τοῦ Ντζεφρέ passim*. *ὁ Μαρφέs* 4455, etc.]

301. Instead of *Εὐγένης*, *Διονύσις*, '*Αντώνης*, some scholars <sup>[1]</sup>, following the prevalent spelling of the inscriptions, write *Εὐγένις*, *Διονύσις*, '*Αντώνις* (or *-ώνις*), etc., on the assumption that the ending *ζίος* has been reduced to *ζις* through the mere dropping of *-ο-*, a phenomenon without parallel in the Greek language. Others <sup>[2]</sup> see in these shortened forms a Roman influence, and contend that *Εὐγένις*, *Αὐρήλις*, '*Αντώνις* (so accented 304), etc., have been formed directly after the Latin *Eugenius*, *Aurelius*, *Antonius*. But to begin with, it may be even disputed whether these Latin forms are not due to Greek influence, the more so as

[1] EASophocles Gloss. 82 f. & Lex. p. 36 f.; *ΔΜαυροφρύδης* 15.

[2] GHatzidakis 183 & 318.



they first appear not so much in Rome as in Greece proper, and that at a time (+1½) when corresponding names in *-is* are not current in Latin. Then this would be the only example of Latin influence on Greek inflection [for *-atos* see 1052], and afford no explanation whatever of the analogous formation of diminutives in *-ion* from *-ion* (as 'Ερώτιον from 'Ερώτιον, 302). Lastly, even admitting a direct Roman influence in this case, it is to be remembered that the Latin ending *-is* met with popular favour among the Greeks just because it sounded like *-ης*, a termination very familiar with them. Whatever may be the contention, popular feeling identified the ending *-is* with the *-ης* of the 1st declension. Hence the current spelling Εὐγένης, Δημήτρης, Βασίλης, which also occurs not only in *B-M* compositions, but also in inscriptions, as: Ἀρσηνάλης, Κερεάλης, Μαρτιάλης, Μερκουριάλης, Προβινκιάλης, Βιτάλης, κουρούλης, ἱκουίστρης, Ἀρήνης, &c. (TheEckinger 49), deserves unqualified preference. Forms like Εὐγένις, Δημήτρις, Βασίλεις, μαυρογένις (κοκκινογένις, etc.), with a genitive τοῦ Εὐγένι, Δημήτρι, Βασίλει, μαυρογένει, κοκκινογένει, etc.), besides their oddness, are alien to the genius of Greek inflection, which since *A* began to show a constant tendency towards simplification and uniformity (265-7 & 327), reducing nominal declension to the simple pattern of substantives in *-as*, *-ης*, and *-os* (cp. *N* λαγός, προεστός, with genitive τοῦ λαγοῦ, προεστοῦ—for the *A* λαγός, προεστός, with genitive τοῦ λαγώ, προεστῶτος).

**302.** The convenience afforded by shortened proper names and appellatives (287 ff. cp. 298), led easily to an analogical shortening also of their diminutives in *-ion* (whether feminine or neuter) to *-i*, as:—

Καλλίστιον Καλλίστιν, Φιλημάτιον Φιλημάτιν, Ἀρτέμιον Ἀρτέμιν, Ἐρώτιον Ἐρώτιν, Χαρίτιον Χαρίτιν, Χρυσίον Χρυσίν, Ἡδύν—ἡμωβέλιον (on a coin of Aegion! 146-143 B.C., Gr. Coins Br. Mus. Pelopon. p. 18), μαρτύριον, στάδιον, ἀρσενίκιον (cp. 1040 & GBenseler); so too *M-N* τραπέζι, πόδι, κτῆνι or χτένι (174), ρυάκι, ποτήρι, παιδί, ἀνώγει or ἀνώγι, ψυχάρι, etc. (App. iii. 7.)

**303.** However, considering that, when the above shortened neuters in *-ion* first appeared, terminal *-ν* had been identified with movable or analogical *-ν* (221), we are warranted in assuming that the formation of this class of diminutive neuters was first suggested by the presence of corresponding familiar neuters in *-ι* (399f.), such as: μέλι (with ἀπόμελι, ἐλαιόμελι, μηλόμελι, ὀμφακόμελι, ὀξύμελι), ἄμμι, σίλλι, σάρι, κίκι, κοῦκκι, στίμι or στίμμι, κιννάβαρι, πέπερι, σέσελι, ἄκαρι, τάγγρι, σίναπι (*N* σινάπι), σάκχαρι, κόρι, etc. (for many more examples see Choer. ed. AHilgard 343-5)—(cp. also τὸ ἄστυ, νᾶπι, μέθυ, μίσυ, κάχρυ, δάκρυ, ἥμισυ, etc. [where *v* and *i* are homophonous, 35 ff.], and τὸ πεί, φί, χί, μῦ, νῦ, ξῦ, ψῦ, 9).—See also 298.

**304.** Some recent scholars, at the instance of EASophocles (Lex. p. 35), accent shortened substantives, whether proper names or appellatives, just as if they still exhibited their full form, as: Σατήρις (like Σατήριος), Ἀντώνις, Δημήτρις, κύρις, τάλρι (= ἱταίριον), ξείδι (= ὀξείδιον), ποτήρι, σκουληκι, etc.; but such a practice is arbitrary and incompatible with the principle of Greek accentuation. Cp. 301 & 347.

### 305. Specimen of popular *N* 2nd declension.

ὁ καιρός 'weather,' 'time,' κήπος 'garden,' ἄνεμος 'wind,' τὸ σῦκο 'fig,' χωριό 'village,' ρυάκι 'brook,' παιδί 'child,' ἀνώγι 'upper room,' μέλι 'honey.'

Sing. Nom.	Voc.	Acc.	Gen.
καιρός	καιρέ	καιρό*	καιροῦ
κήπος	κήπε	κήπο*	κήπου
ἄνεμος	ἄνεμε	ἄνεμο*	ἀνέμου
σῦκο*	← =	← =	σύκου
ρυάκι*	← =	← =	ρυακιοῦ (155, c)
παιδί*	← =	← =	παιδιοῦ "
ἀνώγι*	← =	← =	ἀνωγιοῦ "
μέλι*	← =	← =	μελιοῦ "

# ADJECTIVES OF 1ST & 2ND DECLENSION. [306-310.

## ADJECTIVES OF 1ST AND 2ND DECLENSION.

306. The great majority of Greek adjectives end in -ος, and follow the 2nd declension. The feminine gender ends generally in -η or -α, and so follows the 1st declension (441).

2ND DECLENSION.				1ST DECLENSION.			
Sing.	N.	καλός	καλόν	δίκαιος	δίκαιον	καλή	δικαία
	V.	καλέ	"	δικαίε	"	"	"
	A.	καλόν	"	δίκαιον	"	καλήν	δικαίαν
	G.	καλοῦ	← =	δικαίου	← =	καλῆς	δικαίας
	D.	καλῷ	← =	δικαίῳ	← =	καλῇ	δικαίᾳ
Dual.	N. V. A.	καλῶ	← =	δικαίῳ	← =	καλά	δικαία
	G. D.	καλοῖν	← =	δικαίοιν	← =	καλαῖν	δικαίαιν
Plural	N. V.	καλοί	καλά	δίκαιοι	δίκαια	καλαί	δικαίαι !
	A.	καλοῖς	"	δικαίους	"	καλάς	δικαίας
	G.	καλῶν	← =	δικαίων	← =	καλῶν	δικαίων
	D.	καλοῖς	← =	δικαίοις	← =	καλαῖς	δικαίαις

306<sup>b</sup>. The above rule and inflection holds substantially also for *N* (but cp. 258 & 311).

307. As regards accent, the nominative and genitive plural of the feminine follows the masculine gender (contrary to 269, 2), as :

Masc. δίκαιος 'just'	Nom. Pl. δίκαιοι	Gen. δικαίων
Fem. δικαία	" " δίκαιαι	" δικαίων
	[not δικαίαι]	[not δικαίων].

308. A great number of adjectives in -ος, chiefly compound, have a common ending and inflection for both the masculine and feminine genders (*communia*), whereas the neuter ends regularly in -ον.

M. & F. ἀργός,	ἡμερος,	ἡσυχος,	ἄτεκνος,	ἐντιμος
N. ἀργόν,	ἡμερον,	ἡσυχον,	ἄτεκνον,	ἐντιμον.

309. Many of these adjectives, however, occur sometimes with two, sometimes with three endings, as :

M.	N.	F.
βέβαιος 'secure'	βέβαιον	βέβαιος & βεβαία
ἐρημος 'desert'	ἐρημον	ἐρημος & ἐρήμη
χρησιμος 'useful'	χρησιμον	χρησιμος & χρησίμη
ἀναίτιος 'guiltless'	ἀναίτιον	ἀναίτιος & ἀναίτια.

So further: μάταιος 'vain,' ὠφέλιμος 'useful,' βίαιος 'violent,' ἔτοιμος 'ready,' ἀναγκαῖος 'necessary.'

310. This terminal fluctuation, noticeable even in *A*, not only in adjectives, but also in substantives ending in -ος (cp. 245 ff. 292), assumed, in the course of *P* times, greater proportions and eventually led to a complete assimilation of all feminines in -ος, whether adjective or substantive, to those in -η or -α pure (cp. vita SA 40<sup>a</sup> c ἄσμεναι γυναῖκες πόρναι καὶ ἀδιὰτροπαι). Hence *N* now knows adjectives of three endings only, as : ἀγραφος, ἀγραφο', ἀγραφή 'unwritten,' δίκαιος (δίκαιος, 032. 155, α), δίκαιο', δίκαια 'just.'

# 311-313.] CONTRACTED 2ND DECLENSION.

311. A further peculiarity of *N* is that, irrespective of their terminal 'quantity,' all adjectives retain the accent on the same syllable throughout (cp. 258), as: ἀκούραστος 'indefatigable,' ἀκούραστου, ἀκούραστης, ἀκούραστοι, ἀκούραστους.

## 312. *N* inflection of adjectives, 2nd and 1st declension.

καλός, καλό', καλή 'good'; ἄξιος, ἄξιο', ἄξια 'able'; φανερός, φανερό', φανερή 'evident'; ἄκυκος, ἄκακο', ἄκακη 'innocent.'

### a. MASCULINES.

	Nom.	Voc.	Acc.	Gen.
Sing.	καλός ἄξιος φανερός ἄκακος	καλέ ἄξιε φανερέ ἄκακε	καλό' ἄξιο' φανερό' ἄκακο'	καλοῦ ἄξιου φανεροῦ ἄκακου
Plur.	καλοί ἄξιοι φανεροί ἄκακοι	← = ← = ← = ← =	καλοῦς ἄξιους φανερούς ἄκακους	καλῶ' ἄξιω' φανερῶ' ἄκακῶ'

### b. NEUTERS.

Sing.	καλό' ἄξιο' φανερό' ἄκακο'	← = ← = ← = ← =	← = ← = ← = ← =	καλοῦ ἄξιου φανεροῦ ἄκακου
Plur.	καλά ἄξια φανερά ἄκακα	← = ← = ← = ← =	← = ← = ← = ← =	καλῶ' ἄξιω' φανερῶ' ἄκακῶ'

### c. FEMININES.

Sing.	καλή ἄξια φανερή ἄκακη	← = ← = ← = ← =	καλή' ἄξια' φανερή' ἄκακη'	καλῆς ἄξιας φανερῆς ἄκακης
Plur.	After the 3rd declension (267. 332. 357 <sup>b</sup> ). καλές ἄξιες φανερές ἄκακες	← = ← = ← = ← =	← = (ἔ -ας) ← = (ἔ -ας) ← = (ἔ -ας) ← = (ἔ -ας)	καλῶ' ἄξιω' φανερῶ' ἄκακῶ'

## CONTRACTED 2nd DECLENSION.

313. Stems ending in *eo* and *oo* contract to *ou* throughout, but drop *ε* or *ο* when a 'long' sonant succeeds (cp. 285 & App. ii. 9. 14).

ὁ νοῦς 'mind'; τὸ ὀστοῦν 'bone'; ὁ ἡ εὐνοῦς, τὸ εὖνον 'favourable.'

Sing. N.	νοῦς	ὀστοῦν	εὖνοῦς	εὖνον
V.	νοῦ	"	εὖνου	"
A.	νοῦν	"	εὖνον	"
G.	νοῦ	ὀστοῦ	εὖνου	← =
D.	νοῖ	ὀστοῦ	εὖνῳ	← =
Pl. N.	νοῖ	ὀστᾶ	εὖνοι   (εὖνοῦς)	εὖνοα !
A.	νοῦς	"	εὖνοῦς	"
G.	νοῶν	ὀστῶν	εὖνων	← =
D.	νοῖς	ὀστοῖς	εὖνοῖς	← =

**313<sup>b</sup>.** So are declined: ὁ ἀδελφίδους 'nephew,' ὁ θροῦς 'report,' ὁ ῥοῦς 'flow,' ὁ θυγατρίδους 'grandson,' ὁ πλοῦς 'navigation,' ὁ περιπλοῦς 'circumnavigation,' τὸ κανοῦν 'basket,' etc.

**314.** After εἰνους εἰνουν are inflected many adjectives, as: δύνους 'ill-affected,' κακόνους 'hostile,' ἄνους 'foolish,' κουφόρους 'light-headed,' (ἄπλοος) ἀπλοῦς 'unnavigable,' σύμπλοος 'sailing together,' εὔρους 'fairly flowing.'—So too adjectives compounded with ποῦς 'foot,' inasmuch as they form in -πουν the N.V. and A. singular neuter, often also the A. singular masculine and feminine, as: (τὸ) ἅπουν, βραδύπουν, δίπουν, πολυπουν; τὸν-τὴν δίπουν, τρίπουν, δεκάπουν, besides τὸν-τὴν δίποδα, τρίποδα, δεκάποδα.

**315.** The dual does not occur even in A (229. 633).

**316.** The uncontracted forms occur only in Ionic and Aeolic.

**317.** In adjectives of two endings compounded with πλοῦς, νοῦς, -πρους, θροῦς, the contraction is omitted in the N., V. & A. plural neuter: τὰ-ὧ ἄνοα.

**318.** Simple substantives and adjectives take the circumflex over the ultima through all the cases, but compounds retain the accent of the nominative singular throughout.

**319.** Contracted and, moreover, perispomena throughout are—

1. Adjectives ending in -εος, which denote material or colour, as:

(χρύσεος) χρυσοῦς, χρυσοῦν, χρυσῇ 'golden.'  
(ἀργύρεος) ἀργυροῦς, ἀργυροῦν, ἀργυρᾷ 'of silver.'  
(κυάνεος) κυανοῦς, κυανοῦν, κυανῇ 'dark blue.'

2. Multiplicatives ending in -πλοος (Latin -plex), (653, 1), as:

(ἀπλός) ἀπλοῦς, ἀπλοῦν, ἀπλῇ 'simple.'  
(διπλός) διπλοῦς, διπλοῦν, διπλῇ 'double.'

Sing. N.	χρυσοῦς	-οῦν	-ῇ	ἀργυροῦς	-οῦν	-ᾷ
A.	χρυσοῦν	"	-ῇν	ἀργυροῦν	"	-ᾷν
G.	χρυσοῦ	← =	-ῆς	ἀργυροῦ	← =	-ᾶς
D.	χρυσῷ	← =	-ῇ	ἀργυρῷ	← =	-ᾷ
Pl. N.	χρυσοῖ	-ᾷ	-αῖ	ἀργυροῖ	-ᾷ	-αῖ
A.	χρυσοῖς	"	-ᾶς	ἀργυροῖς	"	-ᾶς
G.	χρυσῶν	← =	← =	ἀργυρῶν	← =	← =
D.	χρυσοῖς	← =	-αῖς	ἀργυροῖς	← =	-αῖς.

**320.** As may be seen, the inflection of nouns of the 2nd declension (whether contracted or not) coincides with that of uncontracted adjectives in all the cases except the nominative and accusative singular. This coincidence could not fail to associate the two classes with each other, and thus lead to the assimilation of the two deviating cases to the regular forms of the 2nd declension (654). Thus—

καλοῦ, καλῷ—καλοί, καλοῖς, καλῶν, καλοῖς } led to διπλός, διπλό";  
διπλοῦ, διπλῷ—διπλοί, διπλοῖς, διπλῶν, διπλοῖς } χρυσός, χρυσό".  
χρυσοῦ, χρυσῷ—χρυσοί, χρυσοῖς, χρυσῶν, χρυσοῖς }

**321.** Compare P δορυξέ, διπλότερος, ἀπλότερος, χρυσότερος, πορφυράτερος (Kühner-Blass i. 402 & 559).—ἀδελφίδος Sept. Cant. i. 13; 14. 5. 1. 8, 1. Theoph. 140, 27 (also 159, 1; 187, 23; 445, 1). (654.) χρυσός Sophron. 3597 B, a coin. Ἀργυρός Theoph. Cont. 724, 3. εὔπλος Porph. Cer. 379, 20. τετράποδος (from τετράποδα) CWessely Gr. Zaub. p. 118. [Cp. Moeris 260 δαστοῦν Ἀττικῶς, δαστόν Ἑλληνικῶς. 336 τριπλᾷ, τετραπλᾷ περισπωμένως καὶ

# 321-328.] 2ND ATTIC DECLENSION—3RD DECLENSION.

μακρῶς, 'Αττικῶς' βραχέως 'Ελληνικῶς. 365 χαλκοῦς καὶ χαλκῇ ἀδιαίρετος  
'Αττικῶς' χάλκεος χαλκῆ 'Ελληνες. χρυσοῦς καὶ χρυσῇ 'Αττικῶς' χρύσεος καὶ  
χρυσῆα 'Ελληνες. 376 χαλκῆν, χρυσῆν, 'Αττικῶς' διατελευμένως δι' 'Ελληνες.]

322. The only nominative and accusative singular which appears to be a genuine survival of *A* contraction is νοῦς, νοῦν (with a modern pl. οἱ νοῦδες). The inflection of νοῦς is followed by the rather dialectal ὁ παπποῦς (πάππος). Cp. also ὁ Ἰησοῦς.

## SECOND ATTIC DECLENSION.

323. The 2nd declension includes a few substantive and adjective stems in -ω, generally preceded by ε. This ω, which stands for ο and ου (6 f. 26 & ib. 6. App. ii. 9 ff.), remains through all the cases and becomes ω where otherwise οι should result. The vocative is like the nominative (349. 377).

324. As regards accentuation, the terminal ω counts *short* throughout (327. 393. App. i. 15, b).

325. This inflection is peculiar to *A*, and has for this reason been called the (2nd) *Attic declension* by ancient grammarians, evidently because they knew it only from *A* writings (327; cp. Kühner-Blass i. 403).

	ὁ νεώς 'temple,'	ὁ εὐεως, ἑλεων 'gracious.'	
Sing. N. V.	νεώς	ἑλεως (M. & F.) ἑλεων (N.)	
A.	νεῶν	ἑλεων	← =
G.	νεῶ	ἑλεω	← =
D.	νεῶ	ἑλεω	← =
Dual N. V. A.	νεῶ	ἑλεω	← =
G. D.	νεῶν	ἑλεων	← =
Plural N. V.	νεῶ	ἑλεω	ἑλεα!
A.	νεῶς	ἑλεως	← =
G.	νεῶν	ἑλεων	← =
D.	νεῶς	ἑλεως	← =

326. So are declined: ὁ λεώς 'people,' ὁ κάλως 'rope,' Μενέλεως 'Menelaus'; and the adjectives σῶς, σῶν 'whole,' πλέως, πλέων (with fem. πλέα, 1st decl.) 'full,' ἔκπλεως, ἔκπλεων 'completed,' ἀξιοχρεως, ἀξιοχρεων 'worthy of credit'; then compounds in -κερωσ, -γελωσ, -γῆρωσ. Finally ἡ ἑως 'dawn' with an accusative τὴν ἑω! (412).

327. The 2nd Attic declension, if ever used in *A* parlance (cp. κάλωι χρυσοῖ CIA ii. 689, 6 [350 B.C.]; also οἱ κάλωι as if from οἱ κάλωι, like οἱ ἥρωι, 415; ἀξιοχρεῶι IGB 3073 [II<sup>d</sup> B.C.], 27), retreated from the living language in the course of P times, making room for the regular declension in -ος: νεός, λαγός, ὀρός, κάλος, ὑπόχρεος, etc. (Cp. 301). [Phryn. 162 λαγὼς ὁ Ἀττικὸς, διὰ τοῦ ο ὁ ἱων λαγός. Moeris 351 φιλόγελοι 'Αττικῶς, φιλογέλωτες 'Ελληνικῶς.]

## THIRD DECLENSION.

328. The case-endings of the 3rd declension are:—

	M. & F. . N.	M. F. & N.	Plural	M. & F.	N.
Sing. N. V.	-ς	Dual -ε		-ες	-ᾶ
A.	-α, (-ν) ,,	"		-ᾶς, [ν]ς ,,	"
G.	-ος ← =	-οιν		-ων ← =	← =
D.	-ι ← =	"		-σι" ← =	← =

## HISTORICAL REVIEW OF 3RD DECLENSION. [329-332.]

**329.** Mark that: (1) all endings begin with a vowel, except the nominative and vocative singular masculine and feminine, then the dative plural of all three genders.

(2) The neuter has no distinct case-ending in the N. V. A. singular.

### HISTORICAL REMARKS.

**330.** I. In the *Singular* the accusative ending *-a* is attached to consonantal stems, and the ending *-v* to sonantic, sometimes also to consonantal, stems (358). The former then appears to constitute an exception to the general method of indicating the object case in the singular by a final *-v*. This peculiarity, applying as it did to the minority of nouns, came to be felt as a certain anomaly, since forms like *μήνα* beside *ταμία*, *χείρα* beside *χίρα*, *ἀληθῆ* beside *ἀγαθῆ* appeared incomplete and naked, and so called for the finishing *-v*. The earliest traces of such assimilation go back to *Δ* antiquity itself, and the start was apparently made by contracted nouns, notably proper names, ending in *-ης*, which were associated or rather identified with substantives of the 1st declension. Thus *τὸν Σωκράτην*, *Διογένην*, *Δημοσθένην*, *Ἀριστοτέλην*, etc. occur even in *Δ* beside *τὸν Σωκράτη*, *Διογένη*, *Δημοσθένη*, *Ἀριστοτέλη*, etc. Soon hereafter, if not simultaneously, appellatives followed, as: *τριήρην*, *τετρήρην*, beside *τριήρη*, *τετρήρη*, and since 300 B.C. (if not earlier) proper names in *-κλῆς*, as: *Μενεκλῆν*, *Λυσικλῆν*, etc., beside *Στρωτοκλέα*, *Διοκλέα*, etc. (431 ff. App. iii. 3-10). From the III<sup>d</sup> B.C. downwards the instances become so frequent as to warrant the assumption that popular speech closed every accusative singular with the finishing *-v*. (App. iii. 5 f.)

**330<sup>b</sup>.** Compare Sept. *σκήφαν*, *ἀκρίδα*, *νύκταν*, *ὕγινη*, *αἶγαν*, *θώρακαν*, *χείραν*, *βασιλέαν*, *μονογενῆν*, etc. — NT *χείραν*, *Ἀντιοχέον*, *Δίαν*, *νύκταν*, *ἀσφαλῆν*, etc. — Inscriptional: *ἀνδραν*, *γυναῖκαν*, *θυγατέραν*, *χείραν*, *ἀνδρεῖανταν*, *ἀρχονταν*, *πατρίδα*, *χάριταν*, *νεύτηταν*, *Οἰδίποδαν*, &c. — and so on down to *Μ* speech.

For more particulars and references see App. iii. 3-6 & 30.

**331.** Similarly neuters like *ἡδύ*, *γλυκύ*, *στίμι*, *μελίτι*, etc., associated as they were with *χωρίον*, *παιδίον*, *ξύλον*, etc. appeared naked and thus called for the analogical finishing *-v*, as:

*τὸ ἡδύν*, *γλυκύν*, *μελίτιν*, *στίμιν*, *ἡμωβέλιμ*, *μαρτίρην*, *στάδην*, *Ἀρτίμην*, *Ἐρῶτιν*, *Ἑλλάδην*, *Ἠδύν*, etc. — and T-B *ρίζαριν*, *ὀψάριν*, *κοιτάριν*, *ἀσσημίν*, *καλαμάριν*, etc. etc. — So further *τὸ θέμαν*, *Ν* *χρήμαν*, *κρίμαν*, etc.

For more details and references see App. iii. 7-10 & 30.

**332.** II. As to the *Plural* in *P* Greek, the two case-endings *-ε* and *-ας* of the nominative and accusative masculine and feminine show a tendency towards complete equalization, due to their association (267). For apart from the identity of these two cases in all neuters (*ξύλα*, *πράγματα*, *καλά*, *ἐχοντα*, *τά*, *αἰ*, *τινά*, *ἐκείνα*, etc.), sonantic stems of the 3rd declension exhibited identical endings in the masculine and feminine also, the process beginning with contracted nouns of the stem character *-ε* (391. 394) and gradually extending to the other sonantic stems.

Cp. *αἱ-τὰς πόλεις*, *οἱ-τοὺς πῆχεις*, *οἱ-τοὺς βασιλεῖς*, *οἱ-τοὺς ἰχθύς*, *αἱ-τὰς ναῦς* (Phryn. 147), *αἱ-τὰς γρᾶνς*, *οἱ-τοὺς ἥρας*<sup>[1]</sup>, *οἱ-τοὺς κάλους* [KMeisterhans' 101] — *οἱ-αἱ-τοὺς-τὰς ἀληθεῖς*, *γλυκεῖς*, *μείζους*, *οἱ-τοὺς-τὰς εὐνοὺς*.

[<sup>1</sup>] Compare Phryn. 137 *οἱ ἥρας οὐ λέγουσιν, ἀλλ' οἱ ἥραιες τρισυλλάβως ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς αἰτιατικῆς δισυλλάβως, τοὺς ἥρας: ἀπαξ βιασθεῖς Ἀριστοφάνης ὑπὸ τοῦ μέτρον οἱ ἥρας εἶπε* (cp. 327.)

332<sup>b</sup>. With the opening of *G*, consonantal stems followed the process initiated, the start being apparently made by the accusative of those proparoxytones which lacked stress on the ultima.

τοὺς ἐλάσσονες, συμπολεμήσαντες, συνδιασώσαντες, τοὺς δαμοφύλακες (Achaia [III<sup>rd</sup> B.C.]), AFick in Bez. Beitr. v. 521; τοὺς λέγοντες Louvre Pap. 315 (153 B.C.); τοὺς ἐνέγκαντες, φιλοῦντες, ὀβολοὺς τέσσαρες, δραχμὰς τέσσαρες, ἐννία ἔχον δεκάδες, GKaihel 134 (Attica); ἔζησε μήνες θ', ἡμέρες ἢ ib. 483. μυριάδες τριακοσίας (III<sup>rd</sup> B.C.), τοὺς πάντες (often), τοὺς μήνες (often), Μακεδόνες; ἔζησεν μήνες & ἡμέρες (often), δεκατέσσαρες, (all from inscriptions: RWagner 125; GHatzidakis 139); δραχμὰς τέσσαρες Flinders Petrie Koptos p. 27, 28 (†90); ταῦτες, ἄλλες, GIB 358 (†I-II<sup>nd</sup>). —διφθέραι CIA iii. 48, 29. Louvre Pap. 233 τοὺς πάντες; 322 (τάς) γυναῖκες; Gr. Urk. Berlin 177 (†47), 4 & 7 ἀρούρας τέσσαρες. 46 (†193), 11 ὄρους τέσσαρες. ib. 62 (†199), 7 δραχμὰς τέσσαρες. 290 (†150), 10 δραχμὰς ὀδοθήκοντα τέσσαρες. 301 (†157), 10 ἀρούρας τέσσαρες. GIB 134 (†I-II<sup>nd</sup>), 43 Ρωμαῖοι ἀγούσι καλὲνδαις (for -des) ἀπριλίας. 33 (†II-III<sup>rd</sup>), 18 τοὺς ἐν οἴκῳ πάντες. 164 (†II-III<sup>rd</sup>), τοὺς ἐνοίκους σου πάντες. 238, 4 δραχμὰς οὐδοθήκοντα τέσσαρες. 261 (†II-III<sup>rd</sup>), 15 δέδωκε δέκα στατήρας. 268, 2-3 δραχμὰς τέσσαρες (twice). 322 (†II III<sup>rd</sup>), 5 ἡμᾶς ὑγιαίνοντες, ἐπιτετευχότας. 276 (†II-III<sup>rd</sup>), 25 ὑμᾶς πάντες (twice). GIB p. 106, 674 (†III<sup>rd</sup>), τοὺς ἐπετέλεσαντες. (Cp. Mal. 223, 19 ταῖς πλάκαις [read πλάκας]; Theoph. 405, 30 ταῖς μυριάδαις as v. l. Vita SA 18\* Δ ταῖς δυσὶν ἑβδομάδαις.) (See also 267 f.)

333. This phenomenon, though totally suppressed in the MSS of ancient texts by the classicalist and scholastic spirit of the times, has no doubt been all along in operation and progress, seeing that with the first appearance of popular *M* compositions (in the XI<sup>th</sup>), instances of the nominative for the accusative reappear almost without number (cp. Prodr. 6, 101). In point of fact, the phenomenon already constitutes the rule, and every subsequent stage shows a further retreat of the *A* ending -ας. Nevertheless the process, though it originated in *H*, has not yet come to a close, for several *N* idioms (as Chios, Icaros, etc.) still preserve the *A* form -ας.—For the nominative plural see 267.

334. In the 3rd declension, the first point to be considered is whether the stem ends in a consonant or in a sonant. This generally shows itself by dropping the genitive ending -ος (252). It then appears that the 3rd declension comprehends—

I. CONSONANTAL stems, that is, stems ending in a consonant, which may be a—

- a. Labial or Guttural (π, β, φ—κ, γ, χ);
- b. Dental (τ, δ, θ);
- c. Liquid (λ, ρ, ρ).

II. SONANTIC (vocalic) stems ending in—

- (a), υ, αυ, ου;—ευ;—ι, ε; υ, ε;—ο, ω.

III. ELIDED stems, that is, consonantal stems dropping their final consonant before certain endings.

335. The stem character of the 3rd declension generally coalesces with the case-endings, and the resultant form is determined by the two following phonopathic principles:

1. Only certain compatible consonants can stand together (169).
2. Only a sonant and the semisonants ν, ρ, σ can stand at the end of a Greek word (218).

**336.** From these two ruling principles it follows that consonantal stems retain their character whenever they annex a sonantic ending (σώματ-ος, σώματ-ι, etc.); but they change it when it is not compatible with the succeeding terminal consonant, which here happens to be always σ- (φλέβ-ς, φλέψ; νύκτ-ς, νυκ-ς, νύξ); and they drop it when it is incompatible with the terminal -ς, or when no ending whatever is annexed (180).

**337.** Agreeably to these phonopathic principles:

a. Labial and guttural stems produce ψ and ξ, as: (φλέβ+ς) φλέψ, (κορακ+σι) κόραξι (180).

b. Dental stems are dropped, as: (ἐλπιδ+ς) ἐλπίς, (ὄρνιθ+ς) ὄρνις (180).

c. Liquid stems eject σ and at the same time commonly lengthen by antecathesis the preceding ε to η, and ο to ω (164. 168. 197), as: (λιμην+ς) λιμήν, (ῥήγορ+ς) ῥήτωρ.—So too stems in -οντ-, as (λεοντ+ς, λεον-ς) λέων.

## HISTORICAL REMARKS.

### I. CONSONANTAL STEMS (App. iii. 12 f.).

**338.** Since A, consonantal stems show the most far-reaching changes and greatest losses incurred by Greek declension. With the gradual dropping of final ρ, ψ, ξ (219. 221) and the identification of final ν with the accusative case (330), nominative forms, like πατήρ, χειμών, γέρον, κόραξ, αἶξ, φλέψ, βασιλεύς (= vassilefs 407), γραῦς (= γραφς), became unpronounceable and there remained but three alternatives open to them: (a) either to make room for synonymous terms, as: φρέαρ for πηγᾶδι(ον), κύλιξ for ποτήρι(ον) etc.; (b) or to adopt the diminutive ending -ιον (-ων), as: ὄνυξ ὀνύχιον, ἀγῶν ἀγδόνιον, θῆρ θηρίον, πρίων πριόνιον; (c) or—and this is the commonest case—to adapt themselves to some other nominative type more convenient and familiar. Such a popular type was found in the sonantic (1st and 2nd) declensions, which had adopted -ς for all masculines (263), and a sonant (particularly -α or -ι) for feminines (247). Accordingly, the classical final consonant ν, ρ, σ (ξ, ψ) being now inconvenient had either to make room for the received ending (-ς masc., -α or -η fem.)—as actually happened in a number of nouns (cp. 439), as:—

ἄρρης for ἄρρη Great Louvre Pap. 361 & 370, also CIG 1464,10; δ γέρος for γέρον (cp. καλόγερος even in Pallad. 1058 B, Callin. 104, 26, etc.; λυσσόγερος Vita SA 9\* E), χάρος for χάρον, δράκος for δράκων, διάκος for διάκων (G-B form for διάκωνος), ἀσχημος for ἀσχήμων, κλώνος for κλών [cp. Mal. 223, 19 ταῖς πλάκας (read πλάκες); Theoph. 405, 30 ταῖς μυριάδες], κάλλιος for καλλίων, προστός (G. -στοῦ) for προστάς (363), παθός for παθών; Χαρίτος for Χαρίτων, τὸ συμφέρον for συμφέρον, τὸ πρεπὸν for πρέπον (as Corn. A 518), ἡ χάρη, ὁλόγη, θεόγη for ἡ χάρις, ὁλόγης, θεόγης (361); cp. ἡ γυνή beside γυναῖκα;—

Or the more convenient ending -α had to be adopted. The latter alternative had a far better chance of meeting with popular favour, owing to the presence of -α in the accusative (τὸν πατέρα, χειμῶνα; γέροντα, ἄρχοντα, κόρακα, βασιλέα; τὴν αἶγα, φλέβα, ἀκρίδα, ὁλόγητα). This vocalic ending was moreover the most frequent—the accusative having to a great extent replaced the dative and genitive (1247)—and consequently also the most familiar of all case-endings (τὸν χειμῶνα, and with prepositions εἰς-, πρὸς-, ἀνὰ-, κατὰ-, διὰ-, μετὰ-, παρὰ-, ἀπὸ-) ὑπὸ-, ὑπέρ-, since T times also ἀπὸ, μετὰ- [= with], ἐκ-, σὺν-, τὸν χειμῶνα)



and the most perspicuous, since it showed the fullest (imparisyllabic) and therefore most vigorous form. It was the accusative ending then that lent itself above all other expedients conveniently to the exigency; in fact it was already a finished nominative feminine: τὴν αἶγα, θυγατέρα, ἀκριδα, νύκτα, δόλπητα, — ἡ αἶγα, θυγατέρα, ἀκριδα, νύκτα, δόλπητα. See App. iii. 12 f.

339. As to the masculine gender, it was very easily obtained by simply annexing the normal ending -s (263. 276), as: τὸν κόρακα, πατέρα, χειμῶνα, γέροντα, ἄρχοντα, βασιλέα — ὁ κόρακας, πατέρας, χειμῶνας, γέροντας, ἄρχοντας, βασιλέας (cp. 'Ιεράκας Vita Epiph. 57 B & 60 A, twice; ὁ ῥήγας Anon. in Porph. iii. 358, 9). As a matter of course, such new feminine and masculine formations in -a and -as went over to the parisyllabic 1st declension, the more so as their respective accusatives had already adopted a terminal -ν (330. App. iii. 5-6).

340. In a very few cases the dative, owing to its frequent use as an adverb, gave rise to a *N* nominative: (τῷ σαββάτῳ) τὸ σαββάτο\*, (τῇ τετράδι) ἡ τετράδῃ (so even Theoph. Cont. 430, 1 & 19 τετράδην καὶ παρασκευήν). 1395.

341. Only in a few isolated and mostly dialectal cases is the *A* genitive singular still met with, especially when it is oxytone, as: τοῦ μηνός, ἀντρός, τῆς γυναικός, νυχτός (cp. also ἀφεντός = αὐθέντου, after ῥηγός = regis; 354). This occurs further in neuters ending in -os, as: τοῦ δάσου\*, πλάτου\*, βάθους, ψήλου\* (= ὕψους from ὕψηλος after βάθος, ὄρου\*).

## II. SONANTIC STEMS.

342. *Sonantic* stems annex the endings directly and without change, but if short vowels should meet together, they undergo grammatical contraction (156<sup>b</sup>, 2 f.).

### HISTORICAL REMARKS (cp. App. iii. 14).

343. In *sonantic* stems the process of transition has been much simpler than in consonantal stems. Forms like δρῦς, ὄφης, ὄψις, τάξις, πράξις, owing to their terminal vowel -ι or -υ being identified with the terminal -η of the 1st declension (261. 298. 395), were easily accommodated: that is to say, the few instances of the masculine gender were changed to the homophonous -ης (298), while feminines first dropped their final -ς (which was the characteristic sign of the masculine, 263) and then changed -ι to -η. In this manner, masculines and feminines alike have been assimilated to those of the 1st declension: ὁ ὄφης, δρῆς, ἡ ὄψη, τάξη, πράξη (cp. ἡ χάρη, 396; ἡ γυνή beside ἡ γυναῖκα, 338); so further ἡ νεότη, δλότη, πλουσιότη beside ἡ δλόπητα, πλουσιότητα, etc. (338).

344. In these *N* nominatives some scholars see no assimilation to the 1st declension, and cling to the spelling ὁ ὄφης, ὁ δρῦς, ἡ ὄψι, τάξι, πράξι, ἡ πῆχυ, imagining that this mode of writing illustrates better the historical connexion with *A* Greek (301. 304). On this principle, however, they ought to write also ἡ τετράδι and τῷ σαββάτῳ for ἡ τετράδῃ and τὸ σαββάτο (340; cp. 301).

345. On the general formation of the plural since *A* see 267 & 332 ff.

346. As early as *H* times, a confusion between the plural of the 3rd and 2nd declensions arose, and the process has gradually resulted in remodelling many (mostly polysyllabic and barytone) masculines after those of the 2nd declension (296).

## ACCENTUATION OF 3RD DECLENSION. [346-352.]

Compare τοῖς χρημάτοις, λιμένοις, παθημάτοις, μειόνοις, γονόισιν IGS 1417 & 1787, 8 (cp. Kühner-Blass i. 417); τίνους HCollitz 1409, 5; Μελιταιίους 1415. 1 & 3; ἀρχόντους 1415, 24; ὥτοις for ὡσί Phryn. (see 433, 15). ἐν Ἀράβοις Alchem. 346, 10. 347, 11. τοῖς κλώνοις Nic. CP Hist. 29, 18; κλώνους Apoc. Mar. 119, 33; τοὺς μεγιστάνους Syntippa i. 7, 82, 89; τέσσαροι SCusa 151 (†1175); τεσσάρους 616 (†1145); τοὺς γονέους FTrinch. 99 (†1114); τέσσαροι Chron. Mor. 5221; τεσσάρους 668; 670; 672; 4818; τοὺς γειτόνους 737; οἱ γειτόνοι 7108;—and so now οἱ σκουληκοί, μαρτύροι, κοράκοι, δαιμόνοι, γερόντοι, ἀρχόντοι, etc. (296).

347. Since the singular of the 1st declension has attracted the singular of the 3rd declension (265), the question arises whether the numerous nouns anciently belonging to the latter are to be treated, in regard to accentuation, after the analogy of the 1st or of the 3rd declension, that is whether the endings -α and -ας should be treated as grammatically 'long' or 'short.' This is very essential, inasmuch as it must be decided whether forms with a 'long' and accented penult, like ἡ γυναῖκα, παῖς (if correct 344; cp. 304), αἶγα, σφήνα, ὁ μῆνας, βήχας, χειμῶνας, ἡ σφραγίδα, etc. should take the acute or the circumflex. Some scholars, following the analogy of the 1st declension, write ἡ γυναῖκα, αἶγα, ὁ μῆνας, βήχας, χειμῶνας. But this accentuation is indefensible seeing that accusative forms, like τὴν γυναῖκα, αἶγα, τὸν μῆνα, βήχα, χειμῶνα (with their plural γυναῖκες, αἶγες, μήνες, etc.) are formations of which the terminal -α has not been borrowed from the 1st declension, but is the very -α of the 3rd declension (cp. P ἡ Δήμητρά from A τὴν Δήμητρά 384<sup>b</sup>); and since that -α was anciently 'short,' there is no reason why it should be lengthened on its transference from the accusative to the nominative case. Moreover terminal -α in the 1st declension was not always 'long' (cp. μοῖρα, γλῶσσα, ἀλήθεια, and N ὁ κόρακας, γέροντας, γείτονας, etc.).

348. Of all substantives forming the 3rd declension, only the numerous class of neuters ending in -μα (369) and -ος (424) still preserve in N their ancient form and (at least partial) inflection, as: τὸ στόμα, ὄνομα, μάθημα, αἷμα, πάθημα—τὸ βάθος, πλάτος, ὄρος, πέλαιος, βάρος, πάθος, δάσος, θέρος, κέρδος, τέλος, etc.—So too τὸ κρίας (420).

349. The vocative singular is identical with the nominative if the latter is oxytone or has a labial or guttural stem, as: ὁ ἡγεμὼν ὦ ἡγεμὼν, ὁ αἰθίοψ ὦ αἰθίοψ, ὁ κόραξ ὦ κόραξ. In all other instances the stem generally serves as vocative (323. 377), dental stems naturally dropping their final τ δ θ as unpronounceable. (180. 337.)

### ACCENTUATION OF THE 3RD DECLENSION.

350. *Monosyllabic* stems, also syncopated liquid stems (383 ff.), accent the terminal sonant in the genitive and dative of all three numbers.

351. a. The following monosyllables, δᾶς (gen. δαδός, 150, δ) 'torch,' οὖς (ᾠτός 433, 15) 'ear,' παῖς (παιδός) 'boy,' girl,' Τρώς (Τρωός) 'a Trojan,' τὸ φῶς (φωτός) 'light,'—are paroxytone in the genitive plural and dual: δαδῶν δαδῶν, παιδῶν παιδῶν, etc.

352. b. Monosyllabic participles accent the stem, as: (ὤν) G. ὄντος, D. ὄντι; Pl. G. ὄντων, D. ὄνσι; (θείς) θέντος, θέντι; Pl. θέντων, θείσι.—So too πᾶς 'every,' though only in the plural: πάντων, πᾶσι (whereas sing. G. παντός, D. παντί).

### 353-359.] CONSONANTAL & DENTAL STEMS OF 3RD DECL.

**353.** In compound barytones, the accent recedes in the vocative singular, as: ('Αγαμέμνον) ὦ Ἀγάμεμνον, (αὐθάδης) αὐθαδές (257<sup>b</sup>).

**354.** The accentuation of the 3rd declension has since 4 times naturally shared the vicissitudes of its inflection. That is to say, the plural and those few isolated forms of the singular, which still survive, preserve also their ancient accentuation, as: μῆνες μηνῶ, ἄντρες ἀντρῶ, γυναῖκες γυναικῶ, χιλιάδες χιλιάδῳ (659); τοῦ μηνός, φωτός (but G. Pl. φώτων), ἀντρός (then ῥηγός *regis*, and after it τοῦ ἀφεντός, 341). As to the singular, on the whole its assimilation to the singular of the 1st declension has led to a corresponding change in the accentuation (343. cp. 347).

#### I. CONSONANTAL STEMS.

##### 355. a. Labial and Guttural stems (π, β, φ—κ, γ, χ).

	ὁ Αἰθίοψ (Αἰθιοπ-) 'Æthiopian'	ἡ φλέψ (φλεβ-) 'vein'	ὁ φύλαξ (φυλακ-) 'watchman'	ἡ σάλπιγξ (σαλπιγγ-) 'trumpet'	ὁ βήξ (βηχ-) 'cough'
Sing. N. & V.	Αἰθίοψ	φλέψ	φύλαξ	σάλπιγξ	βήξ
A.	Αἰθιοπ-α	φλέβ-α	φύλακ-α	σάλπιγγ-α	βήχ-α
G.	Αἰθιοπ-ο	φλεβ-ός	φύλακ-ος	σάλπιγγ-ος	βηχ-ός
D.	Αἰθιοπ-ι	φλεβ-ί	φύλακ-ι	σάλπιγγ-ι	βηχ-ί
Dual. N. & V.	Αἰθιοπ-ε	φλέβ-ε	φύλακ-ε	σάλπιγγ-ε	βήχ-ε
G. & D.	Αἰθιοπ-οιν	φλεβ-οῖν	φύλακ-οιν	σαλπιγγ-οιν	βηχ-οῖν
Pl. N. & V.	Αἰθιοπ-ες	φλέβ-ες	φύλακ-ες	σάλπιγγ-ες	βήχ-ες
A.	Αἰθιοπ-ας	φλέβ-ας	φύλακ-ας	σάλπιγγ-ας	βήχ-ας
G.	Αἰθιοπ-ων	φλέβ-ων	φύλακ-ων	σαλπιγγ-ων	βηχ-ων
D.	Αἰθιοψι-	φλεψί-	φύλαξι-	σάλπιγγι-	βηξι-

**356.** The vocative is identical with the nominative (349).

##### 357. Popular N Inflection of Labial and Guttural Stems.

Singular, after the 1st declension (265 f. 338 f.): ἡ φλέβα, τὴν φλέβα, τῆς φλέβας; —ὁ φύλακας, ὦ φύλακα, τὸν φύλακα, τοῦ φύλακα & φυλάκου (296); ὁ βήχας, ὦ βήχα, τὸν βήχα, τοῦ βήχα.

Plural (267): οἱ (or ἡ [γ] 560) φλέβες, ὦ φλέβες, τὰς (τὰς, τῆς, 561) φλέβες, τῶν φλεβῶν; —οἱ φυλάκοι (294. 296), ὦ φυλάκοι, τοὺς φυλάκοι, τῶν φυλάκων; —οἱ βήχες & βήχοι, ὦ βήχες & βήχοι, τῶν βήχων.

**357<sup>b</sup>.** For the development of this popular inflection of labial and guttural stems in P-N speech see 264-7 & 338-341.

##### b. Dental Stems (τ, δ, θ).

**358.** The accusative singular ends in -ν (instead of -α) if the nominative is a dental barytone in -ις or -υς (330), as: ἡ χάρις 'grace,' τὴν χάριν; ἡ ἔρις 'quarrel,' τὴν ἔριν; ἡ κόρυς 'helm,' τὴν κόρυν.

**359.** But dental oxytones in -ις or -υς take -α in the accusative singular, as: ἡ ἐλπίς 'hope,' τὴν ἐλπίδα; ἡ χλαμὺς 'cloak,' τὴν χλαμίδα.

**DENTAL STEMS OF 3RD DECLENSION. [359-369.]**

	ὁ θής (θητ-) 'labourer'	ἡ ἐλπίς (ἐλπιδ-) 'hope'	τὸ σῶμα (σώματ-) 'body'	ὁ γέρων (γεροντ-) 'old man'	λυθείς (λυθέντ-) 'loosed'
<b>Sing. N.</b>	θήs	ἐλπίs	σῶμα	γέρων	λυθείs
<b>V.</b>	"	ἐλπί	"	γερον	"
<b>A.</b>	θήτ-α	ἐλπίδ-α	"	γεροντ-α	λυθέντ-α
<b>G.</b>	θητ-ός	ἐλπίδ-ος	σώματ-ος	γεροντ-ος	λυθέντ-ος
<b>°D.</b>	θητ-ί	ἐλπίδ-ι	σώματ-ι	γεροντ-ι	λυθέντ-ι
<b>°Dual. N. V. A.</b>	θητ-οῖν	ἐλπίδ-ε	σώματ-ε	γεροντ-ε	λυθέντ-ε
<b>G. D.</b>	θητ-οῖν	ἐλπίδ-οιν	σώματ-οιν	γεροντ-οιν	λυθέντ-οιν
<b>Plural N. V.</b>	θήτ-ες	ἐλπίδ-ες	σώματ-α	γεροντ-ες	λυθέντ-ες
<b>A.</b>	θήτ-ας	ἐλπίδ-ας	"	γεροντ-ας	λυθέντ-ας
<b>G.</b>	θητ-ῶν	ἐλπίδ-ων	σώματ-ων	γεροντ-ων	λυθέντ-ων
<b>°D.</b>	θητ-ι	ἐλπίδ-ι	σώματ-σι	γεροντ-σι	λυθέντ-σι

**360.** So are inflected nouns ending in:—1. -ης (G. -ητος, like θής) as: Κρήs 'Cretan,' γυμνήs 'light-armed,' τάπηs 'carpet,' ἐσθήs 'dress,' βραδυτήs & -ύτης 'slowness,' ταχυτήs & -ύτης 'speed,' δεξιότηs 'skill,' σκαϊότηs 'awkwardness,' δικαιοτήs 'justice,' λαμπρότηs 'splendour,' πισιότηs 'fidelity,' and many other barytones in -της (-ότηs and -ύτης.)

**361.** Of this class of substantives only abstract feminines in -ότηs still survive, and that in the modified form -ότηη or -ότηητα (338), as: ἡ ὀλότηη, νεότηη, πλουσιότηη (& -ότηητα), ταπεινότηη (& -ότηητα), μεγαλότηη (& -ότηητα).

**362.** 2. -ως (G. -ωτος, like θής), as: ἰδρῶs 'perspiration,' γέλως 'laughter,' ἑλῶs 'helot,' ἔρωs 'love.'—So too all participles perfect active ending in -ῶs (neuter -ός) which, however, have -ότος in the genitive, as: λελυκῶs 'having loosed,' G. λελυκῶτος, πεποιθῶs 'confident' G. πεποιθότος.

**363.** In N this class of nouns, so far as they survive, have mostly gone over to the 1st declension, as: ὁ ἰδρωτας, ἔρωτας (339), rarely to the 2nd declension, as: ὁ προσεστόs (338).

**364.** 3. -άς (G. -άδος, like ἐλπίς), as: φυγὰs 'fugitive,' Ἑλλάs 'Greece,' λαμπὰs 'torch,' ὀλέας, δνὰs, τριάs, etc. (658).—In N ἡ λαμπάδα, Ἑλλάδα (338), ἀγέλαδα for ἀγελάs 'cow' (so even in FTrinch. 171 [+1149]).—For N ὁ φευγὰs see 287 & 367.

**365.** 4. -ίς (G. -ίδος, like ἐλπίς), as: ἀσπίς 'shield,' παῖs 'boy, girl,' G. παιδός; so too ποὺs 'foot,' G. ποδός, with its compounds, as: πολύπους, δίπους, τρίπους, τετράπους.

**366.** 5. -ῆς (G. ῆδος, like ἐλπίς), as: χλαμὺs 'cloak.'

**367.** The number of oxytone nouns classified under 362-6 which was never great, has been considerably reduced in N in consequence of 338.

**368.** Like σῶμα are declined *all neuters* ending in -μα, which are very numerous, and all barytones, as:

πράγμα 'thing,' γράμμα 'letter,' ἄρμα 'coach,' αἷμα 'blood,' κτήμα 'possession,' ὄνομα 'name,' δέρμα 'skin,' στόμα 'mouth,' μάθημα 'lesson,' κύμα 'wave,' στράτευμα 'army,' χρήμα 'thing' (Pl. χρήματα 'money'), τραῦμα wound, etc. etc.

So too μέλι 'honey' (G. μέλιτος).

**369.** This class of neuters in -μα has been preserved and even increased (348) by the accession of a great number of abstract feminines formerly ending in -σιs (1024), as: θέλημα (= θέλησιs) 'will,'

'purpose,' ἀνέβασμα (=ἀνάβασις), κατέβασμα (=κατάβασις). They form the genitive singular in -ου (paroxytone) after the analogy of the 2nd declension, as: τοῦ πρα(γ)μάτου, κτημάτου, ὀνομάτου, τοῦ πνευμάτου (Cleemans 33 [III-IV<sup>th</sup>]), ἀνατελμάτου (Chron. Mor. 3385).

370. The great frequency of the above neuter ending -μα in the singular with its corresponding plural ending -ματα, made the occasional presence of -μα in the plural (ἄκιμα, ἔθιμα) appear abnormal and insufficient. Hence when -μα occurred as a plural ending, it was generally amplified to -ματα after the analogy of the numerous class in -μα (σῶμα, πρῶγμα). This process naturally affected all those verbal or abstract proparoxytone neuters in -μο\* (1022) which made their appearance after T and became ever since very common.

371. The inflection of this new class of neuters may be illustrated by the following example:

Sing. N. V. A. ἀλλάξιμο\*, G. ἀλλαξίμου & -ατος (B D. ἀλλαξίμου & -ατι).

Pl. N. V. A. ἀλλάξιμα & -ατα, G. ἀλλαξίμων & -άτων (B °D. ἀλλαξίμοι & -οισι\*).

CGI 643, 25 ἄρον ἡμῖν ἀλλάξιμα εἰς τὸ βαλαεῖον. Porph. Cer. 157, 14 ἀλλαξίματα. 441, 5 ἀλλαξιμάτων. 779, 2 ἀλλαξιματος. 7, 1 & 137, 1 ἀλλαξίμων.—Porph. Cer. 86, 13 μεταστάσιμον. Adm. 234, 2 μεταστασίματα; so too Theoph. Cont. 430, 2. 472, 19 μεταστάσιμον.—Porph. Cer. 293, 9 σάξιμον.—Porph. Cer. 194, 1 στεψίμω; so too 205, 4. 205, 5 στεψίμων.—Porph. Cer. 278, 3 & 5 δέξιμον. 278, 6 δέξιμον. Theoph. Cont. 142, 1 δέξιμον.

372. In N μέλι follows the inflection of diminutive neuters in -ι throughout (303. 305), τοῦ μελιού, τὰ μέλια.

373. The popular P-N inflection of dental stems (so far as they have been preserved) is indicated in 264-7 & 338, and illustrated here.

### 373<sup>b</sup>. Popular N inflection of dental stems.

Singular: ἡ δόλη, τὴν δόλη\*, τῆς δόλη;—ἡ ἐπιδα (ὀριδα 187), τὴν ἐπιδα\*, τῆς ἐπιδας; N & A τὸ γράμμα, τὸ γράμματου (369. 371);—ὁ ἔρωτα, τὸν ἔρωτα\*, τοῦ ἔρωτα;—ὁ γέροντας, τὸν γέροντα\*, τοῦ γέροντα & γερόντου (296).

Plural: οἱ (or ἡ) ἐλπίδες, τὰς (τὲς, τῆς. 559-562) ἐλπίδες;—τὰ γράμματα, τῶν γραμμάτων;—οἱ γέροντες & γερόντοι (296), τοὺς γερόντους, τῶν γερόντων\*.

### c. Liquid stems ([λ] ν, ρ) (335 ff.).

374. The only stem ending in λ is found in the word ἄλ-ς 'salt,' which in A generally occurs in the plural ἄλ-ς.

		δ αἰών (αλων-) 'age'	δ ἡγεμῶν (ἡγεμον-) 'guide'	δ δαίμων (δαίμον-) 'divinity'	δ ποιμήν (ποιμεν-) 'shepherd'	δ θήρ (θηρ-) 'wild beast'	δ ῥήτωρ (ρητορ-) 'orator'
Sing.	N. V.	αἰών	ἡγεμῶν	δαίμων	ποιμήν	θήρ	ῥήτωρ
	A.	αἰών-α	ἡγεμών-α	δαίμον-α	ποιμέν-α	θῆρ-α	ῥήτορ-α
	G.	αἰών-ος	ἡγεμών-ος	δαίμον-ος	ποιμέν-ος	θηρ-ός	ῥήτορ-ος
	D.	αἰών-ι	ἡγεμών-ι	δαίμον-ι	ποιμέν-ι	θηρ-ί	ῥήτορ-ι
Dual.	N. V. A.	αἰών-ε	ἡγεμών-ε	δαίμον-ε	ποιμέν-ε	θῆρ-ε	ῥήτορ-ε
	G. D.	αἰών-οιν	ἡγεμών-οιν	δαίμον-οιν	ποιμέν-οιν	θηρ-οῖν	ῥήτορ-οῖν
Pl.	N. V.	αἰών-ες	ἡγεμών-ες	δαίμον-ες	ποιμέν-ες	θηρ-ες	ῥήτορ-ες
	A.	αἰών-ας	ἡγεμών-ας	δαίμον-ας	ποιμέν-ας	θῆρ-ας	ῥήτορ-ας
	G.	αἰών-ων	ἡγεμών-ων	δαίμον-ων	ποιμέν-ων	θηρ-ῶν	ῥήτορ-ων
	D.	αἰών-σι*	ἡγεμό-σι*	δαίμο-σι*	ποιμέ-σι*	θηρ-σί*	ῥήτορ-σι

375. Further examples: λιμήν (λιμεν-) 'harbour,' ἀγών (αγων-) 'contest,' κρατήρ (κρατηρ-) 'mixing-bowl,' σωτήρ (σωτηρ-) 'saviour,' ἀήρ (αερ-) 'air,' αἰθήρ (αιθερ-) 'aether,' φῶρ (φωρ-) 'thief,'—and several adjectives in -ωρ (472), as: ἀπάτωρ 'fatherless, ἀμήτωρ 'motherless.'

# LIQUID STEMS OF 3RD DECLENSION. [376-382.]

## REMARKS.

376. The *nominative* singular usually drops final  $\varsigma$  with antectasis, if necessary, as : (ποιμεν- $\varsigma$ ) ποιμήν, (ρήτορ- $\varsigma$ ) ρήτωρ ; but (δελφίν- $\varsigma$ ) δελφίς, (Σαλαμῖν- $\varsigma$ ) Σαλαμίς.

377. The *vocative* singular is identical with the *nominative* when the latter is oxytone ; but it is identical with the stem when the *nominative* is barytone, as : ὁ ποιμήν ὦ ποιμήν, ὁ δαίμων ὦ δαίμον. (323. 349.)

378. If the character is  $\nu$ , it is dropped before the ending -σι without antectasis (337, c), as : (δαιμον-σι) δαίμοσι, (ἡγεμον-σι) ἡγεμόσι.

379. Popular *N* inflection of liquid stems (cp. 338 ff.) :

	Nom.	Voc.	Accus.	Gen.
Sing.	χειμῶνας δαίμονας ἀέρας	χειμῶνα δαίμονα ἀέρα	χειμῶνα <sup>ν</sup> δαίμονα <sup>ν</sup> ἀέρα <sup>ν</sup>	χειμῶνα δαίμονα & -όνου ἀέρα (296)
Plural.	χειμῶνοι δαίμόνοι ἀέρες & -έροι	← = ← = ← =	χειμῶνους δαιμόνους ἀέρους	χειμῶνων <sup>ν</sup> δαιμόνων <sup>ν</sup> ἀέρων <sup>ν</sup>

380. The inflection of liquid stems is followed by *adjectives* ending in -ων, -ον (especially -μων, -μον, 469), as well as by the masculine and neuter of the few adjectives in -ᾱς, -ᾶν, -αινᾶ, of which the neuter exhibits the pure stem (446), as : ὁ, ἡ εὐδαιμων, τὸ εὐδαιμον 'happy' ; ὁ μέλας, τὸ μέλαν, ἡ μέλαινα 'black' (446 f.).

	Masc. & Fem.	Neuter	Masc.	Neuter	Fem.
Sing. N.	εὐδαιμων	εὐδαιμον	μέλας	μέλαν	μέλαινα
V.	εὐδαιμον	"	μέλαν	"	follows the 1st declension
A.	εὐδαιμον-α	"	μέλαν-α	"	
G.	εὐδαιμον-ος	← =	μέλαν-ος	← =	
D.	εὐδαιμον-ι	← =	μέλαν-ι	← =	
Dual N. V. A.	εὐδαιμοι-α	← =	μέλαν-ε	← =	
G. D.	εὐδαιμοί-οιν	← =	μέλαί-οιν	← =	
Plur. N. V.	εὐδαιμον-ες	εὐδαιμον-α	μέλαν-ες	μέλαν-α	
A.	εὐδαιμον-ας	"	μέλαν-ας	"	
G.	εὐδαιμόν-ων	← =	μελάν-ων	← =	
D.	εὐδαιμό-σι <sup>ν</sup>	← =	μελα-σι <sup>ν</sup>	← =	

381. So too comparatives in -ιων, -ιον, with this difference, that *A* contracts the accusative singular, as : βελτίω (but *P* βελτίονα), and the nom. and acc. plural βελτίους (but *P* βελτίονας).

382. This class of adjectives has altogether disappeared from *N* popular speech (cp. 218<sup>b</sup>).

## SYNCOATED LIQUID STEMS.

383. Owing to the dynamic character of Greek accent and the facility of blending τ with ρ, the following four substantives in -τηρ: πατήρ (πατερ-) 'father,' μήτηρ (μητερ-) 'mother,' θυγάτηρ (θυγατερ-) 'daughter,' and γαστήρ (γαστερ-) 'belly,' suppress the vowel ε of the stem in the genitive and dative singular, and at the same time develop an epenthetic -α before the -σι of the dative plural. (App. i. 16.)

383<sup>b</sup>. The vocative singular accents the first syllable (257').

Sing. δ πατήρ, ὦ πάτερ, τὸν πατέρα, τοῦ (\*πατέρος) πατρός, τῷ πατρί;

Pl. οἱ πατέρες, ὦ πατέρες, τοὺς πατέρας, τῶν πατέρων, τοῖς (\*πατέραςι) πατράσι'.

384. To this class belongs the proper name Δημήτηρ, 'Demeter,' viz. ἡ Δημήτηρ, ὦ Δήμητερ, τὴν Δήμητρα, τῆς Δήμητρος, τῇ Δήμητρει.

384<sup>b</sup>. But in *P* ἡ Δήμητρα, after the 1st declension (347).

385. In their inflection, the two words ἀνὴρ (ἀνερ-) 'man,' and ἀρὴν (ἀρεν-) 'lamb,' also suppress pre-tonic ε, the former moreover developing an epenthetic or euphonic -δ- (131. 188):

Singular.		Plural.	
N. ἀνὴρ	ἀρὴν	ἀν-δ-ρες	ἀρ-νες
V. ἀνερ	"	"	"
A. ἀν-δ-ρα	ἀρ-να	ἀν-δ-ρας	ἀρ-νας
G. ἀν-δ-ρός	ἀρ-νός	ἀν-δ-ρῶν	ἀρ-νῶν
D. ἀν-δ-ρί	ἀρ-νί	ἀν-δ-ράσι	ἀρ-νάσι

386. The popular *P-N* inflection of syncopated stems has been adapted to that of consonantal stems (338-339). Accordingly δ πατέρας (beside an indeclinable form δ πάτερ 'father,' pater [title of monks], from ὦ πάτερ, found even in Vita Epiph. 76 A δ πάτερ Ἰωάννης, so ib. D; cp. 282); ἡ μητέρα, ἡ θυγάτερα, ἡ ἀ]γαστέρα (Crete), δ ἀνδρας (ἀντρας).—As to Δημήτηρ and ἀρην, the former, after having been remodelled to Δήμητρα (384<sup>b</sup>), disappeared with the Christianization of Greece (614 ff.), while ἀρην (in its accusative form ἀρνα) gave birth to a diminutive ἀρνίον, which in its *N* form ἀρνί naturally follows the 2nd declension (305).

## II. SONANTIC STEMS (384. 343).

387. a. Substantives in -ις (G. -ιος) and -υς, -υ (G. -υος).

	δ κίς (κί-) 'weevil'	δ μῦς (μῦ) 'mouse'	δ ἰχθύς (ἰχθύς) (ἰχθύ-) 'fish'	τὸ δάκρυ (δακρυ-) 'tear'
Sing	N. κί-ς	μῦ-ς	ἰχθύ-ς (ἰχθύς)	δάκρυ
	V. "	μῦ	ἰχθύ	"
	A. κί-ν	μῦ-ν	ἰχθύν	"
	G. κί-ός	μυ-ός	ἰχθύ-ος	δάκρυ-ος
Dual	D. κί-ί	μυ-ί	ἰχθύ-ι	δάκρυ-ι
	N. V. A. κί-ε	μῦ-ε	ἰχθύ-ε	δάκρυ-ε
	G. D. κί-οιν	μυ-οιν	ἰχθύ-οιν	δάκρυ-οιν
	N. V. κί-ες	μύ-ες	ἰχθύ-ες, ἰχθύς	δάκρυα
Plur.	A. (κίς)	μῦ-ς	ἰχθύς	"
	G. κί-ων	μυ-ών	ἰχθύ-ων	δακρυ-ων
	D. κί-σι	μυ-σί	ἰχθύ-σι	δάκρυ-σι

# SONANTIC STEMS IN -ις, -υς, -ι. [388-399.]

**388.** After *κίς* is declined only the poetical word *λίς* 'lion.'—Both *κίς* and *λίς* seem to have been foreign to popular speech even in *Δ* times.

**388<sup>b</sup>.** After *μῦς* and *ιχθύς* are declined: *ὁ & ἡ σῦς* or *ῥς* 'sow,' *ὁ βότρυς* 'cluster of grapes,' *ἡ ὀφρύς* 'eye-brow,' *ἡ ὀσφύς* 'loin,' *ἡ δρυς* 'oak,' *ἡ πῖτυς* 'pine,' *ὁ στάχυς* 'ear of corn,' *ἡ Ἐρινύς* 'Fury,' etc.

**389.** In popular *N* all above substantives (387-8<sup>b</sup>) have partly become extinct, partly been modified after the analogy of other regular forms of inflection. Thus *ἡ δρυς* has been changed to *δ δρύς* (245) or rather *δρῆς* (343), while *ἡ ὀφρύς* has given birth to *τὸ φρύδι* (134, *δ*), *ὁ στάχυς* to *τὸ ἀ]στάχι*, *ἡ πῖτυς* to *ἡ πιτυά*.

**390.** The neuter *δάκρυ* still survives in its alternative and more regular form *δάκρυν*.

## 391. b. Substantives in -ις, -υς, -ι (G. -εως).

	<i>ἡ στάσις</i> 'faction'	<i>ἡ πόλις</i> 'town'	<i>ὁ πῆχυς</i> 'fore-arm'	<i>τὸ ἄστυ</i> 'city'	<i>τὸ πέπερι</i> 'pepper'
Sing. N.	στάσις	πόλις	πῆχυς	ἄστυ	πέπερι
V.	στάσι	πόλι	πῆχυν	"	"
A.	στάσιν	πόλιν	πῆχυν	"	"
G.	στάσε-ως	πόλε-ως	πῆχε-ως	ἄστε-ως	πεπέρε-ως (& -ιος)
D.	στάσει	πόλει	πῆχει	ἄστει	πεπέρει
ual. N. V. A.	στάσει	πόλει	πῆχει	ἄστει	πεπέρει
G. D.	στασέ-οιν	πολέ-οιν	πηχέ-οιν	ἄστέ-οιν	πεπερέ-οιν
Pl. N. V.	στάσεις	πόλεις	πήχεις	ἄσται	πεπέρη
A.	"	"	"	"	"
G.	στάσε-ων	πόλε-ων	πῆχε-ων	ἄστε-ων	πεπέρε-ων
D.	στάσε-σι'	πόλε-σι'	πῆχε-σι'	ἄστε-σι'	πεπέρε-σι'

**392.** All nouns of this class are barytone. Their stem character in the nom. voc. and accus. singular is *ι*, in all other cases *ε*. The latter undergoes contraction, though only in the dative singular and nominative plural.

**393.** The endings -ως and -ων of the genitive singular and plural counts *short* (324 ff. App. i. 15, *b*; App. ii. 9 & 14).

**394.** The accusative plural is assimilated to the nominative (332).

**395.** After *στάσις* and *πόλις* are declined all barytones in -σις, -ξις [= *κίσις*], -ψις [= *πίσις*], which are very numerous and mainly abstract feminines, as: *κρίσις* 'judgement,' *φύσις* 'nature,' *αἴσθησις* 'feeling,' *δίωξις* 'persecution,' *ἐπίθεσις* 'attack,' *ποίησις* 'poetry,' *πράξις* 'action,' *ὄψις* 'looks,' *ἐξέτασις* 'examination,' *πρόφασις* 'pretext.'—Further many other barytone masculines and feminines in -ις, as: *ἡ ἀκρόπολις* 'citadel,' *ἡ σπανίς* 'scarcity,' *ἡ δύναμις* 'strength,' *ἡ πίστις* 'faith,' *ἡ ὕβρις* 'outrage'—*ὁ ὄφις* 'serpent,' *ὁ μάντις* 'seer'.

**396.** Of this numerous class of substantives very many abstract feminines survive in the modified form -ι, -σι, -ξι, -ψι, or rather -η (-ση, -ξη, -ψη 343 f.), as: *ἡ φύσις*, *πράξις*, *ὄψις*, *πρόφασις*, *δύναμις*, *πίστις*;—so too *ὁ ὄφις* or rather *ὄφης* (343).

**397.** After *πῆχυς* are declined only two nouns: *ὁ πέλεκυς* 'hatchet,' and *πρέσβυς* 'old man,'—while *ἄστυ* is almost unique.

**398.** Of these four words *N* has changed *πῆχυς* to *ἡ πῆχυν* or rather *πήχη* (343), *πέλεκυς* to the diminutive *τὸ πελέκει*, while *πρέσβυς* and *ἄστυ* have, for obvious reasons, become altogether extinct.

**399.** After *πέπερι* (which is a foreign word and does not actually occur through all the cases) are declined many other oriental (mostly



399-402.] ADJECTIVES IN *ύς*, *-ύ*, *-εία*.

Egyptian) substantives in *-ι*, which are all *neuter*. However, both their form and inflection fluctuate, as: *σίγητι* & *σίγατι* (in *N* *σινάπι*) 'mustard,' τοῦ *σινάπεως* & *σινάπιος*; also τὸ *σίνηπυ* & *σίναντυ* & *σίναντυς*, τὸν *σινάπυν*—all for the *A* *νῆπυ*. Further *κόμμι* 'gum,' either indeclinable or τοῦ *κόμμεως* & *κόμμιδος* (cp. *κομμώδης* & *κομμιδῶδης*). *Στίμι* or *στίμμι*, τοῦ *-ως*, *-εως*, & *-ιδος* (beside *ἡ στίμις* or *στίμμις*, acc. *στίμιν*). *Κιννάβαρι* (also *τιγγάβαρι*) 'cinnabar,' G. *-εως* (beside *ὁ κιννάβαρις*). *Σέσელი* (also *σίλι*) '*Tordylium officinale*,' beside *ἡ σέσελις*, G. *-εως*. *Κίκι* 'easter-berry,' beside *τῆς κίκεως*. *Θλάσπι*, beside *ἡ θλάσπις*, G. *-εως*.—Even *πέπερι* shows a variety of forms and cases, as: G. *πεπέρεως* & *-ιος*, beside *ὁ πέπερις* A. *-ιν*, G. *-ιδος*, D. *-ιδι*; PL. *αἱ πεπερίδες* G. *-ιδων*.

400. It has been already observed (303) that the presence of these neuters in *-ι* has, in all likelihood, suggested the change of neuters in *-ιν* to those in *-ι* (also *-ιος* in *-ις* or *-ης*, 298), and thus effected a uniform inflection.

401. c. Adjectives in *-ύς*, *-ύ*, *-εία*.

*γλυκύς*, *γλυκύ*, *γλυκεία* 'sweet.'

	M.	N.	F.
Sing N.	<i>γλυκύς</i>	<i>γλυκύ</i>	<i>γλυκεία</i>
V.	<i>γλυκύ</i>	"	"
A.	<i>γλυκύν</i>	"	<i>γλυκείαν</i>
G.	<i>γλυκέως</i>	← =	etc. after the
D.	<i>γλυκεῖ</i>	← =	1st declension
Dual N. V. A.	<i>γλυκεῖ</i>	← =	
G. D.	<i>γλυκέ-οιν</i>	← =	
Plural N. V.	<i>γλυκεῖς</i>	<i>γλυκέ-α</i>	
A.	"	"	
G.	<i>γλυκέ-ων</i>	← =	
D.	<i>γλυκέ-σι</i>	← =	

401<sup>b</sup>. So are declined numerous oxytone adjectives in *-ύς*, as: *βαθύς* 'deep,' *βαρύς* 'heavy,' *βραδύς* 'slow,' *ἡδύς* 'sweet,' *εὐθύς* 'straight,' *θρασύς* 'daring,' *παχύς* 'thick,' *ταχύς* 'swift,' *ώκύς* 'swift,' *βραχύς* 'short,' *δασύς* 'dense,' *εὐρύς* 'broad,' *ὀξύς* 'sharp,' *δριμύς* 'pungent,' *πλατύς* 'broad,' *τραχύς* 'rough.'—So too the barytones *θῆλυς*, *θῆλυ*, *θήλεια* (G-N *θηλυκός*, *όν*, *ή*), 'female,' and *ἡμισυς*, *ἡμισυ*, *ἡμίσεια* 'half' (G-B *ἡμισος* [as: *Ἐφημ. ἀρχ.* 1886 p. 158, 15 ff. *ἡμισσον*, often; Gr. Urk. Berlin 142, 15 (± 60 A. D.), *τόπους δυο ἡμίσιους*], whence *N* *μισός*; also indeclinable *ἡμισυ*, as: Gr. Urk. Berlin 290 [†150] & 139 [†202], 13 *μίαν ἡμισυ*, see 641).

402. This class of adjectives in *-ύς* is still substantially preserved in *N* (as *γλυκύς* [ὑδατι γλυκέω from *γλυκέος* Alchem. 310, 3], *βαθύς*, *πλατύς*, *παχύς*, *βαρύς*, *δριμύς*, *δασύς*, etc.; also *πραγύς* i.e. *πραῦς* (480), 'tame,' and has even encroached upon other classes of adjectives, as: *μακρύς* (so even in Martyr. Barthol. 2) for *μακρός*, *πικρύς* (and by metathesis *πρικύς*, Crete, etc.) for *πικρός*, *ἀδρύς* for *ἀδρός* (but also conversely *γλυκός*, a recent formation due ο *πικρός*).—With regard to their *N* popular inflection, their itacistic ending (*υ* = *η* = *ι*) has naturally caused them to pass over to the parasyllabic 1st declension (343), namely—

	M.	N.	F.
Sing. N.	<i>γλυκύς</i>	<i>γλυκεῦ</i>	<i>γλυκεία</i>
V.	<i>γλυκύ</i>	"	"
A.	<i>γλυκύ</i>	"	<i>γλυκειά</i>
G.	<i>γλυκ(ε)οῦ</i>	<i>γλυκ(ε)οῦ</i>	<i>γλυκειᾶς</i>
Pl. N. V.	<i>γλυκ(ε)οί</i>	<i>γλυκεά</i>	<i>γλυκειές</i>
A.	<i>γλυκ(ε)οῦς</i>	"	"
G.	<i>γλυκ(ε)ῶ</i>	← =	<i>γλυκεῶ</i>

SUBSTANTIVES IN -εύς, -οῦς, -αῦς. [403-409.]

**403. d. Substantives in -εύς.** These are all oxytone masculine, and seem to have originally had εῖ for stem character.

ὁ βασιλεὺς 'king.'

Sing. N. βασιλεύς	Dual N.V.A. βασιλῆ	Pl. N. βασιλῆς & -εῖς
V. βασιλεῦ	G.D. βασιλέων	V. βασιλῆας, P' -εῖς
A. βασιλέ-α		G. βασιλέ-ων
G. βασιλέ-ως		D. βασιλεῦ-σι
D. βασιλεῖ		

**403<sup>b</sup>.** After βασιλεύς are declined all the numerous masculines in -εύς, as: Ἀχιλλεύς 'Achilles, ἱερεύς 'priest,' φονεύς 'murderer,' ἀμφορεύς 'amphora,' Πειραιεύς 'Piraeus,' ἄλιεύς 'fisher,' Ὀδυσσεεύς 'Odysseus,' ἑρμηνεύς 'interpreter,' ἱππεύς 'rider,' χαλκεύς 'blacksmith,' γραφεύς 'scrivener,' Δωριεύς 'Dorian,' οἱ γονεῖς 'parents.'

**404.** Substantives in -εύς change their original stem character εῖ to ευ (51. 63) in the vocative singular, also before σ. Everywhere else εῖ is reduced to simple ε, which undergoes grammatical contraction with any succeeding (short) vowel.

**405.** Also substantives having a vowel before ευ are often (especially in early A) contracted in the genitive and accusative singular and plural, as: Πειραιέως & Πειραιῶς, Πειραιέα & Πειραιᾶ, Ἐρετριέων & Ἐρετριῶν, Ἐρετριάς & Ἐρετριάς.

**406.** For the accusative singular -έα, P writers and inscriptions often show a contracted form -ῆ, as: τὸν βασιλῆ (CIA ii. 161, 2 [280 B.C.], ἱερῆ, γραμματῆ. This form, the occurrence of which in common speech is reflected by the Tragedians and even Homer, has met ever since with wider popularity, owing to the general tendency towards a uniform inflection (264 ff.).

**407.** As a nominative ending, -εύς (that is εῖς 51 f.) being incompatible with N phonology which admits only a simple final -ς (218 f.),—the difficulty was obviated by treating nouns in -εύς like consonantal stems (338). Accordingly τὸν βασιλέα gave birth to ὁ βασιλέας and by synizesis βασιλέας (155, b-c) or rather βασιλεᾶς (286 ff.) [or βασιλιάς (155, a)]; τὸν φονέα—ὁ φονεᾶς [or φονεᾶς], τὸν χαλκέα—ὁ χαλκεᾶς [or χαλκιᾶς], &c. Mark, however, ὁ γονῆς (τοῦ γονῆ Corn. B 102), ἱερῆς (406), beside ὁ ἱερέας (out of deference to church) & ἱερέας (273 f.).

**408. e. Substantives in -οῦς and -αῦς.**

ὁ, ἡ βοῦς 'ox,' ἡ γραιῦς 'old woman.'

Sing. N. βοῦς	γραιῦς	Pl. N.V. βό-ες	γρᾶ-ες
V. βοῦ	γραιῦ	βοῦς	γραιῦς
A. βοῦ-ν	γραιῦ-ν	βο-ῶν	γραι-ῶν
G. βο-ός	γραι-ός	βου-σῖ	γραι-σῖ
D. βο-ί	γραι-ί		
Du. N.V.A. βό-ε	γρᾶ-ε		
G.D. βο-οῖν	γραι-οῖν		

**408<sup>b</sup>.** After βοῦς are declined only ὁ χοῦς 'a measure' and in P ὁ & ἡ ροῦς 'sumach,' also ὁ νοῦς 'mind'—while the inflection of γραιῦς is followed only—and that even partially—by ἡ ναῦς 'ship' (433, 11).

**409.** These few nouns have altogether disappeared from popular N with the exception of γραιῦς which, agreeably to 407, has been remodelled

409-417<sup>b</sup>.] NOUNS IN -ῶ, -ῶς, ELIDED CLASS.

since *H* to γράῖα, that is *N* γραιά [or γρηά i.e. γριά 155, δ-ε], and then contracted to (Cretan) γρά (169. cp. 285).

410. f. Feminines in -ῶ (also -ῶς), Gen. -οος.

ἡ πειθῶ 'persuasion,' ἡ αἰδῶς 'shame, awe.'

Sing. N. πειθῶ	αἰδῶς
V. πειθοῖ	"
A. πειθῶ	αἰδῶ!
G. πειθοῦς	αἰδοῦς
D. πειθοῖ	αἰδοῖ

No Plural.

411. After πειθῶ are declined many oxytone feminines in -ῶ, mostly proper names, as: ἡ ἠχώ 'echo,' ἡ εὐεστῶ 'health,' ἡ λεχώ 'lying-in woman,' Λητώ 'Leto,' Καλυψῶ 'Calypso,' Ἐρατώ 'Erato,' Σαπφῶ (Σαφφῶ, 56, & 11. 171<sup>b</sup>) 'Sappho,' etc.—Their nominative and accusative, though contracted, is oxytone.

412. After αἰδῶς is declined only ἡ ἠδῶς 'dawn,' for which, however, *A* used ἡ ἔως, inflected after the 2nd Attic declension (326).

413. The above feminines in -ῶ and -ῶς sometimes form their plural after the common 2nd declension, as: N. V. Λητοῖ, Α. Λητούς, G. Λητῶν, D. Λητοῖς.

414. No appellative example of this class seems to have outlived *T* (*B* μῦμῶ [Suid. πίθηκος ἡ μῦμῶ, and Achmet. 135, 282 τῇ μῦμῶ] is apparently a scholastic paraphrase of *N* or rather Turkish μαῖμου 'ape'; λεχῶ has changed to λεχοῦσα or ληχοῦσα). However, proper names (invariably feminine) in -ῶ, used as pet-names, appear to have had an unbroken currency down to the present time, as: *P-B* Φειδῶ, Καλλιστῶ, Αλαντῶ, Μαραθῶ, Χαριτῶ, Μεγαλῶ, Φωτῶ, Κομητῶ, Θεοκλητῶ, Θεοφανῶ—*N* Χρυσῶ, Ἀργυρῶ, Μαρικῶ (also τὸ Μαρικό), Ἀσημῶ, Ἀγγελικῶ, Βασιλῶ. As to their inflection, it has been shaped after that of feminines of the popular 2nd declension (292<sup>b</sup>): τῆς Φειδῶς, Καλλιστῶς, Αλαντῶς (cp. τῇ Λατῶ OIG 2554, 70, Crete; though cp. 26<sub>3</sub>).

415. Masculines in -ῶς, G. -ωος.

ὁ ἥρως 'hero.'

Sing. N. V. ἥρως	Dual. ἥρωε	Pl. ἥρω-ες & ἥρωες
A. ἥρωα & ἥρω	"	ἥρω-ας & ἥρωας
G. ἥρω-ος & ἥρω	ἥρω-ου	ἥρω-ων
D. ἥρω & ἥρω-ι	"	ἥρω-σι

415<sup>b</sup>. So are further declined: ὁ θῶς 'jackal,' ὁ πάτρωσ and μήτρωσ 'uncle,' Μίνωσ 'Minos.'

416. This small class of nouns is unknown to *N* popular speech. For forms like ὁ ἥρωας, Μίνωας (1st decl.) or Μίνωσ (2nd decl.) have recently been reintroduced into the language through the literary style.

### III. ELIDED CLASS.

417. The class of elided stems (334) consists of numerous substantives and adjectives. The former are all neuter and have in the nominative singular the ending -ας and most commonly -ος; whereas adjectives end in -ης, -ες.

417<sup>b</sup>. Neuters in -ος and adjectives in -ης, -ες, contract by analogy -ρα to -ρη (instead of -ρα, 65, 186<sup>c</sup>. 269<sub>4</sub>), as: -τὰ ὄρη, (τὸν τὴν τὰ) πλῆρη.

## 1. SUBSTANTIVES.

## 418. a. Neuters in -ας (G. -ατος, -αος).

τὸ τέρας 'wonder,' τὸ κέρας 'horn,' τὸ κρέας 'flesh.'

Sing. N.V.A.	τέρας	κέρας	κρέας
G.	τέρατ-ος	κέρατ-ος & κέρως	κρέως
D.	τέρατ-ι	κέρατ-ι & κέρα	κρέα
Du. N.V.A.	τέρατ-ε	κέροτ-ε & κέρα	κρέε
G.	τεράτ-ουν	κεράτ-ουν & κερῶν [κεροῖν?]	κρεῖων [κρεοῖν?]
Pl. N.V.A.	τέρατ-α & τέρᾱ	κέρατ-α & κέρᾱ	κρέᾱ
G.	τεράτ-ων & τερῶν	κεράτ-ων	κρεῶν
D.	τέρα-σι	κέρα-σι	κρέα-σι

419. After τέρας is inflected πέρας 'extremity,' while κέρας stands alone in its inflection.

420. After κρέας are declined τὸ σέλας 'splendour,' σφέλας 'stool,' δέπας 'bowl,' γέρας 'prize,' γήρας 'old age,' σκέπας 'cover' (421. 424); also σέβας 'awe,' which occurs only in the nominative and accusative singular, with σέβη as nominative and accusative plural.

421. In the course of *P* times all the above neuters assumed τ for stem character, thus following the analogy and inflection of τέρας and πέρας, namely: κρέας, κρέατος, κρέατι; Pl. κρέατα, κρέατων, κρέασι; so, ἄλας 'salt,' and γήρας (but τοῦ γήρου Leont. Neap. V. S. 1677 B; τῷ γήρει Callin. 95, 27 & 125, 30; Narr. Zos. 105, 10). As time went on, this *P* inflection led to *N* κρέας, κρέατον (after γραμμάτου 369) κρέατα (& κρέατα from κρεῖς 155, b-c), κρεάτων; similarly γήρας has been remodelled to *N* τὰ γερατειὰ & τὰ γέρα or γεράματα (40), while πέρας still survives in the Pl. τὰ πέρατα (cp. *N* τὸ πέραμα 'passage'). Also σκέπας survives in its *P* by-form σκέπος.

422<sup>b</sup>. Neuters in -ος are believed to have originally had φ for stem character. According to this hypothesis, the primordial φ has been retained only when it was final; but when it occurred between two sonants, it was dropped (elided) and thus gave rise to contraction (cp. 156 & 404. App. ii. 9 & 14).

τὸ ὄρος 'mountain,' τὸ τεῖχος 'wall.'

Sing. N. V. A.	ὄρος	τεῖχος	Pl. ὄρη (417 <sup>b</sup> )	τεῖχη
G.	ὄρους	τείχους	(ὄρειων)	(τείχειων)
			ὄρων	τείχων
D.	ὄρει	τείχει	ὄρεσι	τείχεσι

423. So are declined all barytone neuters in -ος, which are very numerous, as:—

βάθος 'depth,' βάρος 'weight,' ὕψος 'height,' μέγεθος 'greatness,' 'size,' γένος 'gender,' 'race,' ἔθος 'habit,' δέος 'fear,' ἔτος 'year,' θάλπος 'warmth,' κέρδος 'gain,' κράνος 'helmet,' ξίφος 'sword,' σκέλος 'leg,' ἄνθος 'flower,' μέρος 'part,' πάθος 'suffering,' 'passion,' δνειδος 'disgrace,' εἶδος 'form,' εὖρος 'width,' μήκος 'length,' πλῆθος 'multitude,' ἔθνος 'people,' ἥθος 'custom,' θάρρος & θάρρος 'courage,' θέρος 'summer,' ψύχος 'cold,' μῖσος 'hatred,' ψεῦδος 'lie,' 'fib,' πέλαγος 'open sea,' ζεύγος 'pair,' χεῖλος 'lip,' σκεῦος 'utensil,' κράτος 'force,' τέλος 'end,' etc., etc.

424. This class of neuters, which are mostly abstract, is substantially preserved in *N* (348), and has even received many accessions, by attracting other forms. Among surviving examples mark: τὸ ὄρος, βάθος, πλάτος, ἔτος, κέρδος, πάθος, θάρρος, θέρος, τέλος, μέρος, πέλαγος, νίκος, 'victory'

etc. *P-N* formations: τὸ λάθος 'error,' χρέος 'debt,' πλοῦτος 'wealth,' σκέπος 'cover' (420), νέφος 'cloud,' θρήνος 'lamentation,' πάγος 'ice,' μέτρος 'measure,' τρύγος 'vintage,' ναῦλος 'fare,' ἀστρος (beside ἀστρον) 'star,' σπλάχνος 'mercy,' 'tenderness,' ψήλος (from (ὁ)ψηλός) = ὕψος, μάκρος (from μακρός) = μήκος, etc. So τὰ δένδρη or δέντρη (FTrinch. 11 [+1000] δένδρη) for δένδρα.— They are now all declined as follows:—

Sing. N. V. A.	G.		Pl. N. V. A.
ὄρος	ὄρους		ὄρη
πλοῦτος	πλούτους & recent	πλούτου	πλούτη
πλάτος	πλάτους „ „	πλάτου	πλάτη
βάθος	βάθους „ „	βάθου	βάθη & recent βάθητα (297)
θάρρος	θάρρους „ „	θάρρου	θάρρη „ „ θάρρητα „
κέρδος	κέρδους „ „	κέρδου	κέρδη „ „ κέρδητα „
βάρος	βάρους „ „	βάρου	βάρη „ „ βάρητα „

424<sup>b</sup>. A further *N* peculiarity of this class of neuters in -ος is that the plural ending -η, having been mistaken for -ι, that is for a nom. sing. (302 ff.), was in some cases amplified to -η + α or by analogy to -ια, and thus led to a new nom. sing. in -ι, as :

τὸ στήθος 'breast'	τὰ στήθη & (στήθη + α) στήθια	—	τὸ στῆθι
„ σκέλος 'leg'	„ σκέλη & (σκέλη + α) σκέλια	—	„ σκέλι
„ χεῖλος 'lip'	„ χεῖλη & (χεῖλη + α) χεῖλια	—	„ χεῖλι.

## 2. ADJECTIVES IN -ης G. -εος.

### 425. a. Adjectives in -ης, -ες (Masc. & Fem. -ης, Neuter -ες).

ὁ ἡ συγγενής, τὸ συγγενές 'kindred'; ὁ ἡ αἰθάδης, τὸ αἰθαδές 'haughty'.

	M. & F.	N.	M. & F.	N.
Sing. N.	συγγενής	συγγενές	αἰθάδης	αἰθαδές
V.	συγγενές	„	αἰθαδές	„
A.	συγγενῇ	„	αἰθαδίῃ	„
G.	συγγενοῦς	← =	αἰθαδόους	← =
D.	συγγενεῖ	← =	αἰθαδαί	← =
Dual N. V. A.	συγγενεῖ	← =	αἰθαδαί	← =
G. D.	συγγενέ-οιν	← =	αἰθαδοῖν	← =
Pl. N. V. A.	συγγενεῖς	συγγενῇ	αἰθαδαί	αἰθαδή
G.	συγγενῶν	← =	αἰθαίδων	← =
D.	συγγενέ-σι	← =	αἰθαδε-σι	← =

425<sup>b</sup>. So are declined numerous adjectives of two endings, as :

ἀκριβής 'exact,' δαψιλής 'abundant,' πολυτελής 'expensive,' σαφής 'clear,' ἀσεβής 'impious,' ἀσφαλής 'secure,' εὐμενής 'favourable,' εὐπρεπής 'decent,' πλήρης 'full,' ἀληθής 'true,' ἐγκρατής 'temperate,' πρᾶνής (65) 'declivitous,' ψευδής 'false,' ἀφανής 'invisible,' εὐπειθής 'docile,' εὐτυχής 'happy,' εὐώδης 'fragrant,' εὐήθης 'simple-minded,' θηριώδης 'beastly,' &c. &c.

426. This class of adjectives is believed to have originally had -εσ- for stem character, which manifests itself in the neuter, as well as in the vocative singular of all three genders (cp. 422).

427. The accusative plural is identical with the nominative.

427<sup>b</sup>. In *G-N* speech the vocative singular masculine and feminine ends also in -ῇ, after the 1st declension, as : χρυσαστεφῇ Great Louvre Pap. 2272-3. πρωτοφανῇ, νυκτιφανῇ, νυκτιχαρῇ ib. 1794-5. (See 265 & 432, a.)

## ADJECTIVES AND SUBSTANTIVES IN -ης. [428-431.]

**428. b.** Adjectives ending in -ης contract -έα to -ᾶ instead of -ῆ, whereas those in -ιης and -υιης admit of either contraction, as :

ἐνδεής 'needy,' (τόν, τήν, τδ) ἐνδεᾶ	εὐκλεής 'glorious,' εὐκλεᾶ	ὑγιής 'healthy,' ὑγιᾶ & ὑγιῇ	εἰφυής 'comely,' εἰφυᾶ εἰφυῇ
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[Moeris 341: ὑγιᾶ Ἀττικῶς, ὑγιῇ Ἑλληνικῶς.]

**429. c.** In compound barytones, other than those in -ώδης, -ώλης, -ώρης, -ήρης, the accent recedes everywhere (cp. 257<sup>b</sup>), as :

αὐτάρκης 'self-sufficient'	αὐταρκες	αὐτάρκων
συνήθης 'common'	σύνηθες	συνήθων
αὐθάδης 'haughty'	αὐθαδές	αὐθάδων.

**429<sup>b</sup>.** So too τριήρης 'trireme' (accus. -ρη, 417<sup>b</sup>). τριήρων.

**429<sup>c</sup>.** But εὐώδης 'fragrant,' ὤ & τδ εὐώδες (not εὐώδες!), ποδῆρης 'reaching the feet,' ποδῆρες, etc.

**430.** Popular feeling began as early as *A* to identify the nominal ending -ης with masculine substantives of the 1st declension (278) and to treat it accordingly. Thus beside *περίδω τῇ χιλιετεί* Pl. Phaed. 249 *A* and *ὁ ἡ ξέστης*, we meet : *τὸν ξέστη καὶ τὴν ξέστην* Pl. Legg. 794 *c* ; *τοὺς τριακοντούτας* Rep. 7, 593 *A* ; *πεντηκοντούτας* Legg. 670 *A* ; *ἐπτέτις κόρη* Ar. Eq. 1388 ; *ψευδᾶς* CIA ii. 422, 13 (V<sup>th</sup> B.C.) ; *ισοτελοῦ* KMeisterhans<sup>2</sup> 107, 14 (III<sup>rd</sup> B.C.) ; *τριετὴν* Bull. Corr. Hell. 1890, 162 ; *τὸν ὀκτωκαιδεκτέτην, ἐνενηκοντούτην* Dio C. 69, 17 ; *δωδεκαετῇ* Jos. Ant. 15, 9, 773 ; *ὁ ἡ συγγενίς, εὐγενίς* ; then *ἡργένεια, χαλκοβάρεια, ἡδυπέια, ἀρτίπεια*, etc. (for *ἡ ἡριγενίς, χαλκοβαρής*, etc. Kühner-Blass i. 544.) In the course of *P*, this confusion spread wider and eventually turned all adjectives formerly ending in -ης either to substantives in the sense just referred to, or to adjectives in -ος, the latter alternative having met with greater popularity (see 440 & 1151 ; cp. *ἐξώλειοι καὶ πανώλειοι* for *ἐξώλεις καὶ πανώλεις*, Bull. Corr. Hell. xx. 33 ; so further *λάγνος* for *λάγνης*, *ἀδόλεσχος* for *ἀδολέσχης*), as : *τοὺς εὐγενοῦς* Leo Gram. 359 ; *ἐπάναγκος* Gr. Pap. Br. Mus. p. 46 (146 or 135 B.C.), 28 ; ib. p. 79, 435 ; Great Louvre Pap. 2574, also Gr. Urk. Berlin 153 (†153), and Cleemans *passim* ; *ἀμαθος* *δυστυχος, ἀβαθος, ἀκριβός, ἀληθός* ; *ψευδός* Leo Tact. 19, 13 ; *μετάμελος* (FTrinch. 16 [†1015]), etc. Hence even Latin nouns in -is also were, by their Hellenization, remodelled to nouns in -ος (298 ff.), as : *καλιγῆριος, φαιμελιῆριος, πριμυιλῆριος, πουλικῆριος, κουρούλλις* (curullis), *ἀσπίλιον* (hastile), *Ἀπρίλιος, Αἰγυουσῆλιος, Κυρινῆλιος, ἀλγενήσιος* (algenensis), *Ἀγριππῆσιος, Μουντουήσιος*, etc. (TEckinger 133 f.) The ultimate result of this process was that *N* now knows only adjectives of three endings (438).

### 3. PROPER NAMES IN -ης.

**431.** Proper names in -ης follow the inflection of adjectives in -ης (425 ff.). However, so far as they do not end in (-κλέης) -κλῆς, they form the accus. singular in -η or -ην, after the 3rd or 1st declension respectively (330. 432).

Sing. N. (Περικλέης)	Περικλῆς	Σωκράτης
V. (Περικλέες)	Περικλείς	Σώκρατες
A. (Περικλέα)	Περικλεᾶ	Σωκράτη & τημ !
G. (Περικλέος)	Περικλέους	Σωκράτους
D. (Περικλέει)	Περικλεῖ	Σωκράτει

431<sup>b</sup>: So are declined: 'Ηρακλῆς, Θερμοστοκλῆς, Σοφοκλῆς, Ἀγαθοκλῆς, Ἑτεροκλῆς, etc.:—Διογένης, Διομήδης, Δημοσθένης, Ἀριστοτέλης, Ἀριστόφανης, Ἀριστομένης, Πολυκράτης, Ἰσοκράτης, Πολυνείκης, Πραξιτέλης, Τισσαφέρνης, etc.

432. The tendency to a uniform inflection manifested in the course of P times (264) led to a gradual assimilation of all nouns in -ης of the 3rd declension to those of the more convenient and familiar 1st declension. Accordingly P speech inflects all proper names in -ης after the 1st declension (265. 280. 330).

a. Voc. Πολυκλῆ ἩCollitz 1206; Διομήδῃ 1210; Ἀριστοφάνῃ 1191; Δωρικλῆ 1215; Ἀγαθοκλῆ 1243; so Θεοκρίνη, Ἑανοπέθῃ (Kühner Blass i. 513), Νεοκλῆ, Ἐχεκράτῃ. Θεαγένη (GHatzidakis 77 & 380); πρωτοφάνῃ, νυκτιφάνῃ, νυκτιχαρῆ, Great Louvre Pap. 1794-6. (427<sup>b</sup>. App. iii. 15.)

b. Accus. -ην for -εα (300-200 B.C.): Μενεκλῆν, Ἀμεινοκλῆν, Λυσικλῆν, Εὐκλῆν (KMeisterhans' 105); so Ἐπικλῆν, Ἑανοκλῆν (ib.), Ἡρακλῆν, Διοκλῆν, etc. [Compare Phryn. 134 Ἡρακλέα, Περικλέα, Θερμοστοκλέα, ἐπεκτείναν τὴν ἐσχάτην λέγε, ἀλλὰ μὴ Ἡρακλῆν καὶ Περικλῆν καὶ Θερμοστοκλῆν.]

c. Gen. -ου for -ους (400-300 B.C.) Χαιριμένου, Ἀριστοκράτου, Ἐργομένου, Ἀντιφάνου, Τιμοκράτου, Δημοκράτου, Διοσιέθου, Δημοσθένου, Ἐπιτέλου, Ἐργιγένου, Ἀριστοφάνου, Τιμοσθένου, Φιλοσθένου, Δημοχάρου, Δεινοκράτου, etc. (KMeisterhans' 106). So further: Ἀστυγένου CIA ii. 1158 (285-284 B.C.); Διογένου 1745; Ἀριστομένου 1747; 2458; 3131; Θεοφάνου 1709; Δεξιμένου 1922 (bis); Φιλοκλέου 1937; Σωσικλέου 1993; Θεαγένου 2067; Ἀριστοκλέου 2077; Ἀνδροκλέου 2145; Δικαιογένου 2232 (bis); Δημοσθένου 2258; Ἐρμογένου 2508; Κλεοσθένου 2844; Μνασιγένου 2979; Ἀνδροσθένου 3132; Σωσιγένου 3183; Πρωτογένου 3277, etc. etc.

d. Dat. -ῃ. For the dative we have no sure criterion since εἰ and ἦ were freely interchanged in P-G times (26, 5; cp. Kühner-Blass i. 513).

e. Plural. οἱ Δημοσθέται, Ἀριστόφαναι (Hrdn. ii. 697), Ἀριστοφάναι (Pl. Symp. 218 B).

### ANOMALOUS DECLENSION.

433. I. Ἄρης (ὁ 'Mars'), V. Ἄρες, A. Ἄρην, G. Ἄρεως, D. Ἄρει.

With the introduction of Christianity, this name, like those of all deities, naturally fell into oblivion. (015-017.)

2. γάλα (τό 'milk'), G. γάλακτος, D. γάλακτι; Pl. γάλακτα, G. γαλάτων, D. γαλάξιν. P-B: G. γάλατος, D. γάλατι, etc.

The P-B by-form γάλατος, γάλατι, &c., has led to the N declension: τ γάλα, τοῦ γαλάτου (369), τὰ γάλατα, from which δ γαλατᾶς 'milkman.'

3. γόνυ (τό 'knee'), G. γόνατος, D. γόνατι, Pl. γόνατα, G. γονάτων, D. γόνασιν.

In N τὸ γόνατο\*, regular.

4. γυνή (ἡ 'woman'), V. γυναί, A. γυναίκα, G. γυναικός, D. γυναίκε; Dual γυναίκε, G. D. γυναίκοιν; Pl. γυναίκες, A. γυναίκας, G. γυναικῶν, D. γυναίξιν.—Accentuation similar to that of ἀνήρ (257<sup>b</sup>. 385), with which it naturally associated.

b. This substantive survived down to M especially in the form ἡ γυνὴ τῆς γυνῆς (cp. Antatt. 86. 12 γυναὶ ἀντὶ γυναίκες, Φιλιππίδης Ἀδωνιαζούσαις: FTTrinch. 114 [†1121] τῆς γυνῆς), but is now obsolete, its common form at present being ἡ γυναίκα (338).

5. δόρυ (τό spear'), G. δόρατος, etc. like γόνυ.

The disuse of the weapon has naturally led to the extinction of the name.

6. Ζεὺς (ὁ 'Jupiter,' accent after Θησεύς, βασιλεύς), V. Ζεῦ (accent after εἰ, Θησεῦ), A. Δία, G. Διός, D. Διί.

For N see Ἄρης above (433, 1).

7. *θρίξ* (ή 'a hair'), A. *τρίχα*, G. *τριχός*, D. *τριχί*; Pl. *τρίχες*, A. *τρίχας*, G. *τριχών*, D. *θριξί* (183).

In *N* ή *τρίχα* (338).

8. *κλείς* (ή 'key'), A. *κλείν* (*P* *κλειῖδα*), G. *κλειδός*, D. *κλειδί*; Pl. *κλείδες* A. *κλείς*, (*P* *κλειῖδας*), G. *κλειδών*, D. *κλεισί*.

In *N* τὸ *κλειδί*, from the diminutive *κλειδίον* (338).

9. *κύων* (ὁ 'dog') V. *κύον*, A. *κύνα*, G. *κυνός*, D. *κυνί*; Pl. *κύνες*, A. *κύνας*, G. *κυνών*, D. *κυσί*.

In *N* extinct (218), its place having been taken by δ *σκύλ(λ)ος* (current since *T*), and τὸ *σκυλ(λ)ί*.

10. *μάρτυς* (ὁ, ή 'witness'), A. *μάρτυρα*, G. *μάρτυρος*, etc., but Pl. D. *μάρτυσι* (163).

In *N* δ *μάρτυρας*, regular (338).

11. *ναῦς* (ή 'ship'), A. *ναῦν*, G. *νεώς*, D. *νηί*; Dual G. D. *νεοῖν*; Pl. *νῆες* (*P* *ναῦς*), A. *ναῦς* (*P* *νῆας*), G. *νεῶν*, D. *ναυσί*. (408<sup>b</sup>.)

[*Moeris* 244 *νῆες ὡς Θουκυδίδης Ἀττικῶς ναῦς Ἑλληνικῶς*.]

For *ναῦς* *N* uses τὸ *καράβι*, from *B* δ *κάραβος*.

12. *ὄναρ* (τό 'dream'), G. *δνειράτος*, D. *δνειράτι*, etc. (297), beside the regular forms δ *δνειρος* & τὸ *δνειρον* which follow the 2nd declension.

Still surviving in the form τὸ *δνειρο*, Pl. *δνειράτα* (297).

13. *ὄρνις* (ὁ, ή, 'bird'), A. *ὄρνιν* & *ὄρνιθα*, G. *ὄρνιθος*, D. *ὄρνιθι*; Pl. *ὄρνιθες*, etc. D. *ὄρνισι* (*G* also *ὄρνιξι*). Another plural *ὄρνεις*, G. *ὄρνειων*, D. *ὄρνισι*.

In *N* ή *ὄρνιθα* (after 338), which in Crete has been shortened to [ὄρν'θα] *ὄρθα* 136. 194 f.

14. *πρεσβευτής* (ὁ 'ambassador'), V. *-τά*, A. *-τήν*, G. *-τοῦ*, D. *-τῇ*; Pl. *πρέσβεις*; G. *πρέσβειων*, D. *πρέσβεισι*.

In *N* extinct, together with all other terms relating to ancient political institutions (222 ff.).

15. *ὄς* (τό 'ear'), G. *ὠτός*, D. *ὠτί*; Pl. *ὠτα*, G. *ὠτων* (351), D. *ὠσί*.

[*Phryn.* 186 *ὠτοῖς μὴ λέγε, ὡς τινες τῶν γραμματικῶν, ἀλλ' ὠσί*. Cp. *Moeris* 264 *ὡς Ἀττικῶς, ὠτίον Ἑλληνικῶς*.]

In *N* τὸ *αὔτι*, from ancient Doric (only?) *αὔς*, G. *αὔτός* (cp. Hes. *αὔς, αὔτος. Κρήτες καὶ Λάκωνες*).

16. *πνύξ* (ή 'Pnyx' at Athens), A. *Πίκνα* (also *Πνύκα*), G. *Πυκνός* (and *Πυκός*), D. *Πυκνί* (and *Πυκί*).

17. *πῦρ* (τό 'fire'), G. *πυρός*, D. *πυρί*; Pl. *πυρά* 'watch-fires,' G. *πυρών*, D. *πυροῖς*.

*N* uses ή *φωτιά* (Hes. *φωτία λαμπρία καὶ δμματα*) from τὸ *φῶς* (G. *φωτός*), [though *πυράων* 'I heat,' and δ *πυρόβολος* 'flint'].

18. *σίτος* (ὁ 'corn') in sing. regular, but in Pl. metaplastic: τὰ *σίτα*.

b. In *N* τὸ *σιτάρι* (also syncopated *στάρι* 136). [In *N* metaplasms occurs in δ *πηλός* 'mud,' τὰ *πηλά* (so even in Callin. 66, 27), δ *λόγος* 'word,' τὰ *λόγια*; —then δ *χρόνος* 'year,' τὰ *χρόνια* (beside οἱ *χρόνοι*), δ *μυαλός* 'brain,' τὰ *μυαλά* (beside οἱ *μυαλοῖ*), δ *καπνός* 'smoke,' τὰ *καπνά* 'tobacco,' τὰ *καπνά* 'tobacco' (οἱ *καπνοί* 'volumes of smoke').]

19. *σκῶρ*, (τό 'dirt'), G. *σκατός*, etc.—*P* (*Phryn.* 261) τὸ *σκάτος*, G. *σκάτους*.

In *N* τὸ *σκατό* even in Schol. Ar. Pl. 305. 707; Pac. 42



## 433-436. CASE-LIKE ADVERBS—ADJECTIVES.

20. *στάδιον* (τό 'stadium') in sing. regular, but in pl. τὰ στάδια & οἱ στάδιοι.

The word became extinct with the retreat of the ancient metric system (022-025).

21. ὕδωρ (τό 'water'), G. ὕδατος, D. ὕδατι; Pl. ὕδατα, G. ὑδάτων, D. ὕδασι.

In *N* replaced by τὸ νερό (from νηρόν, neuter of the old colloquial adj. νηρός, see 150, c & [2]).

22. υἱός or υῖος (ὁ 'son') declined regularly after the 2nd declension, besides G. υἱέος, D. υἱεῖ; Pl. υἱεῖς, G. υἱέων, D. υἱέσι.

In *N* υἱός or rather γιός (i. e. ἰός, 155, a), after the 2nd declension.

23. χεῖρ (ῆ 'hand'), A. χεῖρα, G. χεῖρός, D. χεῖρι; Du. G. D. χερσίν; Pl. χεῖρες, A. χείρας, G. χεῖρῶν, D. χερσί.

In *N* ἡ χεῖρα (Crete, etc.) and commoner τὸ χέρι (after 218 & 338).

## CASE-LIKE ADVERBS.

434. Certain adverbial terminations which denote relations of place, appear to act like case-endings. These are—

-ι, -θι } = at, in (some place),—θι and -ι being affixed to the singular, and -σι to the plural.

-θεν = from some place.

-δε, -σε, -ζε = to some place.

WHERE (in what place?)	WHENCE?	WHITHER?
οἶκοι (525 <sup>b</sup> ) 'at home'	οἶκοθεν 'from home'	οἶκαδε 'home(ward)'
ἄλλοθι 'in some other place'	ἄλλοθεν 'from elsewhere'	ἄλλοσε 'to some other place'
'Ἀθῆνῃσι' 'in Athens'	'Ἀθῆνῃθεν' 'from Athens'	'Ἀθῆναζε' 'to Athens'
Μαραθῶνι 'in Marathon'	πάντοθεν 'from everywhere'	Μέγαράδε 'to Megara'
χαμαί 'on the ground'	χαμᾶθεν 'from the ground'	χαμᾶζε 'to the ground'

435. Unless we admit *N* forms like δλοῦθε (= πανταχόθεν), ποῦθε & ποθίς (= που), to be ancient reminiscences, all these adverbial case-endings have become extinct. However, their retreat from actual speech goes back to *G* times, if we may judge by instances like: Sept. Job 39, 29 ἐκέῖσε ὡν ζητεῖ τὰ σίτα. Polyb. 5, 51, 3 ἀποδοθέντος δ' ἐκέῖσε διαβουλίου. Acts 22, 5. Epiph. ii. 804 B. Polyb. 5, 101, 10 τὴν ἐκεῖ διάβασιν (for ἐκέῖσε). Callin. 62, 29 παρὰ τῶν ἐκέῖσε ἀδελφῶν. Agath. 140 αἰτόσε for αὐτοῦ.—Sept. 2 Reg. 20, 2 ἀπὸ ὀπισθεν. Polyb. 40, 6, 1 ἀπ' ἐντεῦθεν. So Method. 400 B. Macar. 541 C. Epiph. i. 276 A ἀπ' ἐκέῖθεν. ii. 737 C ἀπ' ἐντεῦθεν. Callin. 88, 1 ἀπ' ἐντεῦθεν. 55, 19 τῆς ἐκέῖσε μονῆς. Also 130. 23. Mal. 117, 22 ἐκ νηπιόθεν 35, 5 ἐκ παιδιόθεν; 80 429, 4; 237, 16. Porph. Cer. 357, 20 ἀπ' ἐκεῖ. Adm. 148, 9 ἀπ' ἐκέῖσε. Cp. 1516.

## ADJECTIVES.

### GENERAL REMARKS.

436. Greek adjectives have either three endings, one for each gender; or two endings, one for both masc. and fem., and one for neuter. Very few adjectives have only one ending, and

## ADJECTIVES AND THEIR ENDINGS. [436-442.]

even these virtually act as substantives of either masculine or feminine gender (476).

**437.** For the *P-N* history of this rule see the following sections 439-478.

**438.** In popular Greek, all adjectives of two endings, as well as those of one ending, have been dropped, one after another, so that present *N* knows only adjectives of three endings, in particular the class ending in *-os*, *-o*, *-η* (or *-α*), and *-ús*, *-ύ*, *-εία* or *-είά* (401 ff. 444).

**439.** Of all Greek adjectives those of three endings have at all times been the commonest, and among these again those ending in *-os* (*-ον*, *-η*, or *-α*) and *-ús* (*-υ*, *-εία*) enjoyed the widest popularity. Above all, however, those in *-os* (*-ον*, *-η* or *-α*) comprise the great majority of Greek adjectives. Their numerical preponderance, their frequency, their perspicuity in indicating each gender by a distinct ending, and the convenience of their parasyllabic inflection (2nd and 1st declension, *καλός*, *-όν*, *-ή*) appealed particularly to popular taste, and thus attracted many adjectives from other (consonantal) classes.

Cp. ancient *μονάμυκος* for and beside *μονάμυξ*, *δίπτυχος* & *διπτυχής*, *εὐθριξ* & *εὐτριχος*, *γαμψώνυξ* & *γαμψώνυχος*, *διοψ* & *διοπος*, *ἀκμής* & *ἀκμητος*, *ἀρίδακρυς* & *ἀριδάκρυτος* & *ἀριδάκρυος*, *πολυ(λ)άταξ* & *πολυ(λ)άταγος*, *διχόμεν* & *διχόμηνος*, *διάκτωρ* & *διάκτορος*, *ώμοβρῶς* & *ώμόβρωτος*, *ἀμφιτρής* & *ἀμφίτρητος*, *ἐρίηρ* & *ἐρίηρος*, *προβλής* & *πρόβλητος*, *εὐρίς* & *εὐριος*, *ἀργῶς* & *ἀρίγνατος*, *ἀγνῶς* & *ἀγνατος*, *μελάγχρως* & *μελάγχρως*, etc. (338.)

**440.** It will also be remembered that, with the gradual disappearance of the consonantal inflection (264-7), adjectives of that class, so far as they survive (430), have been remodelled either after those in *-os* or after those in *-ús* (cp. *ἀκριβός* for *ἀκριβής*, *ψευδός* for *ψευδής*, *ἀληθός* for *ἀληθής*, *πρεπός* for and from *εὐπρεπής*, *μισός* for and from *ἡμισος*, i.e. *ἡμισυς*, 401<sup>b</sup>, etc.). As to the subsequent formations, they have naturally been framed after the above two familiar types (*-os*, *-ον*, *-η* or *-α* and *-ús*, *-υ*, *-εία*), so that practically all adjectives have been reduced to these two classes.

## ADJECTIVES OF THREE ENDINGS.

**441.** 1. *-os*, *-ον*, *-η* or *-α*. Of Greek adjectives (and participles, 2110) those ending in *-os* are the most numerous (439 f.) and have a separate ending for each gender, viz. *-os* for the masculine, *-ον* for the neuter, and *-η* or (when a vowel or *ρ* precedes) *-α* for the feminine (269, 4. 285). The masculine and neuter follow the 2nd declension, while the feminine follows the 1st declension (306).

ἀγαθός	ἀγαθόν	ἀγαθή 'good'
ὑψηλός	ὑψηλόν	ὑψηλή 'high'
πιστός	πιστόν	πιστή 'faithful'
γεγραμμένος	γεγραμμένον	γεγραμμένη 'written'
δίκαιος	δίκαιον	δικαία 'just'
ἀθρόος	ἀθρόον	ἀθρόα 'collected'
μικρός	μικρόν	μικρά 'little'

**442.** This class of adjectives is still fully preserved and has even considerably increased (320. 430. 439). The only *N* deviation from

442-451.] ADJECTIVES OF THREE ENDINGS.

*A* is that adjectives in *-ρος* now form the feminine in *-ρη* (instead of *-ρα*, contrary to 441).

καλός	καλό*	καλή 'good'
ψηλός	ψηλό*	ψηλή 'high'
βραστός	βραστό*	βραστή 'boiled'
γραμμένος	γραμμένο*	γραμμένη 'written'
δίκαιος	δίκαιο*	δίκαια 'just' (311).
μικρός	μικρό*	μικρή 'little'
καθαρός	καθαρό*	καθαρή 'clean'

443. 2. *-ους, -ουν, -η* (or *-α*). This class of contracted adjectives has already been considered in 320 f.

444. 3. *-υς, -υ, -εια*. Adjectives of this class are considerable in number (401 ff.). Their masculine and neuter are oxytone (*-ύς, -ύ*) and the feminine properispomenon. Only compounds, which are very few, also *ἡμισυς* 'half,' and *θῆλυς* 'female,' are barytone.

445. For the inflection and *P* history of these adjectives see 401 ff.

446. 4. *-ās, -ān, -ainā* (380) is shown only by the two adjectives *μέλας* (*μέλαν, μέλαινα*) 'black,' and *τάλας* (*τάλαν, τάλαινα*) 'wretched,' and their compounds *παμμέλας* 'very black,' *παντάλας* and *δυστάλας* 'very miserable.' For their *A* inflection see 380.

447. Of these two adjectives *τάλας* is extinct in *N* (Apopth. 289 c *τάλαν* καὶ ἀκάθαρτον ἔλεγεν ἑαγτόν). *Μέλας* appears in *G-B* in the form *μελανός* (as Gr. Pap. Br. Mus. p. 94 [+IIIc] 301; ib. 105, 607 *νυκτερίδος μελανῆς*; further Great Louvre Pap. 800 *μελανῆς γῆς*; so too CWessely N. Zaub. 310. 717), but in *N* it has been replaced by *μαῦρος* (from *A* *ἄμαυρός*), the ancient term *μέλας* still surviving in the substantive *τὸ μελάνι* (from *G-B* *τὸ μέλαν, μελάνιον*) 'ink.'

448. 5. *-ās, -ān, -āō* is found only in *πᾶς* (*πᾶν, πᾶσα*) 'every,' 'all,' with its compounds *ἅπας, σύμπας, πρόπας, ἐπίπας*, etc.

Sing. N.	πᾶς	πᾶν	πᾶσα	Pl. N.	πάντες	πάντα	πᾶσαι
A.	πάντα	η	πᾶσαν		πάντας	η	πάσας
G.	παντός	← =	πάσης		πάντων	← =	πασῶν
D.	παντί	← =	πάσῃ		πᾶσι*	← =	πάσαις

449. This adjective is preserved only in the indeclinable form *πᾶσα* 'every' (621), as: *πᾶσα εἰς* 'every one,' *πᾶσα μέρα* 'every day,' and in the adverb *πάντα* 'always,' current since *T*, as: Apophth. 265 β *τί πάντα* (v. l. πάντοτε) οὕτω κλαίεις;

450. 6. *-ās, -ān, -āō* is peculiar to participles, as: *λείψας* (*λείψαν, λείψασα*) 'having abandoned,' *ιστάς* (*ιστάν, ιστάσα*) 'erecting.' They are inflected like *πᾶς*.

450<sup>b</sup>. In *N* extinct for reasons given in 338-341 & 439 f.

451. 7. *-εις, -εν, -εσσα* is found in a limited number of adjectives, as: *χαρίεις* (*χαρίεν, χαρίεσσα*) 'lovely,' *φωνήεις* (*φωνήεν, φωνήεσσα*) 'sounding,' *τιμῆεις* (*τιμῆεν, τιμῆεσσα*) 'honourable,' *μελιτόεις* 'honeyed,' 'melliferous,' *πτερόεις* 'winged,' *σκιόεις* 'shady,' *νιφόεις* 'snow-clad.' Those ending in *-ήεις* and *-όεις* admit of contraction, as: (*τιμῆεις*) *τιμῆς*, (*μελιτόεις*) *μελιτούς*.

Sing. N. *χαρίεις, χαρίεν, χαρίεσσα*; V. *χαρίεν, χαρίεσσα*; A. *χαρίεντα, χαρίεν, χαρίεσαν*; G. *χαρίεντος, χαρίεσσης*; D. *χαρίεντι, χαρίεσσι*. Pl.

## ADJECTIVES OF THREE AND TWO ENDINGS. [451-464.

N. V. χαρίεντες, χαρίεντα, χαρίεσσαι; A. χαρίεντας, χαρίεντα, χαρίεσσας, G. χαρίεντων, χαρίεσσων; D. χαρίεσι, χαρίεσσαις.

Sing. N. τιμῆς, τιμῆν, τιμῆσα; A. τιμῆντα, τιμῆν, τιμῆσαν; G. τιμῆντος, τιμῆσης, etc.

452. This class of adjectives is extinct in *N* for causes given in 338 ff. and 439 f.

453. 8. -είς, -έν, -είσα. Thus end only participles, as: τυφθείς (τυφθέν, τυφθείσα) 'beaten,' τιθείς 'putting.'

Sing. N. τυφθείς, τυφθέν, τυφθείσα; A. τυφθέντα, τυφθέν, τυφθείσαν; G. τυφθέντος, do., τυφθείσης, and so on. (G. Pl. fem. τυφθεισών.)

454. In *N* extinct. For the causes see 338-341. 439-440.

455. 9. -ούς, -όν, -ούσα. Thus end a few participles of the present and 2nd aorist, as: διδούς (διδόν, διδοῦσα) 'giving,' δούς 'having given,' γνούς 'having known.'

Sing. N. δούς, δόν, δοῦσα; A. δόντα, δόν, δοῦσαν; G. δόντος, do., δούσης, and so on. (G. Pl. fem. δουσών.)

456. In *N* extinct for reasons given in 338-341 & 439-440.

457. 10. -ων, -ον, -ουσα. So end many participles and a few adjectives, as: λείπων (λείπον, λείπουσα) 'abandoning,' παύων 'stopping,' θέλων 'willing,' ἐκὼν (ἐκόν, ἐκούσα) 'voluntary,' ἄκων (ἄκον, ἄκουσα) 'unwilling.'

Sing. N. λείπων, λείπον, λείπουσα—ἐκὼν, ἐκόν, ἐκούσα; A. λείποντα, λείπον, λείπουσαν—ἐκόντα, ἐκόν, ἐκούσαν; G. λείποντος, do., λειπούσης—ἐκόντος, do., ἐκούσης, and so on. (G. Pl. fem. λειπουσών, ἐκουσών.)

458. So too contracted participles in -άν ( -όν, -ούσα), -έων (-έον, -έουσα), as: (τιμάων) τιμῶν, (τιμάων) τιμῶν, (τιμάουσα) τιμῶσα; (φιλέων) φιλῶν, (φιλέων) φιλοῦν, (φιλέουσα) φιλοῦσα.

459. In *N* extinct for reasons given in 338-340 & 439-440.

460. 11. -ής, -ήν, -ῆσα. So end only participles of the present and 2nd aorist, as:

Sing. N. δεικνύς, δεικνύν, δεικνύσα 'showing'—φύς, φύν, φῦσα 'having generated'; A. δεικνύντα, δεικνύν, δεικνύσαν—φύντα, φύν, φῦσαν; G. δεικνύντος, do., δεικνύσης—φύντος, do., φύσης, and so on. (G. Pl. fem. δεικνυσών, φυσών.)

461. In *N* extinct for reasons given in 338-340 & 439-440 & 936-7.

462. 12. -ώς, -ός, -ῶα. So end only participles of the perfect active, as:

Sing. N. πεποιηκώς, πεποιηκός, πεποιηκυῖα 'having done,'—εἰδώς, εἰδός, εἰδυῖα 'knowing'; A. πεποιηκότα, πεποιηκός, πεποιηκυῖαν; G. πεποιηκότος, do., πεποιηκυῖας, and so on. (G. Pl. fem. πεποιηκυῖων, εἰδυῖων.)

463. In *N* extinct for reasons given in 338-341 & 439-440. 2166.

## ADJECTIVES OF TWO ENDINGS.

464. In adjectives of two endings the masculine form is used also for the feminine (436), while the neuter has, as usual, its separate form. As to the inflection of these adjectives, they follow partly the 2nd, partly the 3rd declension. (For *P-N* see 310 & 440.)

465. 1. -ος, -ον. So end many adjectives, mostly compound, as :

a. simple:—βάρβαρος, 'barbaric,' ἡμερος 'tame,' ἤσυχος 'quiet,' λάλος 'talkative.'

b. Compound.

ἀδίκος 'unjust'	ἀθάνατος 'immortal'
ἄλογος 'unreasonable'	ἀμήχανος 'perplexed'
ἄνομος 'illegal'	ἀπιστος 'unreliable'
ἄπειρος 'inexperienced'	εὐφώνος 'sonorous'
δύσβατος 'impassable'	ἐνδοξος 'glorious'
εὖξενος 'hospitable'	ὕπηκος 'obedient'
διάφορος 'different'	ἄγροικος 'rustic'
ἐμπειρος 'expert'	ἐπιλεκτός 'select'
παράνομος 'unlawful'	ἀχρεῖος 'useless'
ὁμορος 'adjacent'	πανούργος 'artful'

466. For the inflection and *P* history of this class of adjectives see 306-312.

467. 2. -ους, -ουν. So end a number of adjectives contracted from -εος and -οος, for the inflection and *P* vicissitudes of which see 313-322.

468. 3. -ως, -ων. So end a few adjectives inflected after the 2nd Attic declension, for which see 323-327.

469. 4. -ων, -ον. So end many adjectives especially in -μων (380), as :

ὁ ἢ πέπων, τὸ πέπον 'ripe,' ὁ ἢ σῶφρων, τὸ σῶφρων 'wise,' πρόφρων 'willing,' φράδμων 'intelligent,' ἐπιστήμων 'knowing,' νοήμων 'understanding,' τλήμων 'persevering,' μνήμων 'mindful,' ἀμνήμων 'unmindful,' ἐπιλήσμων 'forgetful,' φιλοκτῖμων 'compassionate,' ἀπράγμων 'unbusy,' 'idle,' πολυπράγμων 'bustling,' &c.

470. For the inflection and *P-N* history of this class of adjectives see 374-380. Cp. 1074<sup>b</sup>.

471. 5. -ης, -ες. So end numerous adjectives for the inflection and *P-N* history of which see 425-430.

472. 6. -ωρ, (-ορ). So end a few adjectives, which are all compound and paroxytone and follow the inflection of ῥήτωρ (374 ff.), as : ἀπάτωρ 'fatherless,' ἀμήτωρ 'motherless,' εὐπάτωρ, αὐτοκράτωρ, ῥηξήνωρ, παιδολέτωρ, παμμήτωρ, πανδαμάτωρ. They hardly occur in the neuter singular, and their feminine is often formed in -εира, as : παμμήτειρα, πανδαμάτειρα.

473. In *N* extinct for reasons given in 338-340 & 439-440.

474. 7. -ις, -ι, and -υς, -υ. So end a number of compound adjectives declined after their second constituent, as :

εὐελπίς, εὐελπί 'hopeful,' G. εὐελπίδος, A. εὐελπίω, etc.  
 ἀχαρίς, ἀχαρί 'graceless,' G. ἀχάριτος, A. ἀχαρίω, etc.  
 ἐπίχαρις, ἐπίχαρι 'lovely,' G. ἐπιχάριτος, etc.  
 εὐχαρίς, εὐχαρί 'lovely,' G. εὐχάριτος, etc.  
 δίπηχυς, δίπηχυ 'two ells long,' G. διπήχεος  
 ἀρίδακρυς, ἀρίδακρυ 'full of tears,' G. ἀριδάκρυος  
 So too φιλόπολις, φιλόπολι 'patriotic,' G. φιλοπόλειδος.

475. In *N* extinct. Cp. 436-440 & 439-440.

## ADJECTIVES OF ONE ENDING.

476. Adjectives of one ending are either masculine or feminine or both. They denote animated beings and as such, they have no neuter at all. In fact they are rather substantives than adjectives (436). Such are for instance:—

δ ἡ φυγᾶς, ἄδος, 'fugitive,'	δ ἡ μίκαρ, ρος, 'blessed'
δ ἡ ἀγνώς, ὠτος, 'unknown'	δ ἡ πένης, ητος, 'poor'
δ ἡ ἀπαις, δος, 'childless'	δ ἡ γυμνῆς, ητος, 'light-armed'
δ ἡ ἀλαζών, ὄνος, 'boastful'	δ ἡ ἱδρις, ιος, 'knowing.'

477. Used as distinct substantives, these nouns have often been modified, especially since *P* times, to nouns of two or even three endings in the sense of 338. (Cp. Kühner-Blass i. 552, 2.)

478. So far as they survive in *N*, these adjectives are treated like substantives according to their respective endings, as: δ φυγᾶς or commoner φευγᾶς (after φαγᾶς, 287 ff. 364).

## METAPLASTIC ADJECTIVES.

479. Three adjectives show irregular inflection, namely πρᾶος (πρᾶος 20<sup>e</sup>) 'mild,' πολὺς 'much,' 'numerous,' and μέγας 'great,' 'big.'

Sing. N. πρᾶος	πρᾶον	πραεῖα	Pl. πραεῖς (πρᾶοι)	πραέα	πραεῖαι
A. πρᾶον	"	πραεῖαν	πρᾶους	"	πραεῖας
G. πρᾶου	← =	πραεῖας	πραέων	← =	πραεῖων
D. πρᾶφ	← =	πραεῖq	πραεῖσι	← =	πραεῖαις

480. In *A* poetry and *P-B* prose a singular πραῦς, formed from the plural, is not uncommon (as Sept. Joel 3, 11. Didache 3, 7; Barn. 19, 4. Hermas Mand. 11, 8. Great Louvre Pap. 1042 & 1046; πραῦν 451). This is still preserved in *N* in the modification παραγύς, παραγύ, παραγειά (155<sup>b</sup>. 402) 'tame,' 'meek,' which implies that the singular πραῦς has been current in popular speech through all times.

## α. Πολύς (πολύ, πολλή).

Sing. N. πολὺς	πολύ	πολλή	Pl. πολλοί	πολλά	πολλαί
A. πολύν	"	πολλήν	πολλούς	"	πολλάς
G. πολλοῦ	← =	πολλῆς	πολλῶν	← =	← =
D. πολλῶ	← =	πολλῇ	πολλοῖς	← =	πολλαῖς.

481. So still in *N*.

## β. Μέγας (μέγα, μεγάλη).

Sing. N. μέγας	μέγα	μεγάλη	Pl. μεγάλοι	μεγάλα	μεγάλοι
V. μεγάλε	"	"	"	"	"
A. μέγαν	"	μεγάλην	μεγάλους	"	μεγάλας
G. μέγαλου	← =	μεγάλης	μεγάλων	← =	← =
D. μεγάλφ	← =	μεγάλῃ	μεγάλοις	← =	μεγάλαις.

482. During *P* the amplified stem μεγαλο- began to be transferred also to the nom. and accus. singular masc. and neuter, and thus gave birth to a regular form μέγας, μέγαλον, μεγάλην, current since *G* even among such writers as Porphyrios (v. Plotin. 67, 3); it is now universal in *N*.

## COMPARISON OF ADJECTIVES.

483. In Greek, comparison is expressed either by means of endings or by periphrasis.

484. I. By means of endings, and that :

1. most commonly by—

ῥερος, ῥερον, -τέρα for the *comparative*

ῥατος, ῥατον, -τάτη ,, *superlative*.

485. So still in *N*, though ῥατος is now retreating before its periphrasis. (490 f.)

486. 2. Less commonly by -ίων, ῥιον for the *comparative*.

ῥιστος, ῥιστον, -ίστη for the *superlative*.

487. This has become extinct in *N*. (506. cp. 495. 503.)

488. II. By periphrasis, that is by—

μᾶλλον 'more' for the *comparative* ;

μάλιστα 'most' ,, *superlative*.

489. This is still partially preserved in *N*. (511 f.)

490. The *absolute superlative* which denotes not the highest, but a *very high* degree (1191), is expressed either as above (by means of ῥατος, ῥιστος, μάλιστα), or by some adverb of intensity ('very'), as : σφόδρα, λίαν, πάνυ, ἄγαν, πάντως, πολύ, etc. (Cp. 515.)

491. So too in *N*, as : καλώτατος, μεγαλώτατος, λαμπρώτατος,—but the periphrastic mode is now the normal.

## I. COMPARISON BY ῥερος, ῥατος.

492. The endings ῥερος and ῥατος are affixed to the stem, as shown in the neuter, as :

μέλας (stem μέλαν) 'black,'	μελάντερος	μελάντατος
γλυκύς (γλυκύ) 'sweet'	γλυκύτερος	γλυκύτατος
σαφής (σιφής) 'clear'	σαφέστερος	σαφέστατος
κοῦφος (κουφό) 'light'	κουφότερος	κουφότατος
λεπτός (λεπτό) 'thin'	λεπτότερος	λεπτότατος
μακρός (μακρο) 'long'	μακρότερος	μακρότατος
ἄγροικος (ἄγροικο) 'rustic'	ἀγροικότερος	ἀγροικότατος.

493. For prosodic and grammatical purposes, adjectives in -ος change ο to ω, whenever the preceding syllable (penult) is metrically *short* (App. ii. 10 & 14), as :

νέος 'young,' 'new'	νιώτερος	νιώτατος
ἄξιος 'worthy'	ἀξιώτερος	ἀξιώτατος
σοφός 'wise'	σοφώτερος	σοφώτατος
πολεμικός 'warlike'	πολεμικώτερος	πολεμικώτατος
but πονηρός 'wicked'	πονηρότερος	πονηρότατος
πρᾶος (πρᾶος) 'mild'	πραότερος	πραότατος
ἐντίμος 'honourable'	ἐντιμότερος	ἐντιμώτατος
προθύμος 'willing'	προθυμότερος	προθυμώτατος
ἐιδοξός 'glorious'	ἐνδοξότερος	ἐνδοξώτατος
πικρός 'bitter'	πικρότερος	πικρότατος
λεπτός 'fine'	λεπτότερος	λεπτότατος.





## 500-504<sup>b</sup>.] COMPARISON IN -ίων, -ιστος.

500. So too *P* πλησιέστερος, πλησιέστατος (507. 523) from πλησίον 'near, after which the literary but incorrect *N* forms ἀθλιέστερος, ἀθλιέστατος, from ἀθλιος 'miserable,' and ἀχρειέστερος, ἀχρειέστατος, from ἀχρεῖος 'shameful.' [Cp. Acta Xanth. 77, 7 συμπαθέστερος καὶ εὐσπλαγχνέστερος.]

501. Similarly -ίστερος, -ίστατος is affixed to some adjectives, especially to λόλος 'talkative,' πτωχός 'beggarly,' ὀψοφάγος 'dainty,' μονοφάγος 'eating alone,' λάγνος 'libidinous,' κλέπτης 'thievish,' πότης 'fond of drink.'

### I. COMPARISON BY -ίων, -ιστος.

502. The rarer endings -ίων, -ιον for the comparative, and—  
-ιστος, -ιστον, -ίστη for the superlative  
are affixed to the stem of a few adjectives. These are—

κακός 'bad'	κακίαν, κάκιον	κάκιστος, -ιστον, -ίστη
ἡδύς 'sweet'	ἡδίαν, ἡδιον	ἡδίστος " "
ταχύς 'swift'	θάττων, θάττον (for ταχίαν, 183) [1]	τάχιστος " "
καλός 'beautiful'	καλλίαν, κάλλιον	κάλλιστος " "
αἰσχρός 'shameful'	αἰσχίαν, αἰσχιον	αἰσχίστος " "
ἐχθρός 'hostile'	ἐχθίαν, ἐχθιον	ἐχθίστος " "

502<sup>b</sup>. Beside ἐχθρότερος, ἐχθρότατος. Mark further *P* κακώτερος; ἡδύτερος, ἡδύτατος; ταχύτερος (also ταχίαν), ταχύτατος; αἰσχρότερος, αἰσχρότατος.

503. Of these adjectives καλός and κακός still survive in *N* (for whose comparison see 505), also ἐχθρός (ἐχτρός, Cretan ὀθρός, 130) as a substantive, while ἡδύς and αἰσχρός have become extinct. Ταχύς is preserved only in the adverb τὸ ταχὺ 'in the morning' (after which also τὸ βραδύ, beside τὸ βράδυ 'in the evening'), and in the adverbial (but dialectal) comparative form ταχυτέρου ('earlier'), 'in the morning,' 'to-morrow.'

504. Under the above head (502) fall the following irregular formations of comparison:

1. ἀγαθός 'good'	ἀμείνων, ἀμεινον	ἀριστος 3 'excellent'
"	βελτίαν, βέλτιον	βέλτιστος 3 'morally good'
"	κρείττων, κρείττον	κράτιστος 3 'superior'
"	λῦπην, λῦπον	λῦστος 3 'advantageous'
2. κακός 'bad'	κακίαν, κάκιον	κάκιστος 3
"	χείραν, χείρον	χείριστος 3 'poor,' 'low'
"	ἥττων, ἥττον 'inferior'	ἥκιστα (adv. 'least')
3. μέγας 'great,' 'big'	μείζων, μείζον	μέγιστος 3
4. μικρός 'small'	μικρότερος 3	μικρότατος 3
"	ἐλάττων, ἐλαττον	ἐλάχιστος 3
5. ὀλίγος 'little,' 'few'	ἐλάττων, ἐλαττον	ἐλάχιστος 3
"	μείων, μείον	—
6. πολὺς 'much,' 'many'	πλείων, πλεον	πλείστος 3
7. ῥάδιος 'easy'	ῥάων, ῥάον	ῥάστος 3
8. ἀλγινός 'painful'	ἀλγεινότερος 3	ἀλγεινότατος 3
"	ἀλγίαν, ἀλγιον	ἀλγίστος 3
9. πέπων 'ripe'	πεπαιότερος 3	πεπαιότατος 3.

504<sup>b</sup>. Beside *P* ἀγαθότερος, -ώτατος [2]; κακώτερος (so even Homer in T 321 & X 106, then *P-B* prose; *G-B* -ώτατος), χειρότερος (χειρείτερος, cp. 506); ὀλιγώτερος (further *G-B* μεγαλώτερος, -ώτατος).—On the other hand, *P* ἐπιμήκιστος (as Philo 1, 291; Arcad. 191, 14).

[1] Phryn. 58 τάχιον οἱ Ἕλληνες οὐ λέγουσι, θάττον δέ.

[2] Phryn. ἀγαθός μᾶλλον λέγε, μὴ ἀγαθότερος, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀγαθώτατος ἀγαθός μάλιστα.

505. As far as they still survive in *N*, the above adjectives form a more or less regular comparison, viz. ἀγαθός, ἀγαθώτερος (so even in Aristotle), κακός, κακώτερος, usually χειρότερος (506; χείρου in South Italy); μεγάλος, μεγαλύτερος (496); μικρός, μικρότερος (also *A*), ὀλίγος, ὀλιγώτερος (also *P*), *M* μέιος; πολύς, πλείος, and now πλειός (obsolescent) or (Crete) πλειάς, from which πλειότερος (506) & πλειάτερος, otherwise περισσότερος (so even FTrinch. 9 [+999] & 11 [+1000]); καλός, κάλλιος (obsolescent, from the neuter κάλλιον) or (Crete) καλλιᾶς from which καλλιώτερος (506), usually καλλίτερος or καλύτερος (496); ὑστερος, usually ὑστερώτερος (506<sup>b</sup>).

506. The comparative ending -ίων, -ιος, limited, as it was even in *A*, seems to have been felt weak and inexpressive as compared with -τερος. Hence the latter suffix was superadded to the former, and thus gave birth to a double comparative form. This phenomenon, which appears even in *A* compositions (as ἀμεινότερος Mimn. fr. 119, ῥώτερον Pind. O. 8, 60; ῥώτερος<sup>[1]</sup>), extended gradually to most comparatives formerly ending in -ίων, as:

κακίωτερος *A. P.* 12, 7, 4; χειρότερος & χρειώτερος, ῥαδιώτερος & ῥαδιέστερος, frequent; καλλιώτερος (Phryn. 121), so still in *N*; μειώτερος *Ap. Rh.* 2, 386; μειζότερος NT etc., later also μειζονώτερος; even μεγαθέστερος (*Vita SA* 6\* c) and μεγιστότερος *Gr. Pap. Br. Mus.* 134, 49 (†I-II<sup>nd</sup>) [μεγιστότατος<sup>[2]</sup>, ἐλαχιστότερος NT Eph. 3, 8; καλλίστατος *Apoc. Sedrach* 134, 14]; πλειώτερος *Arat.* 644, 1005, 1080 (so still in *N*); in *P* poets also λωίτερος and λωρότερος, δλιζώτερος (cp. also κρείσσότερος Phryn. 111);—

and this form finally superseded -ίων, -ιστος. Hence *N* now, with but two or three exceptions (πλειός, κάλλιος, μάλλιος [from μάλλον × meglio?]), knows only comparatives of the ending -τερος.

506<sup>b</sup>. A double -τερος is shown in ὑστερώτερος for ὑστερος (505).

507. *Defective comparison.* Some adjectives occur in the comparative and superlative, but not in the positive. These are:—

(πρό 'before')	πρότερος 'previous'	πρώτος ( <i>P</i> πρώτιστος) 'first'
(ὑπέρ 'above')	ὑπέρτερος 'superior'	ὑπέρτατος (also ὑπάτος) 'supreme'
—	ὑστέρτος 'posterior'	ὑστάτος 'last'
(ἐξ 'from')	—	ἔσχατος 'extreme'
(πλησίον 'near')	πλησιαίτερος	πλησιαίτατος (500).

508. In *P-B* we further meet with the following forms:—

(άνω 'up')	άνώτερος 'superior'	άνώτατος 'supreme'
(κάτω 'down')	κατώτερος 'lower'	κατώτατος 'lowest'
(έσω 'within')	έσώτερος 'interior'	έσώτατος 'intimus'
(ένδον 'inside')	ένδότερος "	ένδότατος "
(έξω 'outside')	έξώτερος	έξώτατος
(έγγυς 'near')	έγγύτερος	έγγύτατος & έγγιστος
(πύρρει 'far')	πυρράτερος	—
(πέρα 'beyond')	περαιτέρος	περαιτάτος
(άπό or άνω? 'off')	άπώτερος	άπώτατος.

[<sup>1</sup>] Blamed by Phryn. 111: εἰ ποιητῆς εἶπεν ἀμεινότερον χαίρειν· οὐδέ γάρ καλλιώτερον οὐδέ κρείσσονον ῥητέον συγκριτικοῦ γάρ συγκριτικόν οὐ γίγνεται. λέγε οὖν ἀμεινον καὶ κάλλιον καὶ κρείσσον. 381 βρώτερον μὴ λέγε ἀλλὰ βῆον· συγκριτικόν γάρ συγκριτικοῦ οὐκ ἔστιν, ὅλον εἰ τις λέγοι κρείσσονον.

[<sup>2</sup>] Compare Phryn. 50 τελευταίτατον λέγειν ἀμάρτημα τῶν περὶ παιδείαν δοκούντων τευτάζειν. ἐπεὶ γάρ ἀρχαῖτατον εὖρον λεγόμενον παρὰ τοῖς ἀρχαίοις φήθησαν καὶ τοῦτο δεῖν λέγειν. ἀλλὰ σὺ τελεγταῖον λέγε. 51 ἔσχατον χρὴ λέγειν οὐχὶ ἔσχατάτατον, εἰ καὶ μάρτυρα παρέχει τις (μάρτυρ' ἂν παρέχοι τις?). 52 κορυφαῖτατον ἐνεκαλυψάμεν εὖρον παρὰ φαβαρίνον· λέγε οὖν κορυφαῖον. Moeris 336 τελευταῖον μόνος· τελευταῖτατον οὐδεὶς τῶν παλαιῶν. Antatt. 104, 6 κεφαλαῖτατον· Πλάτων Γοργία.

508<sup>b</sup>. Most of these comparatives and superlatives have been formed from their respective adverbs (523).

### III. PERIPHRASTIC COMPARISON.

509. The periphrastic formation of the comparison is effected by means of *μᾶλλον* (sometimes also *πλέον*<sup>[1]</sup>) 'more,' and *μάλιστα* 'most,' that is—

*μᾶλλον* 'more' for the comparative, and  
*μάλιστα* 'most' „ superlative.

510. Such a periphrasis (which has passed through the Latin to the Romanic languages) was sometimes resorted to for the sake of variety (as in *φίλος*, *σοφός*, *ἄξιος*, &c.), or when the positive was unsuitable for a regular comparative ending. This was particularly the case with adjectives of one ending and with participles. Thus:—

<i>μᾶλλον φίλος</i>	<i>μάλιστα φίλος</i>
„ <i>γεννιῖος</i>	„ <i>παράνομος</i>
„ <i>ἄξιος</i>	„ <i>δῆλος</i>
„ <i>εὐελπὶς</i>	„ <i>εὐελπὶς</i>
„ <i>ἀγαπῶν</i>	„ <i>φιλῶν</i> .

511. For *μᾶλλον* *P* substituted the synonymous and more popular adverb *πλέον* [furthered by the Latin *plus*, the parent of Romanic *plus*, *piu*, &c.] 'more,' which gradually assumed the ascendancy, and having displaced *μᾶλλον* from the colloquial speech, has remained ever since in unbroken usage, as: Arist. Civ. vii. 15, 8 *ἡλικίαν πλέον προσήκουσαν*. Ignat. ad Polyc. 3, 2 *πλέον σπουδαῖος γίγνου*. (Cp. *ΔΜαυροφρυδης* 548.)—For *A* see above 509 & [2].

512. *Πλέον* or *πλείον* has in *N*, properly speaking, two forms *πλεῖδ'* or *πλειδ'* and *πλεδ* or *πλειά*. Though often used synonymously, they are now generally so specialized that the former refers to *time*, as: *δὲ' θυμούμαι πλε(ι)δ'* 'I remember no longer,' whereas the latter (*πλεδ* or *πλειά* which is formed regularly after 518 & 522) refers to the *degree* and thus corresponds to *A* *μᾶλλον*, as: *πλε(ι)δ' μέγας = μεγαλύτερος*, *πλε(ι)δ' πλούσιος = πλουσιώτερος*.

513. Since *H* a periphrastic superlative is sometimes formed in popular speech by simply repeating the adjective twice, with or without an intervening *καί* (521. 1192 f.), as: *θεῶ μέγαλφ μέγαλφ (= μεγίστῳ)* Mitth. xix. 212-3 (III<sup>rd</sup> b.c.); also Bull. Corr. Hell. 1894 p. 147 (91 b.c.) & 148 (88 b.c.). *Ἐρμῆς δ' μέγας καὶ μέγας* CIG 4697, 19 (Rosetta stone). *δ' μέγας μέγας Σάραπις* CWessely Gr. Zaub. (1888) A 13. Gr. Urk. Berlin 149 (†II-III<sup>rd</sup>) *μεγάλου μεγάλου* (five times). 229 & 230 (†II-III<sup>rd</sup>) *μεγάλοι μεγάλοι* 296 (†220) *μεγάλου μεγάλου*.—Hermas Sim. 9, 17, 1-2 *ἄλλος καὶ ἄλλος*. Euchol. *ἅγιος μόνος καὶ μόνος*. Leont. Neap. V. S. 168 A *καλὴ καλὴ καὶ ἄξια*. Antatt. 108, 5 *μᾶλλον μᾶλλον ἀντὶ τοῦ δεῖ καὶ μᾶλλον*. *Ἀλεξὶς Πεζονίκη* *μείζον μείζον, μικρὸν μικρόν, ἀντὶ τοῦ δεῖ κατὰ μικρόν*. *Ἀντιφάνης* *Ἀγροίκφ*. (1192.)

514. The comparative sometimes stands, especially since *H*, for the relative superlative, as:

Dion. H. De Comp. 14 p. 169 (Sch.) *τούτων δὲ κράτιστα μὲν τὰ μακρὰ . . . χεῖρω δὲ τὰ βραχέα*. Luc. D. Deor. 204 *τὴν ἀμείνων τῶν μοιρῶν*. Dio. Chr. 3, 39:

[1] On the periphrastic comparison in Greek, as well as on the use of *πλέον* for *μᾶλλον*, see OSchwab in *MSchanz* IV, iii. 124 ff.

ἀνάντων πιθανότερος. NT Mark 4, 31 μικρότερος πάντων τῶν σπερμάτων. ib. 32 μείζων πάντων τῶν λαχάνων. Luke 21, 3 πλείον πάντων. 1 Cor. 15, 19 ἐλειονότεροι πάντων ἀνθρώπων. Ephes. 3, 8 τῷ ἐλαχιστοτέρῳ πάντων. Math. 8, 12 (& 28, 13) εἰς τὸ σκότος τὸ ἐξώτερον. Gr. Urk. Berlin 332 (†II-III<sup>rd</sup>), 4 ὁ μοι πάντων ἐστὶν ἀναγκαϊότερον. Hermas Mand. 10, 2 ἡ λύπη πάντων τῶν πνευμάτων πονηροτέρα ἐστὶ καὶ δεινотάτη. Athen. 3, 247 πάντων καρπῶν ὠφελιμώτερα. Heron. Geom. (ed. Hultsch.) 47 πάντων δὲ τῶν μέτρων ἐλαχιστότερόν ἐστι δάκτυλος. Macar. 524 B (κῶρη) πλουσιωτέρα ὑπὲρ πάσας. (Cp. Justin. 757 B φαεινότερος μᾶλλον τῶν ἡλίου δυνάμεων.) Eunap. 44, 7 ἡσυχία μυστηρίων ἀπάντων σταθερωτέρα. Theodos. Can. in Bekk. An. iii. 1187 τὸ ἰσχυρότερον ὑπάρχον πάντων τῶν φωνηέντων.

514<sup>b</sup>. This misapplication which was undoubtedly due to the influence of popular speech, has spread ever since and ultimately established itself in *N* as the absolute norm (cp. Kühner-Blass i. 574 *ἔξω*), the relative superlative being now formed, as in the Romanic languages, by the comparative preceded by the article.

515. The various modes of forming the comparison, explained above (483-491. 511-514<sup>b</sup>), may be summed up as under, where *A* σφόδρα, πάνυ, ὅγαν, λίαν, πάντας, and πολύ (490), are replaced in *N* by πολλά (518):

Positive	<i>A</i> - <i>N</i> σοφός 'wise'	ταπεινός 'humble'	φανερός 'clear'	στέργων 'content'
Comp. 1	<i>A</i> - <i>N</i> σοφώτερος	ταπεινότερος	φανερώτερος	
" 2	<i>A</i> - <i>P</i> μᾶλλον σοφός	μᾶλλον ταπεινός	μᾶλλον φανερός	μᾶλλον στέργων
"	<i>P</i> - <i>N</i> πλέον "	πλέον "	πλέον "	πλέον "
"	<i>M</i> - <i>N</i> πλειά "	πλειά "	πλειά "	(459)
Sup. a.	absolute <i>A</i> - <i>N</i> σοφώτατος	ταπεινότατος	φανερώτατος	
"	" <i>A</i> - <i>P</i> πάνυ &c. σοφός	πάνυ &c. ταπεινός	πάνυ &c. φανερός	πάνυ &c. στέργων
"	" <i>N</i> πολλά "	πολλά "	πολλά "	(no part. in use)
" b.	relative <i>A</i> - <i>M</i> σοφώτατος	ταπεινότατος	φανερώτατος	
"	<i>A</i> - <i>M</i> μάλιστα σοφός	μάλιστα ταπεινός	μάλιστα φανερός	μάλιστα στέργων
"	( <i>G</i> - <i>N</i> ) ὁ + empr.	ὁ + empr.	ὁ + empr.	ὁ + empr.

## ADVERBS OF MANNER.

516. Adverbs of *manner*, derived from adjectives (denominative adverbs) end in -ως. (1102.) This ending corresponds, in form and accent, to the genitive plural of the respective adjective.

κακός 'bad'	G. Pl. κακῶν, adv. κακῶς 'badly'
δικαίος 'just'	" " δικαίων, " δικαίως 'justly'
ἀπλοῦς 'simple'	" " ἀπλῶν, " ἀπλῶς 'simply'
πᾶς 'whole'	" " πάντων, " πάντως 'wholly'
σαφής 'clear'	" " σαφῶν, " σαφῶς 'clearly'
ταχύς 'quick'	" " ταχείων, " ταχέως 'quickly'
εὐδαίμων 'happy'	" εὐδαιμόνων, " εὐδαιμόνως 'happily'

516<sup>b</sup>. a. So too ἄλλως 'otherwise,' οὕτως 'so,' διαφερόντως 'pre-eminently,' εἰκότως 'apparently,' ὄντως 'indeed.'

517. b. In *A* the adverb of ἀγαθός 'good' is εὖ (not ἀγαθῶς) 'well.'

518. Denominative adverbs in -ως are frequently replaced by the neuter of the corresponding adjective in the accusative singular or (oftener) plural, as:

ταχύ (for ταχέως) 'speedily,' 'soon'; μικρόν & μικρά 'shortly,' μόνον 'only,' τόσον 'so much,' πολύ & πολλά (515) 'very,' μέγα & μεγάλα

'greatly,' μακρὰ 'long,' συχνὰ 'frequently' (1185. 1266 ff. cp. RKühner ii. 270 A. 11); so ὅξεα, ἐλεεινά, πυκνά, ἀλφινῖδια, ἀκάματα, ἀσυνετα, etc.—Many other A-P examples in ΔΜαυροφρύδης 684.

518<sup>b</sup>. Such adverbial neuters, owing to their very familiar endings, their convenient accentuation, and, above all, owing to the presence of a similar (neutral) ending in the superlative (519. 1267), met with popular favour as early as pre-Attic antiquity<sup>[1]</sup>, but especially since A times forcing its way even into Atticistic compositions (WSchmid ii. 36), and gradually prevailed over the regular adverbs. Hence the present phenomenon in N, that adverbs of all three degrees of comparison, with a few exceptions in -ως (as καλῶς 'well,' ἀλλοίως 'otherwise,' δίχως 'without,' ἴσως 'perhaps,' ὡς, καθὼς, 'as,' 'like'), are always identical with the accusative plural of their corresponding neuter adjectives (522; cp. ΔΜαυροφρύδης 684 f.), as: καλά, κακά, πλούσια, χαμηλά, πολλά, μεγάλα, τόσα, καλλίτερα, χαμηλότερα, etc.

**519. Adverbs derived from adjectives borrow for their—**

*Comparative* the acc. neuter singular of the adjective;

<i>Superlative</i>	"	"	plural	"	"	as :
σοφῶς 'wisely'			σοφώτερον			σοφώτατα
σαφῶς 'clearly'			σαφίστερον			σαφίστατα
ἡδῶς 'gladly'			ἡδιον			ἡδιστα
χαριέντως 'gracefully'			χαριέστερον			χαριίστατα
καλῶς 'beautifully'			κάλλιον			κάλλιστα
κακῶς 'badly'			χείριον			χείριστα
ταχέως 'speedily'			θᾶττον			τάχιστα
So εὖ 'well' (517)			ἄμεινον			ἄριστα
μᾶλα 'very'			μᾶλλον			μάλιστα.

519<sup>b</sup>. For θᾶττον or θάσσον Puses τάχιον and after it βράδιον. (Cp. Phryn. 58 τάχιον οἱ Ἕλληνες οὐ λέγουσι, θᾶττον δέ. 59 βράδιον καὶ τοῦτο Ἡσιόδου μὲν λέγει, 'βράδιον δὲ Πανελλήνεσσι φαίνει,' Πλάτων δὲ καὶ Θουκυδίδης καὶ οἱ δόκιμοι βραδύτερον. Moeris 332 τάχιον οὐ λέγεται παρ' Ἀττικοῖς, ἀλλὰ θᾶττον.)

520. Some adverbs form their comparative also in -τέρως, after the positive (516 f.), as :

(εὐρέως 'broadly')	εὐρυτέρως	beside	εὐρύτερον
(γελοῖως 'ridiculously')	γελοιότερως	"	γελοιότερον
(ἀσφαλῶς 'safely')	ἀσφαλεστέρως	"	ἀσφαλέστερον.

520<sup>b</sup>. So too ἐλασσύνως beside ἔλασσον, κρεισσύνως beside κρείσσον, καλλιώνως beside κάλλιον, ἀληθεστέρως, περισσotέρως, etc. (καλλίστως Great Louvre Pap. 2443 & 2465).

521. Another popular mode of forming the superlative of adverbs is resorted to, since G, by simply repeating the positive (513), as: πολὺ=πλείστον, ταχύ=τάχιστα. This kind of periphrasis is now very common in N, as :

πρῶτ' πρῶτ Sept. Ex. 16, 21; so too Theoph. Cont. 694, 7. σφόδρα σφόδρα Sept. Gen. 7, 19. ταχύ ταχύ Great Louvre Pap. 35 f. & 85. ἡδὴ ἡδὴ, ταχύ ταχύ ib. 123, and often; so too Cleemans 13, 19, also 3, etc. λέγε σιγῇ σιγῇ λόγον Great Louvre Pap. 573 & 582; ἄρτι ἄρτι, ἡδὴ ἡδὴ, ταχύ ταχύ ib. 973 & 1593; 1245. even thrice σιγῇ σιγῇ σιγῇ ib. 557-8. Gr. Pap. Br. Mus. 95 (†IV)

[1] Compare the frequent use of πολλά as adverb even in Homer, as: Σ 434 πολλά μάλ' οὐκ ἐθέλουσα. E 358 πολλά λισσομένη. Aesch. Fr. 45 πολλά μισθθεῖσα χειρωναξία. Ag. 1295 ᾧ πολλά μὲν τάλαινα, πολλά δ' αὖ σοφή. Soph. Ant. 1046 οἱ πολλά δεινοί.

COMPARISON OF ADVERBS OF MANNER. [521-524.

330; 99, 473 f. etc. Apophth. 321 Δ ποιμὴν ἄνω ἄνω εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἐγὼ δὲ κάτω κάτω εἰς τὴν γῆν. Theoph. 183, 20 ἄρτι ἄρτι. MGlycas 117 & 135 ὅπου ὅπου (so ποῦ ὅπου καὶ ὅπου) 'soon'; IStaph. 178 καλὰ καλὰ, etc.

522. As observed above (518 ff. cp. 1185 f. & 1266 f.), all denominative adverbs in *N*, whether in the positive, comparative, or superlative, end in -a, thus being identical with the accusative neuter plural, as:

δυνατά 'strongly'	δυνατότερα	πολλὰ δυνατά (cp. 518 <sup>b</sup> )
ταπεινά 'humbly'	ταπεινότερα	πολλὰ ταπεινά
ἀπλὰ 'simply'	ἀπλότερα	πολλὰ ἀπλὰ
βαρεὰ 'heavily'	βαρύτερα	πολλὰ βαρεὰ
καλὰ 'well'	καλύτερα -λλίτερα (505)	πολλὰ καλὰ
"	& κάλλιο, also κάλλια	
	or καλλιὰ	
κακά 'badly'	κακώτερα	πολλὰ κακά
"	χειρότερα (χερώτ- 40)	

522<sup>b</sup>. So πολλά 'much'; empr. πλειά, πλέο (Otranto) and πλειό, recent and uncommon πειδ or πιδ (cp. Italian *più*), πλειότερα or περισσύτερα; sup. (πολλά) περίσσι(ι)α (for πολλά πολλά 521).

522<sup>c</sup>. For adverbs in -οντα 'see 822 f. & 1102<sup>b</sup>.

523. Original adverbs of *place*, whether ending in -ω (-τέρω) or otherwise, retain that ending in the comparative and superlative also.

ἄνω 'above'	ἀνωτέρω	ἄνωτάτω
κάτω 'below'	κατωτέρω	κατωτάτω
ἔξω 'without'	ἐξωτέρω	ἐξωτάτω
ἔσω 'within'	ἑσωτέρω	ἑσωτάτω
ἐνδον 'within' (P)	ἐνδοτέρω	ἐνδοτάτω
(ἀπὸ or ἀπὼ? 'from')	ἀπωτέρω 'farther'	ἀπωτάτω
πέρα 'beyond'	περαιτέρω 'further'	---
ἐγγύς 'near'	ἐγγυτέρω	ἐγγυτάτω
	ἐγγύτερον	ἐγγύτατα
	(also ἐγγιον <sup>[1]</sup> )	(also ἐγγιστα)
πλησίον 'near'	πλησιαιτέρω & -αίτερον	
{ πόρρω 'far'	πορρωτέρω	πορρωτάτω
{ πρῶσω & πόρσω	προσωτέρω	προσωτάτω & -ύτατα.

524. As far as they still survive, the above local adverbs form, since *T*, their comparative by prefixing the preposition παρα- 'further' (cp. ὑπέρ 1615 ff.). This formation is also followed by some other kindred adverbs (cp. ancient παρακατιών; παρακάτω Apophth. 261 A & C, παρέκει ib. 157 C & 158 A. παράνω Leont. Neap. V. J. 82, 7).

ἄνω 'above'	comp. παράνω (for ὑπεράνω or ἀνωτέρω)
κάτω 'below'	" παρακάτω (for κατωτέρω)
ἔξω 'without'	" παρέξω or παραέξω (for ἐξωτέρω)
(ὄξω [Crete]) 'without'	" παρόξω (for ἐξωτέρω)
ἔσω 'within'	" παρέσω or παραέσω
πέρα 'beyond'	" παραπέρα (for προσωτέρω)
ἐκεῖ 'there'	" παρέκει, also παρκειῖ (for περαιτέρω)
ἐμπρός (or ὀμπρός) 'before'	" παρεμπρός or παραμπρός (150, c)
ὀπίσω 'behind'	" παροπίσω or παραπίσω (150, a)
(ὠδε 'here' Δ)	" παρῶδε 'nearer here' (Crete, 564)
" "	" ἐ]πῶδε 'hither' (Crete).

[<sup>1</sup>] Phryn. 265 ἐγγιον ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐγγύτερον μὴ λέγε, ἀλλ' ἐγγύτερον.

## PRONOUNS.

525.

## PERSONAL PRONOUNS.

1st Person.			2nd Person.		
	Emphatic (orthotone)	unemphatic (tonoclitic)		emphatic (orthotone)	unemphatic (tonoclitic)
Sing. N.	ἐγώ 'I'	—	σύ 'thou'	—	
A.	ἐμέ	με	σέ	σε	
G.	ἐμοῦ	μου	σοῦ	σου	
D.	ἐμοί	μοι	σοί	σοι	
Du. N.A.	ὡς [1]		σφῶ		
G.D.	ὡψιν [1]		σφῶν		
Pl. N.	ἡμεῖς 'we'	—	ὕμεῖς 'you'	—	
A.	ἡμᾶς	ἡμας	ὕμας	ὑμας	
G.	ἡμῶν	ἡμων	ὕμῶν	ὕμων	
D.	ἡμῖν	ἡμιν	ὕμιν	ὕμιν.	
3rd Person.					
	emphatic (orthotone)	unemphatic (tonoclitic)		emphatic (orthotone)	unemphatic (tonoclitic)
	(αὐτός, ό, ή) 'he, it, she'	—			
	αὐτόν, ό, ήν	αὐτον, ην, ο			
	αὐτοῦ, do., ης	αὐτου, ης, ου			
	αὐτῷ, do., ή	αὐτω, η, φ			
	αὐτῷ, do. (or α)				
	αὐτοῖν do. (or αὐν)				
	(αὐτοί, ά, αί) 'they'	—			
	αὐτούς, ά, άς	αὐτους, α, ας			
	αὐτῶν	αὐτων			
	αὐτοῖς, do., αίς	αὐτοῖς, do., αῖς.			

525<sup>b</sup>. The accentuation ἐμοί (μοί) and σοί instead of ἑμοί (μοί) and σοί, seems to rest on the theory that, unless proceeding from contraction, final -οι and -αι count short (20<sup>b</sup>). As to οἱ ubi and οἱκοι, their quantity and accent were probably suggested by ποί, πανταχοί, ἱσθμοί, etc.

526. Besides the 3rd person as given above, there is another form used in the *oblique* cases: Sing. A. εἰ, G. οὗ, D. οἷ, — Pl. A. σφᾶς, G. σφῶι, D. σφίσιν. This by-form, however, is found chiefly in archaic and poetic Greek, while A does not use it except in the plural and dative singular. On the whole, it may be questioned whether this form was current even in A speech seeing that it disappears from the inscriptions as early as 395 B.C. (Cp. KMeisterhans<sup>2</sup> 120 & Kühner-Blass i. 595-8).

[526<sup>b</sup>. Moeris 310 σφεῖς Ἀττικῶς, αὐτοί Ἑλληνες. σφίσιν Ἀττικῶς, αὐτοῖς Ἑλληνες. σφῶν Ἀττικῶς, αὐτοῖς Ἑλληνες. σφᾶς Ἀττικῶς, αὐτοῖς Ἑλληνες.]

527. The *emphatic* forms, which generally are lengthier or fuller, occur through all the cases, and are always *accented*. On the other

[1] Moeris 244 ὡς δὲ οὐκ Ἀττικῶς, ἡμεῖς Ἑλληνικῶς. ὡψιν μὴ συνεκφρανομένην του ι, ἡμῖν.

hand, the *unemphatic* forms are wanting in the nominative and bear no individual stress, but are (or ought to be) treated as ordinary tonoclitics. 94<sup>b</sup>. 97, *b*. 102. (Cp. Kühner-Blass i. 339-340, & 501-502.)

**528.** The *emphatic* forms are used when emphasis or antithesis is aimed at, as:

ἐγὼ λέγω 'it is *thee* I mean.' οὐκ ἐμοὶ ἀλλὰ τοὶ ἀρέσκει, 'it pleases not *me* but *thee*.' Xen. An. i. 14, 16 ἐγὼ μὲν ἤδη ὑμᾶς ἐπαίνω ὅπως δὲ καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐμὲ ἐπαινέσετε ἐμοὶ μελήσει.

**528<sup>b</sup>.** The *emphatic* forms are also generally used after prepositions, because these words are proclitic, as: ἐπ' ἐμοί 'on *me*'; μετὰ σέ 'after *thee*'; περὶ ὑμῶν 'on *you*'; μετ' αὐτοῦ 'with *him*'; πρὸς αὐτοὺς 'to *them*';—but πρὸς με 'to *me*.'

**529.** The *emphasis* is still more intensified by adding the enclitic particle *γε*, as: ἐγὼ γε, σύ γε, ἐμέ γε, ἐμοί γε, ἐμοὺ γε—ἡμεῖς γε.

**529<sup>b</sup>.** Owing to their very frequent use in answers (205<sup>8</sup>), the two combinations ἐγὼ γε (scil. οἶμαι, ἡγοῦμαι, δοκῶ, νομίζω) and ἐμοί γε (scil. δοκεῖ) were gradually weakened to standing adverbial phrases ἐγῶγε and ἐμοίγε (Hdn. ii. 24, etc.), in which the recessive accent was probably suggested by the synonymous terms μάλα γε, πάνυ γε (cp. the vocative also 257<sup>b</sup>). We must therefore distinguish between the *emphatic* pronoun ἐγὼγε *I* and the adverb ἐγῶγε *yes*, and not write, as is commonly done, ἐγῶγε for either case. JWackernagel's theory (Beiträge z. Lehre d. Gr. Akzents, 1893, p. 19), which assumes ἐγῶγε to be the original and ἐμέγε an hysterogeneous complex, is too speculative and improbable, since it gives ἐγῶγε—a late (mere *A*) formula—a much greater age than it does to the simple form ἐμέ with its very old derivative ἐμός, and moreover leaves unexplained why there is no such analogue of ἐγῶγε as \*ἡμεῖοιγε, \*αὐμοιγε, \*αὐτοοιγε, \*ἐγε, seeing that these pronominal forms are surely very old. (Cp. also HHirt 33.)

**530.** That the *unemphatic* or *enclitic* forms of the personal pronouns in all three persons were uttered rapidly and without any stress even in antiquity, is expressly stated by ancient authorities. (HChandler<sup>3</sup> 944-957; Kühner-Blass i. 339-340 & 591; cp. M 204 κόψε γὰρ αὐτον [sic] ἔχοντα. Charax in Bekk. An. 1153; Apoll. Pron. 41 c; Hdn. ap. Schol. Ven. M 204.) Their tonoclitic nature and the presence of monosyllabic beside disyllabic forms, even in early antiquity (ἐμέ με, ἐμοῦ μου, ἐμοί μοι, cp. τινος του, τινι τῷ; then μιν, ἐ, οὐ, οἱ, σφας, σφῶν, σφισι'), affected the rest and have thus reduced, since *G*, all *unemphatic* forms to uniform monosyllables, the process beginning with αὐτον, the commonest of all (cp. 1399 f.). In this way αὐτου was shortened to του (after μου, σου; cp. also the article τοῦ), αὐτης to της, αὐτον to τον, αὐτο to το, αὐτην to την, αὐτους to τους, αὐτα to τα, αὐτας to τας (still later res 561), αὐτων to των (still later τως 534). That this process was furthered also by the associated and kindred article (τόν, τό, τήν, τοῦ, τῆς, τοῖς, τά, τάς, τῶν) is obvious, since all these reduced forms have become uniform with the corresponding forms of the article (cp. 546).

CIG 8634 (after 557<sup>+</sup>), 5 τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ. ib. 7 τῆς συζύγου τοῦ Θεοδώρου. CWessely Prol. 63 (†618) φιλοσώφου μων. Mal. 281, 1 στράσας τῆν (v. l. αὐτὴν) διὰ μολίτου λίθου. Porph. Cer. 295, 10 πολλά των τὰ ἔτη. So too 295, 15. Alchem. 36, 11 ὁ θεός το ἐδωκεν διὰ τοὺς πτωχοὺς. 317, 7 ἔπειτα λαβάν το. 324, 13 ἐάν το ἔχουσιν. 326, 23 νά το ποιήσης βαθύ. 328, 19 καὶ πάλιν το βάνε. 330, 1 ff. ἔπαρον δόημιν . . . χύσε το βάλε το, σύρε το μίαν φοράν, βάλε τογ στεφάνιν; etc. etc.—So too in Prodr. Span. Glycas, etc. (cp. ELegrand Bibl. ii. p. 21, 107 δς τα κρατῇ μετὰ της), and ever since passim.



an inscription of Roman times [PCauer Del.<sup>3</sup> 224], and is sometimes reduced to *ἐτός* [cp. *τραυλός*, *Ν τρευλός*, *τρελός*], also *ἐτος*, and which owes its initial *ἐ-* to *ἐγώ*, *ἐσύ*, *ἐκεῖνος* (532. 572), is also common, especially in insular speech, and corresponds in use to *αὐτός*.—The third, *ἀτός*, has been in popular use since *G* (cp. JWackernagel in KZ 1893, 7; *τάτο* UWilken in *Hermes* 28, 417, +II<sup>nd</sup>). But while still preserving its *A* force in Pontos (also in Icaros and elsewhere), it has generally become determinative, like *A αὐτός*: 'self.' It is now almost always (1423, *b*) followed by the enclitic genitive of the appropriate personal pronoun (546), as: *ἀτός μου* 'myself,' *ἀτός σου* 'thyself,' *ἀτός του* 'himself,' *ἀτή της* 'herself,' *ἀτοί μας* 'ourselves'; *ἀτός του δ βασιλεῆς* or *δ βασιλεῆς ἀτός του* 'the king himself.'—*Ἀπατός* has a similar use but is more emphatic (547. 549).—The last, *\*τός*, which, owing to its unemphatic nature, is not required in the nominative (cp. 1164), supplies the unemphatic oblique cases of the 3rd person, and is always used as a tonoclitic (1423, *c*).

543. Occasionally *\*τός* is heard in the colloquial expressions *νά τος* 'there he is,' and *πού 'ν' τος* 'where is he'? These phrases, however, are far more popular and commoner in the form *νά τον'* (also *ἐν τον'*, in South Italian Greek *ἐν τό*), where *ἐν* and *ἐν* point to Latin *en*=*idē*, *idōu*, and *πού 'ν' τον'*, both being apparently due to the analogy of the current phrase (*γεια*) *ιδέ τον'* 'see him,' 'look at him.' Now as the enclitic *τον* is inconvenient owing to its final *ν* (218-219), it had to be either amplified into *τονε* (536), or altered instead to *\*τός* (534), namely *νά τονε*, *πού 'ν' τονε*, or *νά τος*, *πού 'ν' τος*. That *τος* is a modified accusative and not a nominative, is further shown by the fact that it never appears as subject in the sentence—in that case it would resume its full form *αὐτός* or *εὐτός*—and that the above phrases, when turned into the plural, run thus: *νά τογς*, *πού 'ν' τογς*, never *νά τοι*, *πού 'ν' τοι*.

## REFLEXIVE PRONOUNS.

544. The reflexive pronouns which, owing to the nature of the case, are reflexive only in the oblique cases, are composed of *αὐτός* and the personal pronouns *ἐμέ*, *σέ*, and *ἐ* (526) used as prefixes. In the plural of the 1st and 2nd person each component is declined separately.

'myself'		'thyself'	
Sing. [N. <i>ἐγὼ αὐτός</i> , -ή]		[ <i>σὺ αὐτός</i> , -ή]	
A. <i>ἐμαντόν</i> -ήν		<i>σ(ε)αυτόν</i> , -ήν	
G. <i>ἐμαντοῦ</i> -ῆς		<i>σ(ε)αυτοῦ</i> , -ῆς	
D. <i>ἐμαντῷ</i>		<i>σ(ε)αυτῷ</i> , -ῇ	
'ourselves'		'yourselves'	
Pl. [N. <i>ἡμεῖς αὐτοί</i> , -αί]		[ <i>ὑμεῖς αὐτοί</i> , αἱ]	
A. <i>ἡμᾶς αὐτούς</i> , — <i>αὐτάς</i>		<i>ὑμᾶς αὐτούς</i> , — <i>αὐτάς</i>	
G. <i>ἡμῶν αὐτῶν</i>		<i>ὑμῶν αὐτῶν</i>	
D. <i>ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς</i> , — <i>αὐταῖς</i>		<i>ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς</i> , — <i>αὐταῖς</i>	
'himself'		'themselves'	
[ <i>αὐτὸς οὗτος</i> ]		[ <i>αὐτοὶ οὗτοι</i> ]	
(ἐ)αὐτόν, -ό, -ήν		(ἐ)αὐτούς, -ά, -άς; also <i>σφᾶς αὐτούς</i> , <i>αὐτάς</i>	
(ἐ)αὐτοῦ, do., -ῆς		(ἐ)αὐτῶν, also <i>σφῶν αὐτῶν</i>	
(ἐ)αὐτῷ, do., -ῇ		(ἐ)αὐτοῖς, do., -αῖς; also <i>σφίσιν αὐτοῖς</i> , <i>αὐταῖς</i> .	

545. The 2nd and 3rd persons occur both in the full and in the contracted forms, namely *σεαυτὸν* and *σαντόν*, (*ἐ*)*αὐτόν*, (*ἐ*)*αὐτούς*, etc. (150, c).

546. The inconvenience of the cumbersome plural *ἡμᾶς αὐτούς*, *ὕμᾶς αὐτούς*, *σφᾶς αὐτούς*, *ἡμῶν αὐτῶν*, *ὕμῶν αὐτῶν*, *σφῶν αὐτῶν*, *ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς*, *ὕμῖν αὐτοῖς*, *σφίσιν αὐτοῖς*, as compared with the short forms (*ἐ*)*αὐτόν*, (*ἐ*)*αὐτούς*, (*ἐ*)*αὐτὸν*, (*ἐ*)*αὐτοῖς*, was so much felt even in classical antiquity (cp. *δοῦν*, *δοῦναι*, *δοῖς*, *δοῖναι*, for *δοῦναις*, etc. 610), that even Aeschylus, Plato, Isocrates, Demosthenes, Xenophon, and others occasionally (*A* inscriptions regularly since 400 B.C. cp. KMeisterhans<sup>1</sup> 120) substitute the more serviceable form (*ἐ*)*αὐτοῖς* etc. for the corresponding cases of the 1st and 2nd persons. P writers, influenced by popular speech, went still further in this direction, so that Polybios knows no longer any other plural form than *ἐαυτούς* (FKalker 277; Kühner-Blass i. 599), while in NT Greek both the plural and singular forms (*ἐ*)*αὐτόν* and (*ἐ*)*αὐτούς* stand also for the 1st and 2nd persons, when this does not involve ambiguity (GBWiner, 187). In the further process of time the use of (*ἐ*)*αὐτόν* became still more universal and ultimately obtained almost exclusive currency in the popular language. At the same time, the emphatic form *ἐαυτὸν* very often appears in *G* popular speech (since 74 B.C.) in the reduced by-form *ἐατὸν* (JWackernagel adduces fifty instances in KZ xiii. 5-8 & 61; cp. also CIA iv. 630 b (34 B.C.), 19; Gr. Urk. Berlin 197 [+18], 5 *ἐατῆς*; 22 *ἐαταῖς*; 183 [+85], 3 *ἐατοῦ*; 6 *ἐατῆ*; 29 *ἐατῆς*, etc.; cp. KMeisterhans<sup>2</sup> 121, 5 & 122, 11)—and this popular by-form, in proportion as it became general, suffered abbreviation and weakening of meaning: that is *ἐατὸν* was reduced to *ἀτόν* (150, c). Now *δτόν* having lost its original force called for some compensation, and this was found first in annexing the genitive of the respective personal pronoun (1407<sup>b</sup>), and subsequently in prefixing to it the article also (542; cp. 530). Accordingly:—

	<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
1st pers.	<i>τὸν ἀτόν μου</i> <i>τὴν ἀτήν μου</i>	<i>τοὺς ἀτούς μας</i> <i>τὰς ἀτάς μας</i>
2nd pers.	<i>τὸν ἀτόν σου</i> <i>τὴν ἀτήν σου</i>	<i>τοὺς ἀτούς σας</i> <i>τὰς ἀτάς σα:</i>
3rd pers.	<i>τὸν ἀτόν του</i> <i>τὴν ἀτήν της</i>	<i>τοὺς ἀτούς των</i> <i>τὰς ἀτάς των.</i>

547. A second and perhaps more popular form of reflexive pronoun current since *M*, is *ἀπατός* (542) from *M* *ἀπαντός* (549), which is followed by the genitive of personal pronouns and in the oblique cases takes the article, as: *ἀπατός μου* 'myself,' *ἀπατός σου* 'yourself,' 'your honour';—*τὸν ἀπατόν μου*, *τὴν ἀπατήν μου*; *τὸν ἀπατόν σου*, *τὴν ἀπατήν σου*; *τὸν ἀπατόν του*, *τὴν ἀπατήν της*—Pl. *τοὺς ἀπατούς μας*, *τοὺς ἀπατούς σας*, *τοὺς ἀπατούς των*. (Cp. Pl. Phaed. 258A τὸν ἐλατὸν δὴ λέγων καὶ ἐγκωμιάζων.)

548. On the other hand, *ἐαυτόν* and *ἐμαυτόν* are occasionally met with in post-Christian inscriptions for the 2nd and 3rd persons (SSterret i. 247, no. 278, 5), and this practice is common in *M* compositions (as ABC 22, 2 *τὸν ἐμαυτόν μου* 'my own self,' NSophianos 79). These forms are still often heard in popular speech, but their present usage is probably due to the influence of the literary style.

549. Another intensive form of the reflexive pronoun was anciently effected by the repetition of *αὐτός*, namely *αὐτός αὐτόν* (rather *αὐτόν*), *αὐτός αὐτούς*, etc., which subsequently coalesced into the compound *αὐταυτός* (Kühner-Blass, i. 600; cp. *ἀλλήλους* and *ἐμαυτόν*). If this clumsy form was actually current in the common language one might feel tempted to see a survival of it in the *N* *ἀπατός* (547): \**ἀφατατός*: \**ἀφατός*: *ἀπατός*, which is the genuine reflexive pronoun in present popular speech (more genuine than *ἐαυτόν*, 548). In reality, however, *ἀπατός* is identical with *M* and present (chiefly northern) *ἀπαντός*, that is *αὐτός* curiously strengthened by the prefix *ἀπο-* (547).

RECIPROCAL PRONOUN.

550. The reciprocal pronoun *each-other* which, owing to the nature of its meaning, has no singular, is formed in Greek from ἄλλος repeated in due form : ἄλλος ἄλλον, ἄλλοι ἄλλους 'one another' and fused with dissimilation to ἀλλήλους.

Plur. A. ἀλλήλους	ἀλληλα	ἀλλήλας	Dual ἀλλήλω
G. ἀλλήλων	← =	← =	ἀλλήλοιν
D. ἀλλήλοισι	← =	ἀλλήλαις	"

550<sup>b</sup>. For *N* see 1410-1413.

POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS.

551. (1) Unemphatic : 'my' :—

ὁ, τό, ἡ—οἱ, τά, αἱ . . . μου	σου	αὐτοῦ	αὐτῆς
ὁ, τό, ἡ—οἱ, τά, αἱ . . . ἡμῶν	ὑμῶν	αὐτῶν	αὐτῶν (or -ων)

552. So still in *N* with this difference that the monosyllabic (tonoclitic) forms του, της, των, μας, σας (525. 538) are substituted for the disyllabic αὐτοῦ (or rather -ου), αὐτῆς(-ης), αὐτῶν(-ων), ἡμῶν(-ων), ὑμῶν(-ων).

553. (2) Emphatic, also reflexive : 'my,' 'my own.'

(ὁ) ἐμός, ὄν, ἡ	σός, ὄν, ἡ
(ὁ) ἡμέτερος, ὄν, α	ὑμέτερος, ὄν, α

554. Also ἴδιος, ὄν, α 'own' for all persons (556), which form *T-M* has modified to ἰδικός μου, and finally to the more popular ἐ]δικός (130).

554<sup>b</sup>. On the other hand, the *A* forms ἐμός σός ἡμέτερος seem to linger still in Pontos and Cappadocia. Thus the Trapezuntian dialect uses τεμὸν for 'my,' τεσὸν for 'thine,' ἐ]μέτερος for 'our,' σέτερος for 'thine,' and even ἐ]κεινέτερος for 'their.'

555. (3) Reflexive : 'my own.'

ὁ, τό, ἡ—οἱ, τά, αἱ . . . ἐμαντοῦ, ἡς	
σεαντοῦ, ἡς	
ἐαυτοῦ, ἡς	
ὁ, τό, ἡ—οἱ, τά, αἱ . . . ἡμέτερος (αὐτῶν)	
ὑμέτερος (αὐτῶν)	
ἐαυτῶν, also σφέτερος αὐτῶν.	

556. Instead of ἡμέτερος (ὑμέτερος) αὐτῶν, the forms ἡμῶν (ὑμῶν) αὐτῶν are also used. Moreover the adjective ἴδιος, ὄν, α (sometimes also οἰκέιος) 'own,' may stand for all persons. See 1416 f.

557. (4) Both reflexive and emphatic (1416) : 'my very own.'

ὁ ἴδιος ἐμαντοῦ	ὁ ἴδιος σεαντοῦ	ὁ ἴδιος ἐαυτοῦ
(& ὁ ἐμός ἴδιος	ὁ σός ἴδιος	" " " )
οἱ ἡμέτεροι ἴδιοι	οἱ ὑμέτεροι ἴδιοι	οἱ σφέτεροι ἴδιοι
		or οἱ ἴδιοι (σφῶν) αὐτῶν

557<sup>b</sup>. For more particulars and examples see 1414-7.

## DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS.

558. Demonstrative pronouns are current in *A* Greek:—

1. *ὁ, τό, ἡ* 'this'
2. *ὅδε, τόδε, ἧδε* 'this . . . (here)'
3. *αὐτός, αὐτό, αὐτή* 'this'
4. *οὗτος, τοῦτο, αὕτη* 'this'
5. *ἐκεῖνος, ἐκεῖνο, ἐκεῖνη* 'that.'

559. 1. *ὁ, τό, ἡ*, the oldest, simplest, and weakest of all demonstrative pronouns, had even prior to *A* lost its demonstrative force and become a mere definite article.

For its form and inflection see 250; for its history and use 1195-1241.

560. All masculine and neuter forms of the article still fully survive in *N*; so too those of the feminine gender except the nom. plural *αἱ*, which still lingers only in Otranto, while everywhere else it has been changed to *ἡ*, that is *οἱ* (if not *ἡ* [sometimes misspelt *η*] after *ἡ τήν τῆς*, cp. 561). This new feminine plural made its appearance first in *M* compositions, but must have been earlier in popular use.

FTrench. 155 *ἡ σικέαις*. Prodr. 6, 374 *ἡ ψείρες*. Chron. Mor. Prol. *οἱ ἀρχόντισσες, οἱ σάρκες*. K. 1059 *ἡ συμφωνιαῖς*. 4631 *ἡ ἐκκλησίαις*. Belth. 202 *οἱ συγγενίδες μου, γυναῖκες ἰδικές σας*. 603 *ἴσαντο καὶ οἱ τρεῖς (ῥαῖες)*; 701 *οἱ χάριτες*, etc. Pul 45 *ἡ σάρκες*. 51 *ἡ εὐγενίδες ὄλαις*,—and so on ever since. (Cp. NSophianos 37 *ἡ εὐθεία* [i. e. nom.] *τῶν θηλυκῶν πληθυντικῶν οἱ*.)

561. A further departure from ancient Greek is the change of *τάς*, since the XII<sup>th</sup>, first to *τὰς* (some write *ταῖς* or *ταῖς*, NSophianos 37 *ἡ αἰτιατικῇ* [i. e. accus. pl.] *τῶν θηλυκῶν ταῖς*) through the influence of the homophonous nominal ending *-es* (332<sup>b</sup>), (GSpata 90 [A.D. 1095] *εἰς ταῖς τρεῖς ἀπιδέαις*. 124 *ἀπὸ ταῖς κόγχαις*. Chron. Mor. Prol. 769 *τὰς αἰρέσεις*), then to *τῆς* (written also *τοῖς, τίς*), a change apparently due to the frequency of the *i*-sound in *ἡ, τήν, τῆς* (*τοῖς*), *οἱ*. This phenomenon, however, is still in process of evolution, and has not yet ousted the classical form *τάς*, nor its subsequent by-form *τές*. For the form *τὰς* still survives in several chiefly insular idioms (Chios, Rhodes, Icaros, Leros, Pontos).

562. Another still more recent change—since the †XV<sup>th</sup>—peculiar to some islands (Crete, Cyprus, etc.), consists in the change of the form *τῆς* to *τσῆ* through syncope (146), and epenthetics (131 f.). Thus *τῆς* (as representative of *τῆς* and *τάς*) became first *τ'ς*, then *τ'ς + i*, *τσῆ*, as: *τὸ ἀδερφῆς, τὸ ἀδερφῆς—τσῆ δούλας, τσῆ δούλες*. This double process soon affected the masculine accusative *τοὺς* also, thus producing *τῶι* (written *τσῆ, τσῆ, or τσῶι*), as: *τοὺς ἀδελφούς—τὸ ἀδερφούς; τσῆ (or τσῶι) γέρονς*. By the same process *τίσους* became *τῶποτσι* (Cretan *τίβοτσι*) 'something,' apparently also *M-N* *ἔτης* (sc. *λογῆς*), *ἔτ'ς*, then *ἔτσι* [cp. Spanish *así*] 'so' (as Istaph. 437. ABC 27, 6. 51, 3. 71, 5. 74, 6. 75, 4.) NSophianos 82 *κατοματικά ἐπιρρήματα ναί, ἔτζη, ναῖσκε, εἶπις, οὕτως*. (Cp. 573. 596[1].)

563. 2. *ὅδε, τόδε, ἧδε*, 'this (one) here' points to something *present* or *near*. It is simply the article *ὁ, τό, ἡ* (559), amplified by the addition of the intensive particle *ὅ* in its original form *δέ* (ΔΕ, 6. 1774<sup>b</sup> f.). The inflection and accentuation, therefore, are those of the article (250) with *-δε* annexed to each case.

Singular			Plural		
N. ὅδε	τόδε	ῥδε	οἷδε	τάδε	αἷδε
A. τόνδε	„	τήνδε	τούσδε	„	τάσδε
G. τοῦδε	← =	τῆσδε	τῶνδε	← =	← =
D. τῷδε	← =	τῇδε	τούσδε	← =	ταῖσδε

564. Owing to its abnormal inflection, this pronoun has not survived in *N*, the only form extant being ὁ τάδε (for the -s see 248 & 339) & τάδε ποῖός, τὸ τάδε & τάδε ποῖός, ἡ τάδε & τάδε ποῖά, used in the sense of δεινὰ (600) (cp. also the Cretan adverb παρῶδε 'nearer here,' πῶδε 'hither'; 524).

565. 3. Οὗτος, τοῦτο, αὕτη, 'this' (person or thing referred to), is also a lengthened and intensive form of the demonstrative article (559), and substantially follows its inflection.

Singular			Plural		
N. οὗτος	τοῦτο	αὕτη	οὗτοι	ταῦτα	αὗται
A. τοῦτον	„	ταύτην	τούτους	„	ταύτας
G. τούτου	← =	ταύτης	τούτων	← =	← =
D. τούτῳ	← =	ταύτῃ	τούτοις	← =	ταύταις.

M.	N.	F.
NA. τοῦτω	← =	← = (also ταύτα)
GD. τοῦτοι	← =	← = („ ταύται)

566. The initial complex *τουτ-*, occurring as it does through all the oblique cases (cp. also τοῖος, τοιοῦτος, τόσος, τῆλικούτος, τῆνος, and 589), seems to have been, ever since *A.* identified with the seat of deictic force. It was therefore extended to the few cases lacking it, and has thus produced the *N* forms τούτας, τούτοι, τούτη, τούτες (cp. the Doric form ταῦτοι, ταύτας, also τοι, ται), in Βοτὰ ταῦτο (from ταῦνο × ταῦτο). The uniformity thus effected can be traced, irrespective of the Doric form τούτοι, ταύτας (τοί), back to *P* times, as: τούτην Gr. Pap. Br. Mus. 38, 17 (B.C. 158-7).

567. In addition to its changes referred to, τούτος has been recently affected by the accentuation of its synonymous αὐτός (539), and thus assumed the following *N* inflection (578) :—

N. τούτος	τοῦτο	τούτη	τούτα	τούτα	τούτες
A. τοῦτο	„	τούτη	τούτους	„	„
G. { τούτου (570)	← =	τούτῃς	τούτῳ	← =	← =
{ τούτου-νοῦ	← =	τούτῃ-νης	τούτῳ-νώ	← =	← =

567<sup>b</sup>. Cp. CIA ii. 305, 16 [400 B.C.] & RWagner 109 τούτοι; CIG iv. 8683 πόλις ταύτη; Alchem. 38, 11 ἡ μαγνησία ἡ ὑελοφυγική ταύτη; 8702 ὁ πύργος τοῦτος. (Conversely οὗτη for τῇδε, GKabel 96, Attica; οὗτον Bull. Corr. Hell. 1880 p. 141, Tanagra.)

568. 3. Αὐτός, αὐτό, αὕτῃ 'this.' For its inflection see 525 & 538 f.; for its *P-N* history 542 f.; for its use 539 f. & 1418-23.

569. 5. Ἐκεῖνος, ἐκεῖνο, ἐκεῖνη 'that,' follows the inflection of αὐτός.

570. This demonstrative is fully preserved in *N*. But its association with αὐτός (542) has gone so far as to even affect their accentuation. Accordingly the genitive throughout, and the accusative plural masculine of ἐκεῖνος are accented both ways (567. 577), viz.

N. ἐκεῖνος	ἐκεῖνο	ἐκεῖνη	—ἐκεῖνοι	ἐκεῖνα	ἐκεῖνες
A. ἐκεῖνο	„	ἐκεῖνη	ἐκεῖνοῦς	„	„
G. ἐκεῖνοῦ	← =	ἐκεῖνῃς	ἐκεῖνώ	← =	← =

571. A syncopeated form *ἐκεῖός*, *ἐκεῖό*, *ἐκεῖά*, (cp. *ποιός*, *τέτοιος*) is sometimes heard in the Ionian and Tsaconic dialects; then *ἐείνος* in Pontos.

572. The initial *ἐ-* of *ἐκείνος*, associated with that of *ἐγώ*, *ἐμέ*, (*ἐσέ*, *ἐμεῖς*, etc. cp. 532), was mistaken for an intensive prefix, and thus has been transferred, since *G* (542), as such to kindred words, viz.

<i>εὔρος</i> (also <i>ἐρός</i> 542)	for and beside <i>αὐτός</i> (542)
<i>ἐτούτος</i> <sup>[1]</sup>	" " <i>τοῦτος</i>
<i>ἐτέτοιος</i>	" " <i>τέτοιος</i>
<i>ἐτόσος</i>	" " <i>τόσος</i>

For *ἐτοιος* see 584.

573. The process of intensification has gone even so far as to superadd *ἔδε* (575), a demonstrative and emphatic prefix abstracted by dissimilation from *ἔδε*, and current even in *M* speech (915), as: *ἔδετούτος* 'this very,' *ἔδεκείνος* 'that very,' *ἔδερόσος* 'so much indeed' (Prodr. 3, 432; 434; 441; 617. 4, 429; 433; 435; 441; 506; 617; 5, 73; 161. 6, 144; 266; 302 [cp. 4, 437 & 622]. MGlycas 269; 293; 311; Belth. 62; *ἔδεσαι* ABC 51, 8 (cp. 562)—and so on ever since.

574. Demonstrative pronouns are rendered more emphatic by annexing an accented *-ί* (*iota paragogicum*), which, owing to its strong stress, shortens a pre-tonic sonant and suppresses pre-tonic *α*, *ε*, *ο*, as: *οὔτοσί*, *αὐτήί*, *τουτοῦί*, *τουτί*, *ταυτί*; *ἐκείνοσί*, *ἐκείνωνί*; *ὀδί*, *τοισδί*. See 85<sup>d</sup>. App. i. 13 ff.

575. In *N* the demonstrative pronouns (*ἐτούτος* and *ἐκείνος* are often intensified by annexing a suffixal: *-έ* (analogous to prefixal *ἐ-* 572), and oftener *-α* (probably from *δα* [= *δή* ?] or rather *ἔδε* *νά* 573) which, however, bears only a secondary stress: *ἐτούτος-έ*, *ἐτούτος-α*. Should this suffix be preceded by a sonant, a *-ν* (formerly movable, 221) is inserted.

Sing. N. ( <i>ἐ</i> )τούτος-ά(ς)	( <i>ἐ</i> )τούτον-ά	( <i>ἐ</i> )τουτήν-ά	ἐκείνοσ-ά(ς)	ἐκείνον-ά	ἐκείνην-ά
A. ( <i>ἐ</i> )τούτον-ά	"	"	ἐκείνον-ά	"	"
G. ( <i>ἐ</i> )τούτων-ά	← =	( <i>ἐ</i> )τούτησ-ά(ς)	ἐκείνουσ-ά	← =	ἐκείνησ-ά(ς)
Pl. N. ( <i>ἐ</i> )τούτων-ά	( <i>ἐ</i> )τουταν-ά	( <i>ἐ</i> )τούτεσ-ά(ς)	ἐκείνοιν-ά	ἐκείναν-ά	ἐκείνεσ-ά(ς)
A. ( <i>ἐ</i> )τούτουσ-ά(ς)	"	"	ἐκείνουσ-ά(ς)	"	"
G. ( <i>ἐ</i> )τούταν-ά	← =	← =	ἐκείναν-ά	← =	← =
or ( <i>ἐ</i> )τούτοσ-έ(ς) ( <i>ἐ</i> )τούτον-έ ( <i>ἐ</i> )τούτήν-έ ἐκείνοσ-έ(ς) ἐκείνον-έ ἐκείνην-έ, etc.					

576. This intensive *-δ* having gradually lost its suffixal character, a final *-s* is generally superadded in those cases which would otherwise require it.

577. *N* *αὐτός* (*εὔρος*, 572; also *ἐρός* 542) is strengthened by repeating the terminal sonant in each case after having inserted *-ν* or rather incorporated the formerly movable *-ν* (221).

<i>αὐτόνος</i> <sup>[2]</sup>	<i>αὐτόνο</i>	<i>αὐτήνη</i> <sup>[2]</sup>	<i>αὐτόνοι</i>	<i>αὐτάνα</i>	( <i>αὐτένες</i> <sup>[2]</sup> )
<i>αὐτόνοσ</i>	"	<i>αὐτήνησ</i>	<i>αὐτόνούσ</i> <sup>[1]</sup>	"	"
<i>αὐτόνου</i>	← =	<i>αὐτήνης</i>	<i>αὐτόνω</i>	← =	← =

577<sup>b</sup>. So *εὔρόνο*, *εὔρήνη*, then *τούτος*, *τούτο*, *τούτη* (so even in NSophianos 78 f.). (Cp. 581.)

578. The double-accented forms occur with either accent (570), but the tendency is in favour of the ultima: *αὐτουνοῦ*, *αὐτηνῆς*, *αὐτουνοῦς*, *αὐτανῶσ* (also *αὐτουανῶν*, NSophianos 79), after the simple *αὐτός*. These intensified

<sup>[1]</sup> So even in Nomoc. 477; then IStaph. ii. 196; Pul. 225 *ἐτούτην*.

<sup>[2]</sup> In *αὐτόνος*, *αὐτήνης*, *αὐτόνους* (*αὐτένες*), *ποιανῆς*, *ἀλληνῆς*, *μιανῆς* for *\*αὐτόσ-ρος*, *\*αὐτήσνης*, *\*αὐτόσρους*, *\*αὐτίσνης*, *\*ποιασῆς*, *\*ἀλλασῆς*, *\*μιασῆς*, the *ν*, which was borrowed from the other cases, drove out the uncongenial *σ*.

<sup>[3]</sup> As: Pul. 326 *αὐτήνην*.

## 578-586.] DEMONSTRATIVE & INTERROGATIVE PRONOUNS.

forms have affected a few other short (monosyllabic or disyllabic) words, as :

ἀλλουνού	for and beside	ἀλλου,	ἀλληγῆς	for and beside	ἀλλης
τουτουνού (567)	" "	τούτου,	τουτανῶ <sup>[1]</sup>	" "	τούτω <sup>α</sup>
ποιουνού	" "	ποιού (155, c),	ποιωνῶ <sup>α</sup>	" "	ποιῶ <sup>α</sup>
ποιανῆς <sup>[2]</sup>	" "	ποιᾶς,	ποιανῶ <sup>α</sup>	" "	ποιῶ <sup>α</sup>

579. a. So too κάποιουνού, κάποιανού; κάποιανῶ<sup>α</sup>, κάποιανῶ<sup>α</sup>; further—

μανῆς <sup>[2]</sup>	for and beside	μᾶς,	μανού	for and beside	ἐνός
ἀλλανῶ <sup>α</sup>	" "	ἀλλαν <sup>α</sup> ,	τῶ <sup>α</sup> θυονῶ <sup>α</sup>	" "	τῶν δύο
	" "	"	τριανῶ <sup>α</sup>	" "	τριῶ <sup>α</sup>

580. b. Besides the accusatives αὐτόνο<sup>α</sup>, αὐτήνη<sup>α</sup>, there occur αὐτόνα, αὐτήνα<sup>α</sup> but the latter forms are due to other influences (535).

581. Amplifications like αὐτόνου αὐτήνης having been mistaken for independent varieties, new forms were evolved out of them: αὐτόνος or εὐτόνος, -ο, -η, and αὐτήνος or εὐτήνος, -ο, -η (cp. also ἐκείνος, 570), a neologism found even in *M* popular compositions (as Prodr. 4, 360: αὐτόνον). Even ἐτόνος and τόνος (in Bova ἐτόνο, Otranto τόνος).

582. Besides the demonstrative pronouns, there are in Greek demonstrative adjectives of *quantity*, *quality*, and *age* (or *size*), used mostly with the intensive suffix -δε (563). Cp. 601.

*Quantity*: τόσος, τόσον, τόση, oftener in the intensive form τοσόςδε, τοσόνδε, τοσήδε, 'so much,' 'so many.'

*Quality*: τοίος, τοίον, τοία, oftener in the intensive form τοιόςδε, τοιόνδε, τοιάδε, 'such.'

*Age or size*: τηλίκος, τηλίκον, τηλίκη, oftener in the intensive form τηλικόςδε, τηλικόνδε, τηλικήδε, 'so old,' 'so big.'

583. These demonstratives are still commoner in composition with οὗτος, viz.

*Quantity*: τοσοῦτος, τοσοῦτο<sup>α</sup>, τοσαύτη, 'so much,' 'so many.'

*Quality*: τοιοῦτος, τοιοῦτε<sup>α</sup>, τοιαύτη, 'such.'

*Age or size*: τηλικούτος, τηλικούτο<sup>α</sup>, τηλικαύτη, 'so old,' 'so big.'

584. Of the above demonstratives the one denoting quantity is still fully preserved in its simple form τόσος. On the other hand that designating quality (τοίος) τοιοῦτος was first modified to the *M* τ.ο.ίτοιος (ΔΜαυροφρύδης 606), then reduced by dissimilation to the now universal τέτοιος, a form which is sometimes further reduced by fresh dissimilation to ἐτοιος (IStaph. ii. 184). (Cp. 126 & 593.)

585. As to the demonstrative of age τηλίκος, with its compound τηλικούτος, it has become extinct in *N*, the circumlocution τόσα μεγάλα having taken its place.

## INTERROGATIVE AND INDEFINITE PRONOUNS.

586. The pronoun τίς τί is both interrogative and indefinite. As an interrogative, it always stands first and accents the initial syllable (τί-) throughout, while as an indefinite term, it is a post-positive enclitic and always accents the ultima.

[1] Also τουτουνῶ<sup>α</sup>, as NSophianos 78 f.

[2] See note [1] on p. 161.

# INTERROGATIVE & INDEFINITE PRONOUNS. [587-589.

587. A. Interrogative.				B. Indefinite.			
M. & F.		N.		M. & F.		N.	
Sing. N.	τίς; 'who?'	τί; 'what?'		τίς 'some one,' 'any,'	τί 'something'		
	A. τίνα;	"		τινά	"		
	G. τίνος; τοῦ;	← =		τινός, του	← =		
	D. τίνι;	← =		τινί, τῷ	← =		
Pl. N.	τίνες;	τίνα;		τινές	τινά, ἄττα		
	A. τίνας;	"		τινᾶς	"		
	G. τίνων;	← =		τινῶν	← =		
	D. τίσι;	← =		τισίν	← =		
Dual N.	A. τίνα;	← =		τινέ	← =		
	G. τίνων;	← =		τινῶν	← =		

588. The indefinite neuter plural form ἄττα is never enclitic (102, b). The forms του and τῷ for τινός and τινί disappear from the A inscriptions about 300 B.C.

588<sup>b</sup>. The two solitary forms τίς and τί of the indefinite pronoun are commonly marked with the grave accent, τίς and τί, merely for the sake of distinction from the corresponding interrogative forms τίς and τί. This is however irrational seeing that the remaining indefinite forms τινά, τινός, etc., are always marked like ordinary words.

589. As shown above, the masculine stands also for the feminine throughout, as well as for the neuter, save in the nominative (and accusative) singular and plural. In fact all the genders, cases, and numbers are almost identical in form. This uniformity in so common a word, used both as a substantive and an adjective, was felt to be something abnormal in the language, the more so as all other interrogatives happened to begin with π (ποῖος, πόσος, πηλίκος; cp. ποῦ, πῶς, πότε, πόθεν, etc., cp. 566). Hence even A writers often had recourse to the normal and cognate form ποῖος, ποῖον, ποῖα in place of the interrogative τίς<sup>[1]</sup>, then later to the numeral εἰς ἐν μία for the indefinite τίς (622 f.). P speech, bent as it was on uniformity, showed a more decided preference for this expedient, and the use of ποῖος for τίς, εἰς or κἀνεις for (indef.) τίς, gradually met with general acceptance, and caused the retreat of τίς. The ascendancy of εἰς and κἀνεις over the indefinite τίς was moreover soon manifested by the circumstance that the latter, following the prepositive nature of εἰς and κἀνεις, also became prepositive (1448-9). This process of substitution and interchange, though of ancient origin, has not yet come to a close, but can be still witnessed in N. See also 597.

Span. 160 ἂν δώσης τίποτε τιναν μὴν τοῦ το δνειδίσῃς. 122 καὶ δμοιάσῃς καὶ τινος ἀνθρώπου κακογνώμου, | ὥς εἰ τινεὶ νὰ στείρῃσιν εἰς τὸ χωράφι σπόρον, χοίρους ἐμβάζουν εἰς αὐτὸ καὶ δαπανοῦν τὸν σπόρον.

[<sup>1</sup>] On the use of ποῖος for τίς during and since A times, cp. Aesch. Ag. 263 ποίου χρόνου; 1046 πρὸς ποῖαν στέγην; Eur. Andr. 388 sq. ποῖαν πόλιν προῦδωκα, τίνα σὺν ἔκτανον παίδων ἔγω; Ποῖον δ' ἔπρησα δῶμ'; 1266 ποῖας ὀλλυμμαι πρὸς αἰτίας; (cp. Heo. 159-163); Iph. Taur. 499 σοὶ δ' ὄνομα ποῖον ἔθεθ' ὃ γεννήσας πατήρ; Ar. Vesp. 183 ποῖον; φέρ' ἴδωμεν; Theophr. Char. viii. ποῖα γὰρ οὐ στοῦ; ποῖα δ' ἐργαστηρίω, ποῖα δὲ μέρει τῆς ἀγορᾶς οὐ διημερεύουσιν ἀπαυδᾶν παοῖντες τοὺς ἀκούοντας; Polyb. 3, 8, 9 εἰ δὲ τις ἔροιτο τὸν συγγραφέα ποῖος ἦν καὶρὸς οἰκειότερος τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις, ἢ συμφορὰτερον etc.; 36, 3, 1 τίνας καὶ πόσους διελθὼν τόπους εἰς ποῖα μέρη κατῆρε τῆς Ἰταλίας; Dio. 12, p. 128 οἱ τοὺς θουρίους οἰκοντες ἐστασίαζον πρὸς ἀλλήλους ποῖας πόλεως ἀποίκους καλεῖσθαι τοὺς θουρίους καὶ τίνα κτίστην δίκαιον ὀνομάζεσθαι; Jos. Ant. 16, 2, 21 ποῖα μὲν εὐνοία πρὸς τὸν ὑμέτερον οἶκον παραλείπεται; ποῖα δὲ πίστις ἐνδεῆς ἐστιν; τίς δ' οὐ τετίμηται τιμῇ; (For more examples see ΔΜαυροφρύδης 615-17; also GHatzidakis 207 f.)



## 590-595.] INTERROGATIVE & INDEFINITE PRONOUNS.

**590.** In present *N* speech, while ποῖος and εἷς (ένας) are almost the only representatives current (save in South Italian where τίς and τί still obtain), a few older forms are also surviving, mostly in a substantival function: τίς, τί, τίνος—τίς or τινάς, τί, τίνος (596).

**591.** On the other hand, the *A* meaning of ποῖος 'which,' 'what sort,' was transferred during *G-B* times to ποταπός (cp. Matth. 8, 27; Sext. 476, 13; Apophth. 285 B)<sup>[1]</sup>, and subsequently (during *T-M*) passed to the neuter τί, used as an indeclinable word (cp. ὁ, τι 610 ff.), as: τί ἄνθρωπος; 'what sort of man?' τί βιβλία θέλεις; 'what sort of books do you want?' (cp. Basil i. 8 B τί καλὴ ἡ τάξις! Acta Xanth. 62, 19 τί πρῶτος αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁμαλὸς ὁ περίπατος! τί εὐμενὲς αὐτοῦ τὸ πρόσωπον! τί εὐμώρφως περισκοπεῖ ὧδε κάκεισε! 80 72, 18; 29. Stud. 1668 A τί καλὴ ἐπιστολὴ τῆς εὐγενείας σου! CGL 648, 5 τί χρειαὶ ἔχεις δανεῖσθαι; quid opus habes mutuari? Ducas Novell. 324 καὶ τί ἐξουσίαν ἔχει ὁ βασιλεὺς;

**591<sup>b</sup>.** This function of τί is now often strengthened by the addition of the genitive λογῆς or (plural) λογῶν<sup>[2]</sup> (μᾶς λογῆς, πολλῶν λογῶν) τί λογῆς = 'what sort; chē sorta, τί λογῶν chē sorte—a colloquialism apparently due to Italian influence.

**592.** For the neuter τί 'what,' now in universal use, some insular dialects (as Cretan, Cypriote, etc.) employ by preference ἵντα, a corruption or extreme contraction of *B-M* τί ἐνι τα—later τί ἐνε τά, τί εἶνε τά—'what is that which,' qu'est ce que (154)<sup>[3]</sup>.

**593.** That τί ἐνε τα (or τί εἶνε τα) was first contracted to τί 'ν' τα or τίντα and then reduced by dissimilation to ἵντα (cp. πενήντα, πενήντα, 639; ἀνθίντης, ἀφίντης, 126; τέτοιος, ἔτοιος 584), appears clearly not only from the express testimony of Pachom. Mon. (Migne 98, 1352 A: Κρήτες (λέγουσιν) ἵντα θὲς ἀντὶ τοῦ τί θέλεις . . . ἀπὸ τοῦ τί ἐνι τό, καὶ τί ἐνι τά, τίντο καὶ τίντα, ὡς παρὰ Λεσβίοις, ἐξ οὗ καὶ παρὰ Κρησὶ καὶ ἄλλοις βαθύμοις τὸ ἵντα), but also from *B-M* popular compositions as: JMoschos 3064 B τί ἐν τὸ ἔχεις, κύριε Μόσχε; ELegend Bibl. Intr. lxiv. 53 εἶμε ψυχὴ μου τί ἐν τὸ λές; τί ἐν τὸ γλυκὺ μαντᾶτο; ib. 67 θ' 5 γιὰ τί 'ν' τὸ = διὰ τί; id. 62, θ' 1 τίντ' ἀφορμὴ σ' ἐβίασεν; id. 67, η' 6 γιὰ τίντα; id. 68, κ' 6 τίν' τὰ 'καμεν; id. 76, λξ' 1 τίντα θαρρεῖς.

### Other Indefinite Pronouns.

**594.** For the English *a, an*, *A* uses τίς, *P* εἷς and *N* τίς, τινάς, εἷς, ένας, κάτις, κᾶτι, κάνεις, κάνένας.

For *some*, *A-B* uses τινές, τινά, and *N* κάμπόσοι or κᾶμπόσοι, κάποιοι, μερικοί.

**595.** The indefinite pronoun which in *A* corresponds to the English indefinite article is τίς (237). However, there is another representative also, εἷς (589. 623), which, though not common, has held an equivalent position,

[1] Phryn. 39 ποταπὸς διὰ τοῦ τ μὴ εἶπης, ἀδόκιμον γάρ. διὰ τοῦ δέλτα δὲ λέγων ἐπὶ γένους θῆσαι, ποταπὸς ἐστὶ; Θηβαῖος ἢ Ἀθηναῖος; ἐστὶ γὰρ ὅλον ἐκ τίνος δαπέδου; ποταπὸς δὲ ἐστὶν εἰ εἶποι· ποταπὸν τὸν τρόπον Φρύνιχος; ἐπεικῆς· χηρὴ οὐκ οὕτως ἐρωτᾷ· ποῖος τίς σοι δοκεῖ εἶναι;

[2] The *i* in λογῶν is of course no additional letter, but a means of preserving the original palatal sound of γ, which would otherwise become guttural.

[3] The spelling εἵντα adopted by some scholars is inadmissible, seeing that in the whole phrase τί εἶνε τά, or rather τί ἐνε τά (εἶνε being the *M* form for εἶνε 985), the interrogative τί is the emphatic word and so cannot lose its *i*, while εἶνε (or εἵνε), like its ancient representative ἐστὶ (εἰσίν), is *enclitic*, and as such very often undergoes aphaeresis ('νε) and elision or apocope (εἴν'). It may even—and this is very common—shrink to simple 'ν', as: καλὸ 'ν' καὶ τοῦτο 'good this is too'; ποῦ 'ν' τὰ παῖδιά; 'where are the children?' Hence the writing εἵντα is both untenable and misleading.

especially since *H* times (622 ff.). For the sake of clearness, subsequent speech prefixed *kān* to it (598), as well as to the other indefinite words and thus produced the combinations *kān eis* or *kāneis* — *kāris*, *kāpoios*, *kāpon*, *kāpas*, *kāmpōsos*, etc. All these words, *tis*, *eis* (Cretan now *γείς*, 155<sup>b</sup>), and *kāneis* (also *kaiareis* or *kiareis*, Cretan *kaiareis* or *kiareis*), together with their by-forms *tinās*, *ēnas*, and *kānénas* (Cretan *kaiareis* or *kiareinas*), are now very common in *N* speech (621 ff.). As to the plural, their clumsy inflection made room for *kāmpōsoi* (now commoner *kāmpoioi*), *kāpoioi*, *merikoi*.

596. Of the indefinite pronoun *tis* likewise several forms are still preserved: *tis*, *tinās*, *tí*, *tinós* (590), formerly also *tiná*. The neuter *ti* is now current chiefly in the strengthened form *τίποτε* (dialectally also *τίποτες*, *-τα*, *-tis*, *τίποτσι*, *τίβοτσι*, 562), which occurs even in *P* writers in the sense of simple *tí*, as: Epict. 3, 13, 18 *οικοδομῇ τίποτε εἶτα καταστρέφει*. 24, 39 *φλυαρεῖν τίποτε*. Apollod. 2, 6, 4 *καὶ τότε τίποτε δούσαν*; and so on increasingly (*ΔΜαυροφρύδης* 622) <sup>[1]</sup>.—*Ti* survives further in *kāti* (used also for *kāpas*) or oftener *kāti ti* (in Crete also *kátin tis*) 'something,' *káthe ti* 'every thing.'

597. The considerations which prevented the free use and perpetuation of the interrogative *tis* (589), naturally apply also to the indefinite form *tis*. The absence in it of a normal ending for each gender rendered it inconvenient in popular speech, and thus called for a kindred substitute. This was found in the numeral adjective *eis*, *ēn*, *μία*, 'a', 'an' (622 ff.). A similar function was assumed later on also by *kāneis* (*kān eis* 595) and during *M* times by *kāpoios*, both of which, however, have since become either adjectives, 'some,' or substantives 'some one.'—All these substitutes are now current in *N*.

598. The compound particle *kān* (= *καὶ ἄν*), which occurs even in *A* as an intensive simple *καὶ* 'even' (as Soph. El. 1483; O. T. 615, & 1078; Plat. Prot. 318 B; id. Rep. 515 E; etc.), has, apart from the common phrase *kān ei* 'even if,' met with ever increasing popularity since *A* times, and that simply as a strong *καὶ* 'even,' 'at least (cp. 629).' E. g.

Mark 6, 56 *παρεκάλουν αὐτὸν ἵνα κἀν τοῦ ἱματίου αὐτοῦ ἄψωνται* (also 5, 28). Acts 5, 15 *ἵνα ἔρχομένου Πέτρου κἀν ἡ σκιὰ ἐπισκιάσῃ τινὶ αὐτῶν*. Luc. D. D. 5, 2 *ἐκεῖναι μὲν σοι κἀν ἐν γῇ μένουσι*. id. Tim. 20 *οἷς οὐδὲ κἀν θνός ὑπῆρξε πᾶνποτε* 'not even an ass'; and with numerals, as Philo ii. 29, 13 *κἀν ἐν τι τῶν πάντων* 'at least one.' Luc. Ver. Hist. 4 *κἀν ἐν γὰρ δὴ τοῦτο ἀληθεύων λέγω* 'this one at least.' Galen. 6, 349 D *κἀν μᾶς ἡμέρας* 'for at least one day.' Acta Xanth. 61, 1 *κἀν μικρὸν ἀνεπαυσάμην*. 77, 38 *ἀλλὰ τὰ θηρία κἀν μεθ' ἐτέρων ὁμογενῶν διάγουσιν*.

598<sup>b</sup>. In its association with cardinal numerals, *kān* gradually assumed the force of a merely indefinite particle, as: Apophth. 261 B *πάντως δὲ ἐξ αὐτῶν κἀν ἐν ἀρείει αὐτῶ*; Leont. Neap. V. S. 1709 B *οὐ χρεια ἵνα παλῆσωμεν τίποτε, κἀν μίαν γὰρ γάστραν ἐξ ἧς ἔχω κανονίζουσα αὐτὸν ἐφαγεν θερμίον*. Chron. 723, 20 *κἀν ἐβλομήκοντα κάραβοι* 'some seventy boats.' 733 *κἀν ἐζήκοντα ἄλογα* 'some sixty horses.'—In *N* speech, it occurs chiefly in composition, as: *kāneis* (*kaiareis* or *kiareis*, 594), *kāti*, *kāpoios*, *kāmpōsos*, *kāποτε*<sup>c</sup>, *kāpon*, *kāpas*.

598<sup>c</sup>. For the use of *tis* οὐ (or *μή*) and *kān eis* οὐ (*μή*) as a popular substitute for οὐδεῖς (*μηδεῖς*) see 629<sup>c</sup> & 1449<sup>a</sup>.

[1] It may further be noted, by the way, that *τίποτε* has given birth to a number of by-forms: when it came to be considered as a substantive (τὸ τίποτε), it was first remodelled to *τίποτα* (after *πᾶνγμα*), and then amplified to *τίποτας* (after *κρέας*). Again when *πότε* was amplified to *πότες* (after *ἐχθῆς*, *τότες*), *τίποτε* became *τίποτες*, then gradually *τίποτις*, *τίποτσι* (562), and by dissimilation *τίβοτσι* (cp. *Μαυροφρύδης* 621 f.).

## 599-607.] INDEFINITE & RELATIVE PRONOUNS.

**599.** Another indefinite pronoun, always used with the article as a substantive, which was current chiefly in colloquial speech, is *ὁ, τό, ἡ δείνα* 'the man (or Mr.) so and so,' 'what's his name?' This term was treated sometimes as an indeclinable word, but more commonly it showed the following inflection :

Sing. N. <i>ὁ, τό, ἡ δείνα</i>	Pl. <i>οἱ δείνες, τὰ δείνα</i>
A. <i>τὸν, τὸ, τὴν δείνα</i>	<i>τοὺς δείνας</i> „
G. <i>τοῦ, τοῦ, τῆς δείνος</i>	<i>τῶν δείνων</i>
D. <i>τῷ, τῷ, τῇ δείνι</i>	— —

**600.** So still in *N*: *ὁ δείνας* (248, 339), *τὸ, ἡ δείνα*, pl. *οἱ δείνοι, οἱ δείνες, τὰ δείνα*. Another *Nby*-form, current since *T*, is: *ὁ δδεινος* (130. 612), *τὸ δδεινο, ἡ δδεινη* (even in [Chrys.] 12, 779 *A* *τοῦ δδεινου*; so Porph. Cer. 18, 15; 198, 3, etc., cp. Cleemans 129 [+II-III<sup>rd</sup>], 24 *τὸν δδεινον*), which may be compared with the form *δδείνα* of the grammarians (Apoll. De Pron. 75, c; Et. M. 684, 56; cp. Kühner-Blass i. 615). For *τάδε ποῖος* see 564.

**601.** Interrogative adjectives of *quantity*, *quality*, and *age* or *size* (corresponding to 582 f.) are—

*Quantity*: *πόσος, πόσον, πόση*, 'how much?' 'how many?'

*Quality*: *ποῖος, ποῖον, ποία*, 'what sort of?' 'which?'

*Age or size*: *πῆλικος, πῆλικον, πῆλικη*, 'how old?' 'how large?'

**602.** Of these adjectives, only *πῆλικος* has become extinct, while *ποῖος* and *πόσος* are still fully preserved. Nevertheless *ποῖος*, now commonly *ποιός* (155, c), has exchanged its *A* meaning of 'which' for that of *τίς* 'who.' For this change see 589.

## RELATIVE PRONOUNS.

**603.** There are in Greek three relative pronouns—

a. *ὅς, ὃ, ἧ*, 'who,' 'which'—in *T-N* *ὅπου, N* *που*

b. *ὅσπερ, ὅπερ, ἧπερ*, '(just) who,' 'which'

c. *ὅστις, ὃ,τι, ἧτις*, 'whoever,' 'whichever'—in *N* *ὅποιος, ὅπου*.

**604.** 1. *Ὅς, ὃ, ἧ*, 'who,' 'which,' follows the inflection of *αὐτός* (525; cp. 538 f.) and bears the rough breathing throughout.

Sing. N. <i>ὅς</i>	<i>δ</i>	<i>ἧ</i>	Pl. <i>οἷ</i>	<i>ᾷ</i>	<i>αἷ</i>
A. <i>ὃν</i>	„	<i>ῆν</i>	<i>οὓς</i>	„	<i>ᾶς</i>
G. <i>οὗ</i>	← =	<i>ῆς</i>	<i>ῶν</i>	← =	← =
D. <i>φ</i>	← =	<i>ῆ</i>	<i>οῖς</i>	← =	<i>αῖς</i>

Dual N. A. *ᾶ* G. D. *οῖν*.

**605.** Mark the *A* standing phrases *καὶ δς ἐφη* 'and he said,' and *ἡ δ' δς* 'said he,' where *δς* stands for *αὐτός* (1437; cp. 978).

**606.** The form *ὅς, ὃ, ἧ*, is frequently replaced by the postpositive article (*ὑποτακτικὸν ἄρθρον*) i.e. the article in those cases where it begins with *τ*. Thus *τὸ* often stands for *ὃ*, *τὸν* for *ὃν*, *τοῦ* for *οὗ*, *τῇ* for *ῆν*, etc. (1438).

**606<sup>b</sup>.** The postpositive article still survives in *N* (1438), though only in the accusative and even here it is obsolescent making room for *ὅπου* (608).

**607.** The relative pronoun *ὅς, ὃ, ἧ*, remained in unbroken usage through all antiquity and partially lingered down to the XVI<sup>th</sup>, as may be gathered from the *M* compositions. Since then, however, it has disappeared altogether from the living language, its place having been taken partly by the postpositive article (606), partly by *ὅπου* (608. 1438).

608. Besides *ὅς, ὃ, ἥ*, another relative made its appearance since *ὅ*. This was the adverb *ὅπου* 'where' (probably suggested by *ὁποιός*), which took its place beside the postpositive article (606) and soon asserted itself as a popular substitute for *ὅς, ὃ, ἥ* (1438).

(Clem. R. ad Cor. 23, 3 *πόρρω γενέσθω ἀφ' ἡμῶν ἢ γραφῇ αὕτη ὅπου λέγει· ταλαίπωροι κτλ.*) Apophth. 300 B *καὶ λαβόντες καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν ὅπου εἶχε πρὸς αὐτὸν τὴν λύπην*. 300 C *οὐδὲ γὰρ εἶχετε τίποτε τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου ὕλην εἰ μὴ βαφίδα ὅπου τὰ θαλλία ἐσχίζεν*. Leont. Neap. V. I. 46, 18 *ἐκεῖνος ὅπου ἐμαγείρευεν*. JMoeschos 2914 A *εἰς τὸ ὅρος ὅπου αὐτὸς εἶπεν* (cp. 2949 B *μετὰ τὸ καῦσαι αὐτὸν τὸν φούρνον οὐχ εὔρεν ἐνθα* (wherewith) *ᾧφειλεν σφογγίσαι τὸν φούρνον*, where *ἐνθα* is a paraphrase of the colloquial *ὅπου*).

608<sup>b</sup>. As time went on, this convenient substitute (*ὅπου*) gained ascendancy over *ὅς, ὃ, ἥ*, and eventually (since the 16<sup>th</sup>; 606<sup>b</sup>) supplanted it. On the other hand, owing to its proclitic nature, this *ὅπου* gradually dropped its initial *ο* and became simple *που*. (Cp. *ἴνα νά* 1766, *οὐδὲν δὲν* 1979, and *αὐτὸν τὸν* 530.) In both forms, but particularly in that of *που*, it is still very common—in fact it is the real popular relative—and may soon displace the now almost obsolete postpositive article (606 ff.).

609. 2. *Ὅσπερ, ὅπερ, ἥπερ*, '(just) who,' 'which'—is nothing else than *ὅς, ὃ, ἥ*, strengthened by the enclitic particle *περ* annexed to it. Its inflection therefore is that of *ὅς, ὃ, ἥ*, viz. *ὅσπερ, ὄνπερ, οὐπερ*, etc.

610. 3. *Ὅστις, ὃ,τι, ἥτις*, 'whoever,' consists of *ὅς, ὃ, ἥ*, and the indefinite *τις*, each component being inflected separately, viz.

Sing. N. <i>ὅστις</i>	<i>ὃ,τι</i> <sup>(1)</sup>	<i>ἥτις</i>
A. <i>ὅτινα</i>	"	<i>ἥτινα</i>
G. <i>ὁστινος &amp; ὅτου</i>	← =	<i>ἥστινος</i>
D. <i>ὄφτιν &amp; ὅτω</i>	← =	<i>ἥτιν</i>
Pl. N. <i>οἵτινες</i>	<i>ἅτινα &amp; ἅττα</i>	<i>αἵτινες</i>
A. <i>οὐστινας</i>	" "	<i>ἄστινας</i>
G. <i>ὁντινων (&amp; ὅτων)</i>	← =	← =
D. <i>οἴστισι' (&amp; ὁσίοισι', ὁτοῖς)</i>	← =	<i>αἴστισι'</i>
Dual. N. A. <i>ὅτινε</i> G. D. <i>οἴστινοι</i> .		

611. Just as *τις* has been replaced by *ποιός* (589), so *ὅστις* has made room for *ὁποιός* or, with displaced accent, *ὁποιος* (615). However, to judge from the *M* compositions, *ὅστις* was still current as late as the XIV<sup>th</sup>, though in the sense of *ἅς*. The neuter *ὃ,τι*, used both as a substantive and adjective 'whatever,' is still universally common (cp. *τί*, 591), and has even led to a *G-B* masculine by-form *ὅτις* (as Great Louvre Pap. 236), of which the genitive *ὅτινος* 'whosoever' still survives in some dialects (Crete) and curiously coincides with the old Doric form *ὅτινος*.

611<sup>b</sup>. In the same way as the interrogative *τί* (or *ἵνα*) often stands for *ποιός* (592 f.), so *ὃ,τι* can stand for *ὁποιός* or *οἷος* 'whatever sort.'

612. The forms *ὃ ὁποιός* (*τὸ ὁποιόν, ἢ ὁποιά*), *ὃ ποιός* or *ποιός* (*τὸ ποιόν, ἢ ποιό*) and (*ὃ οἷος*) *ὃ οἷός* or *ὁγιοῖς* (155<sup>b</sup>, 615) are a literal translation of the Romanic *lequel, il quale* (cp. *the which*). They were introduced by *M* scribes and, being associated with the then popular postpositive article (606: *ὃ καὶ τοῦ* = *ὁποιός*, *τὸ καὶ τοῦ* = *τὸ ποιόν*; cp. also *ὃ ὅς, ὃ ὅσος*, 615 & 1219; *ὁκάτις, ὁκάποιος, ὁδεῖνος*), found favour among Greek penmen who objected to the

<sup>(1)</sup> It should be written *ὄτι*, but ancient grammarians introduced *ὃ,τι*—for which modern scholars often substitute *ὃ τι*—to distinguish it from the conjunction *ὅτι* 'that' (79).

## 612-617.] RELATIVE PRONOUNS—NUMERALS.

indeclinable character of *δπου* or *που* (608 f.). It is still proper to written composition, popular speech always using *δπου* or *που* instead <sup>[1]</sup>.

Chron. Mor. Prol. 1332 τοὺς ὁποίους οὐ νομάζω τους. K. 1440 τὰ ὁποῖα κάστη. 4831 τὸ ὁποῖον πρᾶγμα. 5223 μέ ὁποῖον ἔχει φουσᾶτον. EGeorg. Const. Prol. τὰ ἐξῆς τὰ ὁποῖα ῥήματα γράφονται διὰ στίχου. 569 f. τὴν γλῶσσαν | τὴν ποιᾶν δὲν ἐδυνήθηκα νὰ τὴν ἀποκρατήσω. 643 τὸ ὁποῖον ποῦ ζεύρετε καὶ οὐδὲν τὸ ἀναφέρειν. 715 τὰ συμβάντα | τὰ ποῖα ἐσυνέβησαν. Beliss. 336 f. Δημότυχοι Ἀλέξιος ἔτι καὶ Πετρολήφας | οἱ ποῖοι ἠνδραγάθησαν. Balzh. 1250 δν ἔχομεν εἰνούχον | ὁποῖον ἐξαπέστειλεν Ῥοδόφιλος ὁ ἀναξ. 462 κάκεινα | τὰ ὁποῖα μετὰ μηχανῆς ἐβάστα—Sachl. 49 τὰ κακὰ τὰ ποῖα θέλεις πανθάνειν,—and so on ever since passim.

613. To similar foreign influence points the hybrid form *ὁ ἴδιος* 'the same,' inasmuch as here the article *ὁ* is probably due to the influence of *ὁ αὐτός*, and the meaning 'same' to the Latin *idem* (541. 1417).

614. Relative adjectives of *quantity*, *quality*, and *age* or *size* (corresponding to 582 & 601) are—

*Quantity* : *ὅσος* or *ὁπόσος* 'as much' ;

*Quality* : *οἷος* or *ὁποῖος* 'such as' ;

*Age* or *size* : *ἡλίκος* (or *ὀπηλίκος*) 'as old,' 'as large'—

all inflected like adjectives of the 2nd declension.

615. Of these relative adjectives, *ὅσος* is still fully preserved in *N*. 'Ὅπόσος having been associated with the interrogative *ὁ πόσος* (134), had to be reduced to *πόσος*, a form which, in the presence of an identical interrogative, could not but be dropped altogether. Of the two qualitatives *οἷος* and *ὁποῖος*, the former still lingers in *N* *ὁ(γ)οῖος* (i. e. *ὁ × οῖος*, 155<sup>b</sup>, 612) 'such as,' *qualis*, while the latter is still universal with the retracted accent *ὀποῖος* (due to *δοτις*, cp. *κάποιος*) instead of *ὁποῖός* (152. 155, c), which would coincide with *ὁ ποῖός* i. e. *ὁ ποῖος* (602).—*Ἠλίκος* and *ὀπηλίκος* have naturally shared the fate of their correlatives (585 & 602).

## NUMERALS.

### I. CIPHERS.

616. For ciphers the ancient Greeks used the letters of the alphabet including three more signs (3). These three signs were—

1. *Vau*, *F*, later shaped *Ϝ* and inserted after *ε* with the value of 6. In *G-B* times it was represented by *Q*, while the symbol *Ϝ* came to be used also as a ligature for *στ*, whence it was termed *στίγμα*.

2. *Koppa*, shaped *Ϟ* and inserted after *π* with the value of 90.

3. *Sampi*, shaped *Ϡ* and inserted after *ω* with the value of 900.

617. Thus the units are represented by the letters *α* to *θ*, the tens by *ι* to *Ϟ* (*koppa*), the hundreds by *ρ* to *Ϡ* (*sampi*, 3), and the thousands by a fresh series of letters.

[1] For a different, but forced explanation, see *AKopαῖς*, Ἀνακτα Α' 66, and *ΔΜαυροφρύδης* 609 ff.

## CIPHERS AND CARDINAL NUMBERS. [618-621.]

**618.** When used as ciphers, the letters are marked with an accent-like stroke put above on the right (as  $\acute{\alpha}$   $\acute{\beta}$   $\acute{\gamma}$  etc.) for all numbers up to 999, and beneath to the left for the thousands (as  $\alpha$   $\beta$ , etc.). When two or more co-ordinate ciphers follow one another, instead of marking each one with a separate stroke, the last cipher only is conveniently so marked. Thus  $\iota\alpha'$  (for  $\acute{\iota}\alpha'$ ) = 11,  $\rho\xi\gamma'$  (for  $\rho\xi'\gamma'$ ) = 163,  $\omega\varsigma\epsilon'$  = 895— $\alpha\omega\varsigma\zeta'$  = 1897.

**619.** Another system of ciphers, used in early Attic, appears in old inscriptions (sometimes also in MSS when they refer to lines). It consists of four single normal lines appended to the initial letter of the terms denoting 5, 10, 100, 1000, and 10,000 respectively, that is Πέντε, Δέκα, Ηεκατόν (old spelling for subsequent Έκατόν), Χίλιοι, Μύριοι. These symbols were placed by and in one another in the following manner:

I	1	Γ	9	ΔΔΔΔ	40	X	1000
II	2	Δ	10	Π	50	XX	2000
III	3	Δ	11	ΠΔ	60 etc.	Π	5000
IIII	4	Δ	12 etc.	H	100	ΠX	6000
Γ	5	ΔΔ	20	HH	200	M	10000
Γ	6	ΔΔ	21 etc.	Π	500	Π	50000
Γ	7	ΔΔΔ	30	ΠΔΔ	520		
Γ	8	ΔΔΔ	31 etc.	ΠH	600		

$X\P H H H \Pi \Delta \Delta \Delta \Delta \Gamma || = 1897.$   $XXX \Pi H \Pi = 3650$

## II. CARDINAL NUMBERS.

**620.** The first four cardinal numbers are declined as follows:—

I	$\acute{\alpha}$	N.	$\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma$	$\acute{\epsilon}\nu$	$\mu\acute{\iota}\alpha$
		A.	$\acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha$	„	$\mu\acute{\iota}\alpha\nu$
		G.	$\acute{\epsilon}\nu\acute{o}\varsigma$	← =	$\mu\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$
		D.	$\acute{\epsilon}\nu\acute{\iota}$	← =	$\mu\acute{\alpha}\tilde{\tau}$

**621.** All these forms, leaving aside the dative (232), still survive in N, subject, of course, to phonopathic modifications. Thus  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma$  is still current in several insular dialects, sometimes unchanged, as in the M-N expressions  $\pi\acute{\alpha}\sigma\alpha \epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ ,  $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\theta\alpha$  (or  $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\theta\epsilon$ )  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma$  'every one'; sometimes modified to (Cretan)  $\gamma\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma$  (155<sup>b</sup>). In other respects its regular and generally received form is  $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha\varsigma$  (338). The neuter  $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$  is naturally amplified to  $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha$  (132<sup>b</sup>, 219).—The accusative masculine  $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha$  (537) is still universal (in Pontos  $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha\nu$ ).—The genitive  $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\acute{o}\varsigma$  also survives, but the form  $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\acute{o}\tilde{\upsilon}$  (Cretan also  $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\acute{o}\tilde{\iota}\upsilon\varsigma$ , beside  $\nu\acute{o}\tilde{\iota}\upsilon\varsigma$ ) is more common.—The feminine is still fully preserved as oxytone  $\mu\acute{\alpha}$  (155, c). Nevertheless for the genitive  $\mu\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$  a recent and dialectal by-form  $\mu\alpha\acute{\alpha}\tilde{\nu}\varsigma$  is occasionally heard (579); rarely also  $\mu\alpha\acute{\alpha}\tilde{\nu}\acute{o}\tilde{\upsilon}$  for  $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\acute{o}\varsigma$  (579). The feminine  $\mu\acute{\iota}\alpha$  led to the M adverb  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma \mu\acute{\iota}\alpha$  (as Bova 53, etc.), 'together,' which is still so current in South Italian Greek. At the same time another form  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma \mu\acute{\iota}\acute{o}$  (dissociation from  $\zeta\eta\mu\acute{\iota}\alpha$ ) appears concurrently in M (NSophianos 83), and this by-form still survives in the contraction  $\zeta\mu\acute{o}$  'at once,' 'therefore,' now current in insular (Cretan etc.) speech.

**622.** Besides its regular function as a distinct unit 'one,' εἷς is occasionally used, even by classical writers, without any stress or antithesis, as an equivalent of the indefinite pronoun τις 'a, an' (589. 595).

Hdt. 4, 3 εἷς αὐτῶν ἔλεξε τάδε. Th. 4, 57, 2 Λακεδαιμονίων φρουρὰ μία τῶν περὶ τὴν χώραν. Aeschin. 1, 180 παρελθὼν τις τῶν γερόντων οὓς ἐκείνοι καὶ αἰσχύνονται καὶ δεδίασιν . . . τούτων εἷς παρελθὼν κτλ. So 165 & 182 ἀνὴρ εἷς τῶν πολιτῶν. Xen. Mem. 3, 3 ὅταν γε χορὸς εἷς ἐκ τῆσδε τῆς πόλεως γίγνηται.

**623.** In *P* antiquity this indefinite numeral εἷς, which is treated as a proclitic (97, *a*), met with ever increasing popularity owing to its advantage over τις of having a separate form for each gender (εἷς, ἓν, μία; cp. 589. 597. 1449<sup>b</sup>), and ultimately established itself in popular speech as a kind of indefinite article *a, an*; it still remains so in *N*.

Gen. 21, 15 ἔρριψε τὸ παιδίον ὑποκάτω μιᾶς ἐλάττης. Polyb. 90 Νομᾶς τῶν ἐνδοξοτάτων εἷς. Matt. 8, 9 προσελθὼν εἷς γραμματεὺς εἶπεν αὐτῷ. 18, 24 εἷς ὀφειλέτης μυρίων ταλάντων. 18, 28 εὗρεν ἓνα τῶν συνδούλων αὐτοῦ. 21, 19 ἰδὼν συκὴν μίαν. Mark 14, 47 εἷς τῶν παρεστηκότων. Luke 15, 26 προσκαλεσάμενος ἓνα τῶν παιδων. John 6, 9 ἔστι παιδάριον ἓν ὧδε. Rev. 8, 13 ἤκουσα ἑνὸς ἀγγέλου πετομένου ἐν μεσουρανήματι λέγοντος. Jos. Ant. 7, 14, 3 εὑρίσκεται ἐν τῇ πόλει γυνὴ μία . . . Ἀβελόκη τοῦνομα. Plut. Arat. 5 ἦν δὲ τῶν φυγάδων ἑνὸς Ἡεροκλέους ἀδελφός. Plut. Cras. 4 ἔπεμψεν ἓνα δοῦλον. Ael. Hist. 10, 18 ἤρασθη αὐτοῦ νύμφη μία. Apoc. Acta Joh. 159 ἦν δὲ τις ἐν μιᾷ κόμῃ. Epict. 3, 2, 10 εἷς φιλόσοφος. Mal. 190, 15 βασιλίσσης μιᾶς. Chron. 70, 11 μία παρθένος κόρη. 597 εἷς Γόθος.

**624.** It must be noted, however, that in many, especially predicative (1159) cases, the English indefinite article *a, an*, is indicated, both in *A* and *N*, by the simple absence of any article (237).

**625.** Like εἷς are declined its two compounds οὐδεῖς [so accented instead of οὐδεῖς], οὐδέν, οὐδεμία, and μηδεῖς [μηδεῖς], μηδέν, μηδεμία 'no one,' 'nobody,'—which have moreover a masculine plural.

N. οὐδεῖς	οὐδέν	οὐδεμία	οὐδένας
A. οὐδένα	"	οὐδεμίαν	οὐδένας
G. οὐδένός	← =	οὐδεμῆας	οὐδένων
D. οὐδενί	← =	οὐδεμῇ	οὐδέσι*

**626.** This negative adjective (especially in the form μηδεῖς) still survives in *N*: οὐδένας, μηδένας. The Cretan dialect uses by preference μουνθένας, where μουνθὲ is a contamination of μηδὲ and οὐδέ (116. 629<sup>b</sup>).—Other *N* compounds of εἷς are καθεῖς (καθεῖς) and καθένας or καθ' ἑνας, κάνεῖς and κάνένας (cp. also κάτω εἷς [cp. Spanish *cada uno* and French *chacun*] and πᾶσα εἷς, μηδὲ εἷς, 621. 665), which are all inflected like εἷς and ἑνας respectively.

**627.** By substituting οὕτε and μήτε for οὐδὲ and μηδέ, *P* writers, notably those of the Alexandrian school, formed οὐθείς, οὐθέν, μηθείς, μηθέν. These forms, which occur also in Attic inscriptions since 380 B.C., did not enjoy either a very long or a general currency.

[Compare Phryn. 160 οὐθείς διὰ τοῦ θ. εἰ καὶ Χρύσιππος καὶ οἱ ἀμφ' αὐτὸν οὕτως λέγουσι, οὐ δὲ (read δὴ) ἀποτρέπου λέγειν. οἱ γὰρ ἀρχαῖοι διὰ τοῦ Δ λέγουσιν.]

**628.** No feminine οὐθεμία or μηθεμία has been found as yet, possibly because of the difficulty of pronouncing -θεμι or -τεμι (dissimilation).

**629.** In case of emphasis, οὐδεῖς and μηδεῖς can resume their separate form without elision: οὐδὲ εἷς and μηδὲ εἷς 'not one,'—

the particle *ἄν* being often inserted here for more stress: οὐδ' *ἄν* εἷς, *μηδ' ἄν* εἷς, 'not a single one' (cp. 598 ff.).

629<sup>b</sup>. So too in *N*: *μηδὲ ἕνας* (or *μηδὲ εἷς*), *μηδὲ ἕνα*, *μηδὲ μιά*, and oftener *οὔτε* or *μήτε* *ένας*, *ένα*, *μιά*; Cretan *μουηδὲ εἷς* or *μουηδὲ ἕνας* (626).

629<sup>c</sup>. For a popular mode of replacing, since *G*, οὐδεῖς and *μηδεῖς* by *τις* (*εἷς*, *κάν* *εἷς*) οὐ or *μή*, see 1449<sup>c</sup>.

630. Of the forms οὐδεῖς and *μηδεῖς* the neuter οὐδὲν and *μηδὲν* is still occasionally heard in *N* as a substantive 'nought,' though τὸ *μηδενικόν* is the regular school term for 'nought.' As an adverb, however, οὐδὲν (*μηδὲν*) has been in general use through all times with a gradual weakening of its original force 'not at all,' into that of a simple *not* (οὐ). This attenuation in so frequent a word naturally led to proclisis, and proclisis to aphaeresis, i.e. οὐδὲν became first οὐδεν, then simple *δεν* or rather *δε'* (219), a form in universal use since *B* times. For the gradual development of this process see 1798 f.

### 631. 2 β. Dual N.A. δύο (δύω)

G.D. *δυσὶν*, later *δυσὶν*. D. also *δυσί'* [1]

631<sup>b</sup>. The cardinal number for *two* forms the basis of the dual in Greek. In the nominative and accusative, it has the form *δύο* (for metrical purposes often written *δύω*), in the genitive and dative *δυσὶν*, since the IV<sup>th</sup> (329 B.C., KMeisterhans<sup>2</sup> 124) written *δυσὶν*, beside *δυσί'* (after *τρισί'*, as CIA ii. 467, 27: *δυσὶ* *πλοίοις*, etc.). On the other hand, *δύο* occurs frequently even in *A* with the plural as an indeclinable word, as: Th. i, 104 τῶν δύο μερῶν; also Pl. Legg. 848 A; Th. i, 74 δύο μοιρῶν. 7, 50 δύο ἡμερῶν. 3, 15 τοῖς δύο μέρεσιν. 5, 4 ναυσὶ δύο, etc. Xen. An. i. 2, 23 δύο πλείθρων, etc. CIA iii. 1443 ἐτῶν δύο. See 229.

632. *Δύο* survives in *N* as an indeclinable and chiefly oxytone word (*δυό*, 135, c): viz. *N.* & *A.* *δυό*, *G.* τῶν *δυό*,—though τῶν *δυσὶν* (579) and τῶν *δυό* (for τῶν *δυό*, 132<sup>b</sup>) also occur, chiefly as substantives.

633. The frequent occurrence of *δυό* as an indeclinable word, its dative form *δυσί'*, and above all its usual construction, since the V<sup>th</sup> B.C., with the plural both of nouns and verbs (1172) clearly points to the simultaneous disappearance of the dual (229).

634. The inflection of *δυό* (δύω) is followed by its synonym *ἄμφω* 'both'; *G. D.* *ἀμφοῖν*—a term foreign to popular speech since *A*.

	M. F.	N.
635. 3 γ. Pl. N.A.	τρεῖς	τρία
G.	τριῶν	← =
D.	τρισί'	← =
635 <sup>b</sup> . So still in <i>N</i> (save in the dative, 229, 232).		
636. 4 δ. Pl. N.A.	τέσσαρες	τέσσαρα
G.	τεσσάρων	← =
D.	τέσσαρσι'	← =

636<sup>b</sup>. For *τεσσ-* early Attic used *τεττ-*.

[1] Phryn. 185 *δυσὶ* *μή* λέγει, ἀλλὰ *δυσὶν*. *δυσὶν* δ' ἔστι μὲν δόκιμον, τῇ δὲ ἀλλοκρίσει αὐτῇ χρῆσθαι τινὰς ἐπιταράττεται (ἐπιταράττει τι?). ἐπὶ γὰρ μόνῃς γενικῇς τίθεται, οὐχὶ δὲ *δοτικῇς*.



637. In Ionic and *P* Greek the nominative τέσσαρες, τέσσαρα was often, under the stress of the accent, reduced to τέσσερες τέσσερα (App. i. 15, b), a form still current in *N*: τέσσερες, commoner τέσσερεις (after τρεῖς, αὐθάδεις, Gloss. Laod. 211 tessaris), and τέσσερα. For the masculine τέσσερες another *M-N* form τέσσεροι (after adjectives in -οι, διακόσιοι, etc. 346. 638) is sometimes heard. The regular genitive τεσσάρων is preserved in its *A* form only (hence τεσσάρῳ, never τεσσέρω).

638. All cardinal numbers from 5 to 199 inclusive, are indeclinable. The round hundreds from 200 upwards are regular adjectives of three endings (-οι, -α, -αι).—So still in *N*.

639. As all tens from 20 upwards end in -κοντα and thus consist of four or more syllables, the post-tonic ending -κοντα, being too clumsy for such common terms, was syncopated to (-κ'ντα) -ντα. This abbreviation appears even in *G* inscriptions, and is now the only form current in *N*.

(τριάκοντα) τριάντα (Le Bas-Foucard Voyage ii. no. 137, cp. CIL xii. 5399 trienta), (τεσσαράκοντα) \*τεσσαράντα σαράντα, (πεντήκοντα) πενήντα (GLASCOLI 4, 5; so too in *M*), now πενήντα (593); (ἑξήκοντα) ἑξήντα, (ἑβδομήκοντα) ἑβδομήντα, (ὀγδοήκοντα) ὀγδοήντα (so even in GLASCOLI 17), now ὀγδόντα or ὀγδάντα, (ἐννēήκοντα) ἐννēήντα (cp. *A* ἐνήκοντα, ἐνακόσιοι).—Also trianta, saraenta, peninta, ezinta, ebdominta, ogdointa, eneninta, ecato, in Gloss. Laod. 211.

640. In compound numbers consisting of units and tens, two modes of combination are followed in *A*:—(a) The units may precede or follow the tens with or without the interposition of the copula καὶ 'and,' as: πέντε (καὶ) εἴκοσι 'five and twenty' or εἴκοσι (καὶ) πέντε 'twenty and five.'—(b) The tens may precede *without* the copula καὶ, as: εἴκοσι πέντε = 25. This latter mode obtained general popularity in *P* times, and is now the one exclusively current in *N*.

641. In a number consisting of whole units and a half, the half is expressed:—(a) through the ordinal followed by ἡμι- as prefix to the noun representing the unit, e.g. 'two minae and a half' τρίτον ἡμιμναίων, '3½ (4½, 5½) talents' τέταρτον (πέμπτον, ἕκτον) ἡμιτάλαντον.—(b) by connecting the half (ἡμισυ) with the whole by means of καὶ 'and,' as: δύο καὶ ἡμισία μᾶ, πέντε καὶ ἡμισυ τάλαντον. *P-B* speech follows the latter practice, but departs from *A* by first conceiving ἡμισυ as a neuter ἡμισυ (sc. μέρος), then by dropping the connective καὶ and uttering the whole complex under one dominant accent, a circumstance which soon led to the enclisis and abbreviation of ἡμισυ to *N* 'μισυ, as: Sept. Ex. 25, 10 δύο πήχεων καὶ ἡμισογς. Dion. H. ii. 681, 13 δώδεκα καὶ ἡμισογς μῶν. Cleomed. 22, 9 ὥρα καὶ ἡμισυ. 63, 20 ἐπτά καὶ εἴκοσιν ἡμέρας καὶ ἡμισυ. 98, 10 δύο καὶ ἡμισυ μοίρας. Diosc. 1, 62 τρεῖς καὶ ἡμισυ λίτρας. Plut. ii. 908 A & B. App. ii. 315, 95 μυριάδας ἐξ καὶ ἡμισυ τάλαντων. Galen. ii. 54 F.—*N* ἕνας (δύο, τρεῖς, τέσσερες, πέντε, εἴκοσι, τριάντα) καὶ μισός (401<sup>b</sup>), τρεῖς (τέσσερες, ἐξ) ἡμισυ, δύο (τρία, τέσσερα, πέντε, ἐξ, ἑφτά, etc.) 'μισυ, δεκά 'μισυ, δικοχτώ 'μισυ, etc.

642. In *A* the two units 8 and 9, when joined to tens, were often expressed by way of subtraction of 2 or 1 from the tens (20, 30, 40 etc.), the usual formula being δυοῖν δέοντες 'wanting two,' ἐνός δέοντες 'wanting one,' that is, 'minus two,' 'minus one,' as: '48 years' δυοῖν δέοντα πενήκοντα ἔτη, duodequingaginta anni. '49 years' ἐνός δέοντα πενήκοντα ἔτη. 'with 39 ships' ναυσὶ μᾶς δεούσαις τετταράκοντα.

643. This clumsy circumlocution was hardly proper to popular speech even in *A* times. As a matter of course it is unknown to *N*.

644. Another periphrastic mode of subtracting a smaller from a larger quantity was sometimes resorted to by means of the preposition

παρὰ with accusative corresponding to the English 'except,' 'save,' minus (1619 ff.). Hdt. 9. 33 & Th. 8. 29 παρὰ πέντε ναῦς. Isae. 41, 36; A. P. 695. NT 2 Cor. 9, 24 τεσσαράκοντα παρὰ μίαν. Jos. Ant. 4, 8. 1 τεσσαράκοντα ἐτῶν παρὰ τριάκονθ' ἡμέρας. Nicom. 77 παρὰ μονάδα. GKaibel 1426 ἐτῶν ιβ' παρὰ ἡμέρας η'; ib. 1900 ἐτη ιθ' παρὰ ἡμέρας ζ'. The convenience thus afforded met with greater popularity during G times, and eventually became a familiar colloquialism, still very common in N.

## 645.

## SYNOPSIS OF CARDINAL NUMBERS.

1	α'	*εἷς, ἓν, μία (621 ff. 630)
2	β'	*δύο—N δύο (632)
3	γ'	ἴτρεῖς, ἴτρία (635)—N also τρᾶ for τρία (rarely)
4	δ'	*τέσσαρες, τέσσαρα (τεττ-) (636 f.), G—N τέσσερα
5	ε'	ἴπέντε
6	ς'	*ἕξ—N ἕξε & ἕξη or ἕξι (132 <sup>b</sup> )
7	ζ'	*ἑπτὰ—N ἑφτά (174)
8	η'	*ὀκτώ—N ὀχτώ (174)
9	θ'	*ἐννέα—N ἐννεά (155, α)
10	ι'	ἴδέκα
11	ια'	ἴενδεκα (P δέκα εἷς)—N ἔντεκα (61) [instead of ἰδεκα (194), which form would lead to confusion]
12	ιβ'	ἴδώδεκα, P-B δέκα δύο.
13	ιγ'	{ τρεῖς (τρία) καὶ δέκα (640 f.) ἴδέκα τρεῖς (τρία)
14	ιδ'	{ τέσσαρες (-ρα) καὶ δέκα (640 f.) ἴδέκα τέσσαρες (-ρα)
15	ιε'	{ πεντεκαίδεκα ἴδέκα πέντε
16	ισ'	{ ἑκκαίδεκα ἴδέκα ἕξ—in N oftener δεκάξε or δεκάξη (see ἕξ)
17	ιζ'	{ ἑπτακαίδεκα ἴδέκα ἑπτὰ—in N oftener δεκαφτά (150, c; 174)
18	ιη'	{ ὀκτωκαίδεκα ἴδεκα ὀκτώ—in N oftener δεκοχτώ (150, α; 174)
19	ιθ'	{ δυοῖν δέοντες εἴκοσι (642) ἐννεακαίδεκα
20	κ'	ἴεἴκοσι (220, 3)
21	κα'	{ εἷς (μία, ἓν) καὶ εἴκοσι *εἴκοσιν εἷς (μία, ἓν)—in N εἴκοσι ἑνας (μία, ἓνα) (621).
22	κβ'	{ δύο καὶ εἴκοσι ἴεἴκοσι δύο—N εἰκοσιδυό (632)
23	κγ'	{ τρεῖς (τρία) καὶ εἴκοσι ἴεἴκοσι τρεῖς (τρία)—in N also εἰκοστρεῖς (136)
30	λ'	τριάκοντα—N τριάντα (639)
40	μ'	{ τεσσαράκοντα (τετταρ-) <sup>[1]</sup> —By dissimilation B-M σαράκοντα Porph. Cer. 478, 13; GSpata 98 (A.D. 1131) (cp. B σαρακο- στός, Ξεραντάπηχος, and ancient τάρων for τεττάρων Athen. 6, 5). N σαράντα (even in Theoph. 474, 3). See 647 <sup>b</sup> .
50	ν'	πεντήκοντα—M πενήντα, now πενήντα (593. 639)
60	ξ'	ἑξήκοντα—N ἑξήντα (639)
70	ο'	ἑβδομήκοντα—N ἑβδομήντα (639)

[1] In G-B also τεσσεράκοντα. (Cf. 637.)

80	π'	ὀγδοήκοντα— <i>N</i> ὀγδοήντα and ὀγδόντα or ὀγδῶντα (639)
90	ς'	ἐνενήκοντα— <i>N</i> ἐνενήντα (639)
100	ρ'	ἑκατόν— <i>N</i> ἑκατό (219)
200	σ'	ἑκατόν, α, αι (638), <i>N</i> also διακόσιοι (148)
300	τ'	ἑκατόν, α, αι ,, <i>N</i> τριακόσιοι (150, d) also τριακοῖσι (148)
400	υ'	ἑκατόν, α, αι ,, <i>N</i> also τετρακόσιοι (148)
500	φ'	ἑκατόν, α, αι ,, <i>N</i> also πεντακόσιοι (148)
600	χ'	ἑκατόν, α, αι ,, <i>N</i> also ἑξακόσιοι (148)
700	ψ'	*ἑπτακόσιοι, α, αι— <i>N</i> ἑπτακοῖσι (174), also ἑπτακοῖσι (148)
800	ω'	*ὀκτακόσιοι, α, αι— <i>N</i> ὀκτακοῖσι (174), also ὀκτακοῖσι (148)
900	Ϟ	ἐνακόσιοι (639)— <i>N</i> ἐννεακόσιοι, also ἐννεακοῖσι (148)
1000	α	ἑκατόν, α, αι
2000	β	δισχίλιοι, α, αι— <i>N</i> δυὸ χιλιάδες
3000	γ	τρισχίλιοι, α, αι— <i>N</i> τρεῖς χιλιάδες
4000	δ	τετρακισχίλιοι— <i>N</i> τέσσερες (& -res) χιλιάδες
5000	ε	πεντακισχίλιοι, α, αι etc.
6000	ς	ἑξακισχίλιοι, α, αι ,,
7000	τ	ἑπτακισχίλιοι, α, αι ,,
8000	η	ὀκτακισχίλιοι, α, αι ,,
9000	θ	ἐνακισχίλιοι, α, αι ,,
10,000	ι	μύριοι, α, αι— <i>N</i> δέκα χιλιάδες
20,000	κ	δισμύριοι, α, αι— <i>N</i> εἴκοσι χιλιάδες
100,000	ρ	δεκακισμύριοι, α, αι— <i>N</i> ἑκατὸ χιλιάδες

## III. ORDINAL NUMBERS.

**646.** The ordinal numerals end in -τος from 1st to 19th (the 2nd, 7th, and 8th excepted), then invariably in -στός. Hence they are all adjectives of three endings: -ος, -ον, -η (or -α).

1st	πρῶτος, ον, η
2nd	δεύτερος, ον, α
3rd	τρίτος, ον, η
4th	τέταρτος, ον, η
5th	πέμπτος, ον, η
6th	ἕκτος, ον, η
7th	ἑβδομος, ον, η
8th	ὀγδοος, ον, η
9th	ἐνάτος, ον, η
10th	δέκατος, ον, η
11th	ἐνδέκατος, ον, η
12th	δωδέκατος, ον, η
13th	τρίτος καὶ δέκατος, ον, η
14th	τέταρτος καὶ δέκατος
15th	πέμπτος καὶ δέκατος
16th	ἕκτος καὶ δέκατος
17th	ἑβδομος καὶ δέκατος
18th	ὀγδοος καὶ δέκατος
19th	ἐνάτος καὶ δέκατος
20th	εἰκοστός, ον, η
21st	εἰς or πρῶτος καὶ εἰκοστός
22nd	δεύτερος καὶ εἰκοστός
23rd	τρίτος καὶ εἰκοστός
30th	τριακοστός, ον, η
40th	τεσσαρακοστός, ον, η

50th	πεντηκοστός, ον, η
60th	ἑξηκοστός, ον, η
70th	ἑβδομηκοστός, ον, η
80th	ὀγδοηκοστός, ον, η
90th	ἐνενηκοστός, ον, η
100th	ἑκατοστός, ον, η
200th	διακοσιοστός, ον, η
300th	τριακοσιοστός, ον, η
400th	τετρακοσιοστός, ον, η
500th	πεντακοσιοστός, ον, η
600th	ἑξακοσιοστός, ον, η
700th	ἑπτακοσιοστός, ον, η
800th	ὀκτακοσιοστός, ον, η
900th	ἐνακοσιοστός, ον, η
1000th	χιλιοστός, ον, η
2000th	δισχilioστός, ον, η
3000th	τρισχιλιοστός, ον, η
4000th	τετρακισχιλιοστός, ον, η
5000th	πεντακισχιλιοστός, ον, η
6000th	ἑξακισχιλιοστός, ον, η
7000th	ἑπτακισχιλιοστός, ον, η
8000th	ὀκτακισχιλιοστός, ον, η
9000th	ἐνακισχιλιοστός, ον, η
10,000th	μυριοστός, ον, η
20,000th	δισμυριοστός, ον, η

646<sup>b</sup>. *P-B* formation : τετραεξηκοστός Gr. Urk. Berlin 234 (+121), 12 & 17.

647. Of the ordinal numerals, only πρῶτος δεύτερος and τρίτος are still preserved in *N*, all the remaining being replaced by the cardinals preceded by the article, as : δ' ἐφτά, δ' δώδεκα, δ' τριάντα.—On the other hand, a few other ordinals survive as substantives, viz. δευτέρα 'Monday'; τρίτη 'Tuesday'; (for τετάρτη 'Wednesday' popular speech uses τετράδη [340]); πέφτη (i.e. πέμπτη, \*πέπτη [193. 174]) 'Thursday'; σερακοστή i.e. τεσσαρακοστή (sc. νηστεία) 'Lent' (see 647<sup>b</sup>); πεντηκοστή 'Pentecost,' 'Whit Sunday'; εκατοστή 'a number of hundred' (cp. εκατοστός 660<sup>b</sup>).

647<sup>b</sup>. By dissimilation τεσσαρακοστός becomes Β σερακοστός Nomoc. 285 & 286; Dig. 6, 129; hence ἡ σερακοστή 'the quadragesimal fast,' 'Lent' (645, 40. 647.) So τεσσαρακοστός is represented by Μ σερακοστός (as FTrinch. 428 [+1265] σερακοστόν χρόνον).

#### IV. NUMERAL ADVERBS.

648. Numeral adverbs answering to the question *How many times?* are formed from cardinals by affixing the ending -άκις = 'times' to all numbers from 4 upwards. In compound numbers only the last part receives the ending -άκις.—Mark as irregular the first three numbers.

1 ἀπαξ 'once'	21 εἰκοσάκις ἅπαξ
2 δις 'twice'	22 εἰκοσάκις δις
3 τρίς 'thrice'	30 τριακοντάκις
4 τετράκις 'four times'	40 τεσσαρακοντάκις
5 πεντάκις 'five times'	50 πεντηκοντάκις
6 ἑξάκις 'six times,' etc.	60 ἑξηκοντάκις
7 ἑπτάκις	70 ἑβδομηκοντάκις
8 ὀκτάκις	80 ὀγδοηκοντάκις
9 ἐνάκις	90 ἐννηκοντάκις
10 δεκάκις	100 ἑκατοντάκις
11 ἐνδεκάκις	200 διακοσιάκις
12 δωδεκάκις	300 τριακοσιάκις
13 τρισκαιδεκάκις	1000 χιλιάκις
14 τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάκις	2000 δισχιλιάκις
15 πεντεκαιδεκάκις	10,000 μυριάκις
20 εἰκοσάκις	20,000 δισμυριάκις

649. So further πολλάκις 'many times,' often, συχνάκις 'frequently,' ὀλιγάκις 'few times,' σπανιάκις 'rarely,' τοσάκις or τοσυντάκις 'so many times,' ὅσάκις 'as many times,' as often, whenever.

650. Being the simplest and most natural unit of time, *day* (ἡμέρα) suggested itself most conveniently for enumerations of time and thus was closely associated with numerals, both cardinal and ordinal. This frequent association then gradually led to the convenience of dropping the substantive ἡμέρα (cp. Ἄ καθ' ἐκάστην 'every day'; Sept. Ps. 47, 1 ἡ δευτέρα 'second day,' 'Monday'; so further τρίτη, τετάρτη, πέμπτη, for Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, since G; also ἡ ἑβδόμη 'the seventh day' of the month, Plut. ii. 1027 E; Luc. Pseudol. 16; Philo i. 645, 4, etc.; cp. also 1791), and thus gave birth to the elliptical expressions μία, δύο, τρεῖς, etc., or πρώτη, δευτέρα, τρίτη, etc., in the sense of 'one, two, three times' or 'first, second, third, time.' This ellipsis seems to have been furthered by the NT (Luke) standing phrase μία τῶν ἡμερῶν. (Cp. μία τῶν σαββάτων and ἀπ' ἧς 1791.)

Pallad. 1179 *ο ἐν μᾶ τῶν ἡμερῶν*, but 1228 *ο ἐσθίειν μίαν παρὰ μίαν* 'every other day.' Apophth. 101 *ο ἐκάλεσέ με μίαν ὁ ἀββᾶς Ἀρσένιος* 'one day.' 328 *ο τί εἶπες μοι τῇ ἄλλῃ* 'the other day.' 185 *ο μᾶ γούν πολεμῆεις* 'once.' 420 *ο ἀνῆλθεν ἐν μᾶ εἰς τὸ δαμάτιον αὐτῆς προσεύξασθαι*. JMoschos 2877 *ο* & 2949 *ο ἐν μᾶ*. Leont. Neap. V. J. ἐν μᾶ 15, 10; 48, 4; 6; 73, 10; 76, 9; et passim (beside ἐν μᾶ τῶν ἡμερῶν 12, 6; 54, 7; 83, 17). Theoph. 182, 28 *μίαν εἰς τὴν πόλιν προέρχομαι*. Vita Nil. Jun. 45 *ο μίαν τοῦ χρόνου* 'once a year.'—Elegand Bibl. ii. p. 23, 145 *καὶ τοῦτο ποῖσε το μίαν καὶ δύο καὶ τρεῖς καὶ θέλεις ἰδεῖν τὴν ἀλήθειαν*;—

and so on down to the present day, as: σου ἑὸ 'πα μᾶ, σου τό 'πα δυὸ 'I told you so once, I told you so twice.' μᾶ τοῦ φίλου δυὸ τοῦ φίλου τρεῖς καὶ τὴν κακὴν του μέρα.

651. Another equally post-christian (*T-N*) mode of expressing the same notion has been evolved by supplying to the cardinal number the word *φορά* (dialectally [Crete etc.] also *βολά*, 116; cp. Ital. *volta*) 'turn,' 'time,' naturally used mostly in the plural, as:

[Diosc.] Eupor. 2, 2 *πέντε ἡ ἐξ φορές τὸν μῆνα*. Alchem. 318, 17 *φορὰς δύο*. 322, 21 *κατὰ πέντε καὶ ἐξ φορές*. ib. 26 *εἰς πᾶσαν φοράν β' ἡ γ'*. 323, 6 *κατὰ γ' φορές*. 325, 23 *ἀπὸ ε' καὶ ἐξ φορές*. 330, 3 *μίαν φοράν*, etc., etc.—Theoph. 332, 11 *καὶ γίνεται πρώτη φορά* [v. l.] *πῶσις τοῦ Ῥωμαϊκοῦ στρατοῦ*. Nomoc. 46 *δύο φορές*. Zetz. Chil. 13, 58. Nicet. 459, 24 *μίαν* (sc. *φοράν*). Istaph. 123 f. *τέσσαρες φορές τὴν ἡμέραν, καθά φοράν δὲ ὥσει πανία δέκα*. Asin. 327 *μιὰν φοράν*. 448 *μᾶ φορά*.

651<sup>b</sup>. This expedient is now the one in universal use: *μᾶ φορά*, *δυὸ* (*τρεῖς*, *τέσσερεις*, *πέντε* κτλ., *πολλῆς*, *ὀλίγης*, *πόσες*, *τόσες*, *ὅσες*) *φορές*.

652. A third substitute for the numeral adverbs, peculiar to *G-M* Greek, is effected by extending the meaning of the neuter cardinal (*τὸ*) *πρῶτον* 'for the first time' to 'once'; (*τὸ*) *δεύτερον* 'for the second time' to 'twice'; (*τὸ*) *τρίτον* 'for the third time' to 'three times' and so on. This extension of usage is natural, seeing that what occurred for the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th, etc. time, must needs have occurred once, twice, three, four, etc. times.

Conc. Ant. († 341) 20 *δεύτερον τοῦ ἔτους=δὺς τοῦ ἔτους*. Basil. i. 217 *ο*. Chrys. x. 120 *α*. Prodr. 4, 85.—Chrys. i. 611 *ο* *τρίτον τῆς ἐβδομάδος*. Vita Epiph. 28 *ο*; 45 *ο*. JMoschos 2865 *α*. Acta Joann. 5, 14; 24, 12. 35, 9; 114, 2. Prodr. 5, 64.—Basil. iv. 484 *ο* *τέταρτον καθ' ἐκάστην ἐβδομάδα κοινωνοῦμεν*. Chrys. i. 611 *α*.—JMoschos 2925 *ο* *ἐβδομον δι' ὅλης τῆς ἡμέρας*.—Leont. Neap. V. J. 17, 11 *δεύτερον τῆς ἐβδομάδος ἡ καὶ τρίτον ἀπήρχετο*.

## V. OTHER NUMERALS.

653. From numeral stems are further formed:—

1. *Multiplicatives* in (*-πλός*) *-πλούς*, as: *ἀπλούς*, *οὖν*, *ἦ*, 'simple,' *διπλούς* 'twofold' (beside occasional *δισσός* 'double'), *τριπλούς* 'threefold' (beside occasional *τρισσός* 'treble'), *τετραπλούς* 'fourfold,' *πενταπλούς* 'fivefold,' etc.—Further *πολλαπλούς* 'manifold,' *ποσσαπλούς* 'how manifold.' (319, 2.)

654. Contracted adjectives of this class, coinciding as they do in most of their cases with the ordinary adjectives in *-ος*, were often identified with them (320 f.), sometimes even by *A* writers (cp. *δορυός*, *φυλλαός*, *δικρος*, *Κρατίνος*, *Ἀρχίνος*, *πορφυράτερος*, *πορφυράτατος*, *διπλότερος*, *ἀπλότερος*, etc. 321). That the process of assimilation had, as early in *G*, reached an advanced or rather final stage in popular speech, may be gathered from the testimony of Moeris 336: *τριπλά τετραπλά περισπωμένους καὶ μακρῶς Ἀττικῶς βραχέως Ἑλληνικῶς*. Hence *N* treats them as ordinary

# MULTIPLICATIVES AND NUMERAL SUBSTANTIVES. [654-661.]

adjectives in -os: ἀπλός, διπλός, τριπλός (cp. *A* δισσός, τρισσός). For all other *N* numbers upwards, the adjective διπλός is added as a crystallized suffix: ὀδιπλός, as: τριδιπλός, τετραδιπλός (so even in *Acta Thadd.* 3), πεντάδιπλος, ἑξάδιπλος, ἑφτάδιπλος, ὀχτάδιπλος, etc.

655. A variety of multiplicatives is effected by the ending -πλάσιος, which answers to the question: ποσαπλάσιος; how many times as much? διπλάσιος 'twice as much,' τριπλάσιος 'thrice as much,' τετραπλάσιος, πενταπλάσιος, ἑξαπλάσιος, εικοσαπλάσιος, etc. '4, 5, 6, 20 times as much,' etc.—So further πολλαπλάσιος 'many times as much,' μυριοπλάσιος 'thousands of times as much.'

656. For -πλάσιος *P* Greek often uses -πλασίον (neuter -πλάσιον), *G*. -ονος, as: τριπλασίον, ἑκατονταπλασίονα.

657. Neither -πλάσιος nor -πλασίον survives in *N*. Present speech, like other modern languages, uses instead a periphrastic expression, such as ὅν (τρεῖς, τέσσερεις, πέντε, etc.) φορές πλείτερος (πλειότερος) or περισσότερος (μεγαλύτερος), etc.

658. 2. Abstract *feminines* in -άς (*G*. ἄδος 363), as: μονάς 'unit,' δυάς 'couple,' τριάς 'a number of three,' τετράς, πεμπάς (*P* πεντάς), ἑξάς, ἑβδομάς & ἑπτάς, ὀγδοάς & ὀκτάς, ἑννιάς, δεκάς, ἑνδεκάς, δωδεκάς, εἰκάς, τριακάς (*G-B* τριακοινάς), τεσσαρακοινάς, πενητηκοινάς, ἑκατοινάς, χιλιάς, μυριάς, 'a number of 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 20, 30, 40, 50, 100, 1000, 10000.' Hence τρεῖς μυριάδες = 30,000.

658<sup>b</sup>. Of these substantives only a few survive in *N*, chiefly as specific terms, viz: ἡ μονάδα 'unit' (a school term), Ἀγία Τριάδα 'Holy Trinity,' τετράδῃ (340. 647, 'Wednesday,' ἑβδομάδα 'week,' δεκάδα 'ten,' ἑκατοινάδα 'a hundred' (both as school terms only), χιλιάδα, 'a thousand,' μυριάδες 'an immense number.' For the rest see 661.

659. In *A* the two words χιλιάς and μυριάς accent the ultima in the genitive plural: χιλιάδων, μυριάδων.—So still in *N* (354).

660. Besides -άς (*G*. -ἄδος), there are a few numeral substantives with the ending -ύς (*G*. -ύος), as: ἡ τριτύς, τετρακτύς, πενητηκοτύς, χιλιοσύς, μυριοσύς.

660<sup>b</sup>. These forms, which even in *A* occur rarely, are of course unknown to *N*, though some scholars claim to have discovered a remnant of them in the *N* popular phrase μὴ ἑκατοστή, and accordingly write ἡ ἑκατοστυ (647).

661. The genuine *N* numerals, which correspond to the *A* feminine substantives in -άς (*G*. -ἄδος 658), ended in *B-M* speech in -αρία, now contracted to -αρεά or -αρία (155, c). This ending is naturally current chiefly in multiples of 5 (that is in 10, 15, 20, 25, etc.), in conjunction with μιά.

<i>B-M</i>	Now
μὴ δεκαρία	δεκαρεά (or -ιά, 155, c)
„ δωδεκαρία	δωδεκαρεά
„ δεκαπενταρία	δεκαπενταρεά
„ εικοσαρία	εικοσαρεά
„ εικοσιπενταρία	εικοσιπενταρεά
„ τριανταρία	τριανταρεά
„ σαρανταρία	σαρανταρεά
„ πενηνταρία	πεντηνταρεά
„ ἑξηνταρία	ἑξηνταρεά
„ ἑκατονταρία	ἑκατονταρεά
„ ἑκατονπεντηνταρία	ἑκατο(ν)πεντηνταρεά
„ διακοσαρία	διακοσαρεά, etc.
but „ χιλιάδα	χιλιάδα

**662. 3. Distributives are formed:—**

(1) By prefixing the preposition *σύν* (used as an adverb) to the cardinal number, as: *σύνδυο* 'by twos,' *σύντρεις* (*σύντρια*) 'by threes,' *σύνμπετε* 'by fives,' *συνδώδεκα* 'by dozens,' *συνεκαίδεκα* 'by sixteens' (written also *σύν δύο*, *σύν τρεῖς*, etc.).

(2) By means of the prepositions *ἀνά* and *κατά*, with the accusative of the cardinal number (1497, b. 1589, b), as: *ἀνά πέντε* 'by fives,' *ἀνά δέκα* 'by tens,' *καθ' ἓνα* *singuli* 'one by one,' *κατά δύο* = *σύνδυο*.

Cp. Rev. 4, 8 *ἐν καθ' ἓν αὐτῶν ἔχον ἀνά πτέρυγας ἑξ*. Plut. Cat. min. 68 *καθ' ἓνα τῶν οἰκετῶν* 'every one.' Vita SA 9\* *Ε φέρετέ μοι ἓνα καθ' ἓνα*. ib. F *ἔλεγον ἐνὶ καθ' ἑνί*. (Cp. 666.)

663. For the prepositions *σύν* and *ἀνά*, *N* has substituted partly *ἀπό* (1515), partly *κατά* in the modified form *κάθε* (665. 1590<sup>b</sup>).

664. Like *σύν* and probably after its analogy, the prepositions *ἀνά* and *κατά*, when used in the above distributive sense, came to be treated in *P-M* as adverbial prefixes to the nominative (1589<sup>b</sup>), as: Plut. Aem. 32 *ἀνά τέσσαρες* (like *ἀνά τρεῖς*); Rev. 21, 21 *ἀνά εἰς ἕκαστος*; Hermas Sim. 9, 2, 3 *ἀνά δύο πυρθένοι*. NT Mark 14, 19 (also John 8, 9) *εἰς καθ' εἰς* (so too Cedr. ii. 698. 723, & Curoph. 689; cp. also Leo Tact. 783 *εἰς παρ' εἰς*; cp. Rev. 4, 8 *ἐν καθ' ἓν αὐτῶν ἔχον ἀνά πτέρυγας ἑξ*); Rom. 12, 5 *ὁ καθ' εἰς* or *καθεῖς*. So Luc. Pseudosoph. 9. Cp. also 1500<sup>b</sup>.

665. The frequent expressions *καθ' ἓνα*, *καθ' ἕκαστον*, *καθ' ἑβδομάδα*, *οὐθένα*, *μηθένα* (cp. *καθ' ὥραν*, *καθ' ἡμέραν*, *καθ' ἔτος*. 1589, b), taken in conjunction with *οὐδ' ἓνα*, *μηδ' ἓνα*, *οὔτε ἓνα*, *μήτε ἓνα*, led to a feminine form *καθε μία*—after *οὐδεμία*, *μηδεμία*, *οὔτε μία*, *μήτε μία*—and thus called into existence an indeclinable adjective *κάθε* (simple *καθ'* being inadmissible 218 ff.). This *κάθε*, which is often modified by assimilation to *καθα* (after *πάσα* 621. 626), was mistaken for an independent word, and so gradually took the place of *πᾶς* and *ἕκαστος* 'each' 'every' (cp. *κατά*, 1590<sup>b</sup>).

666. 3. By repeating the cardinal numeral twice, as: *ἓνα ἓναι*, *μῖαν μῖαν*, *τρεις τρεις*, etc. cp. Antatt. 108, 9 *μῖαν μῖαν ἀντι κατά μῖαν*. Σοφοκλῆς *Ἐριδι*. Aesch. Pers. 981 *μυρία μυρία* = *κατά μυριάδας*; Sept. Gen. 7, 12 & 15 *δύο δύο*. 7, 2 *ἐπτά ἐπτά*. 1 Par. 24, 6 *εἰς εἰς*. Callin. 60, 33 *εἰς καὶ εἰς*. Porph. Cer. 261 *ἀπέρχεται μία μία προσκυνοῦσα*. Apophth. 80 *Α χρὴ οὖν μίαν μῖαν συγκαταβαίνειν τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς*. 113 D *λόγῳ λόγῳ νηστεύω καὶ δύο παλαμάτια ἐσθίω*. 116 *Α νηστεύειν θέλων λόγῳ λόγῳ*. So too 120 B *λόγῳ λόγῳ ἐσθίω* (ubi male διὰ δύο). 368 C *ἐγὼ λόγῳ λόγῳ νηστεύω καὶ ζεύγους ψωμίων ἐσθίω*. So ib. D. This mode of indicating distribution has since spread widely, and is now the commonest in *N* speech.

**B. THE VERB (CONJUGATION).**

667. The Greek verb has—

A. THREE PERSONS: First, Second, and Third.—So too in *N*.

B. THREE NUMBERS: Singular, Dual, and Plural.

668. The Dual, however, began to retreat from the ordinary language early in classical antiquity. After 420 B. C. it disappears from the *A* inscriptions, and even the orators show no trace of it from 363 B. C. downwards (229. 631<sup>b</sup>. 633; cp. StKeck 57; cp. KMeisterhans<sup>2</sup> 161; HSchmidt 2f.)

669. C. THREE VOICES: Active, Passive, and Middle.—So still in *N*.

670. The middle voice of transitive verbs (1466) refers the

action back to the agent or subject, in the sense either of an accusative (direct object), or of a dative (indirect object), (1467. 1470):

## ACTIVE.

λούω 'I bathe'  
 πορίζω 'I procure'  
 δανείζω 'I lend'

## MIDDLE.

λούομαι (=λούω ἐμαυτόν) 'I bathe myself.'  
 πορίζομαι (=πορίζω ἐμαυτῷ) 'I procure for [myself].'  
 δανείζομαι 'I borrow.'

671. Both functions of the Middle still obtain in *N*, but the indirect function is much more uncommon than it was in *A*. (1472. 1478-86.)

672. The middle and passive voices have the same form through all tenses save in the Future and Aorist where each has its separate form.

673. However, in *N* the two voices have become identical in the future and aorist also, the passive having obliterated the middle (675. 1478-86.).

674. In many cases the middle and passive (medio-passive) voice has an *active* meaning. In that case it is called *deponent*, in particular Middle deponent (MD) or Passive deponent (PD), according as it has a middle or a passive form in the future and aorist (999<sup>c</sup> f.).

675. In *N* both the middle future and the middle aorist having become extinct (1478-86), all deponent verbs have of necessity become PD (673). Moreover many of the deponents being active in sense have also, in the course of *P-N*, adopted the active voice, so that the group of deponents appears now considerably reduced. See 1000 & 1482.

676. *D. THREE MOODS: Indicative, Subjunctive (Conjunctive), and Imperative*,—which are called *Finite* moods, because they distinguish persons and numbers. (Cp. 680.)

677. The 'subjunctive of the past,' or *secondary subjunctive* (692), is conventionally called *Optative*, a term suggested to the ancient grammarians by the circumstance that at their time this mood survived merely as a means of expressing *wish* (1924. App. v. 3. 10<sup>b</sup>). In one single case, however, the secondary subjunctive is formed from the future stem and in that case may preserve, for the sake of distinction, the name *future optative* (1935 f.). But even here it is rare, and appears only as a substitute for the future indicative.

678. The future subjunctive and future imperative are formed from the aorist stem (cp. 908). Owing to this morphological connexion, they are commonly classed under the aorist and termed *aorist subjunctive* and *aorist imperative* respectively. This is, however, misleading, since, from a logical and syntactical point of view, we cannot well conceive a past subjunctive and past imperative, such moods, owing to the nature of their special case, always referring to the future (cp. 1909-22. 1926).

679. All three (finite) moods are still preserved in *N*, but the secondary subjunctive (optative) has become extinct since *G*, its place having been taken chiefly by the primary subjunctive, partly by the indicative also. (1923 ff. 1934. 2039-40. App. v. 6-13. 15.)

680. *E. TWO VERBAL NOUNS: the Infinitive acting as a substantive, and the Participle acting as an adjective*.—These two verbal representatives are distinguished as *Infinite* moods (676).

681. Both verbal nouns have become extinct in *N*, only past participles in *-μένος* still surviving (822. 2063. 2110. App. vi. 13-19. 24-27).

682. *F. SIX TENSES: Present, Future, Perfect,—Imperfect, Aorist, and Pluperfect*.



**683.** Strictly speaking there are or ought to be three groups of tenses corresponding to the three divisions of time, viz. three for the present, three for the future, and three for the past, according as each division is conceived as merely *performed* (*effected*), as still *going on* (*continued*), or as *standing complete*.

**684.** The nine tenses thus distinguishable would be classified as follows:

#### I. PRESENT.

1. ποιῶ, 'do': action merely effected: *Effective Present*
2. ποιῶ (= εἰμὶ ποιῶν), 'am doing': action going on: *Durative Present*
3. πεποίηκα, 'have done': standing complete: completed present or *Perfect*.

#### II. FUTURE.

4. ποιήσω 'shall do': action merely effected: *Effective Future*
5. ποιήσω (= ἔσομαι ποιῶν) 'shall be doing': action going on: *Durative Future*
6. ἔσομαι πεποιηκώς, 'shall have done': action standing complete: *Future Perfect*.

#### III. PAST.

7. ἐποίησα, 'did': action merely effected: *Aorist*
8. ἐποιοῦν, 'was doing': action going on: *Imperfect*
9. ἐπεποίηκειν 'had done': action standing complete: *Pluperfect*.

#### REMARKS.

**685.** It will be seen that for the effective and durative present the Greek language developed no separate *simple* forms, both functions being expressed by one and the same representative: ποιῶ 'I do' and 'am doing,' while the completed present is conventionally called *perfect*: πεποίηκα 'I have done.' Likewise both the effective and durative future are expressed by one and the same simple form ποιήσω 'I shall do' and 'shall be doing'; whereas the completed future is almost always periphrastic: ἔσομαι πεποιηκώς 'I shall have done.' It is only in the case of the *passive future* that *A* has in many cases developed separate simple forms, one for the effective, another for the durative, and a third for the completed future: πράξῃσεται, 'it shall be (then or once) performed' (effective); πράξεται 'it shall continue to be, or shall be every time, performed' (durative); and πεπράξεται 'it shall have been performed' (future perfect). (1882.)

**686.** *N* has evolved in all three voices separate forms, but only for the effective and durative future: θά λούσω 'I shall bathe once' (effective); θά λούω 'I shall be bathing or shall bathe every time' (durative);—θά λουσῶ 'I shall be bathed once' (effective future); θά λούωμαι 'I shall be bathed every time,' or 'I shall bathe myself every time.'

**687.** Ancient Greek then actually developed only *six simple tenses*, while the remaining three—the durative present, the durative future, and the completed future—were *compound*, in that they were expressed by means of some auxiliary verb (εἰμὶ, also ὑπάρχω, γίνομαι, τυγχάνω, ἔχω, 2106 f.) and the participle of the respective verb. This periphrastic mode originated chiefly in the need for perspicuity, but partly also in phonopathic causes. (Cp. 736 ff. 764. 886.)

**688.** Of the six simple tenses referred to, four still survive in *N*, viz.: the Present, Future, Imperfect, and Aorist, while the other two, viz. the Perfect and Pluperfect, have made room for periphrastic substitutes.

**689.** The completed future, which is commonly called *future perfect* (also *third future*), and corresponds to the Latin *Futurum exactum*, is proper to *A* and Atticistic compositions only (1881 ff. 1897). Even

## CLASSIFICATION OF VERBS.—Ω-CONJUGATION. [689-700.

here it occurs only in the passive (rarely intransitive) voice, and then nearly always in the indicative. (Cp. 1869. 1882-5.)

690. Otherwise the future perfect is usually expressed by the combination of *ἔσομαι* 'shall be' with the perfect participle of the respective verb, as : *πεποιηκὸς ἔσομαι* 'I shall have done.'

691. The perfect generally corresponds to the Latin *perfectum praesens*, and the aorist to the *perfectum historicum*.

692. Of the six simple tenses, the Present, Future, and Perfect are called *primary* (or *principal*), while the Imperfect, Aorist, and Pluperfect are contradistinguished as *secondary* or *historical* (also *past*) tenses (1932). The primary tenses serve as a basis for the formation of the secondary tenses.

693. For the formation and conjugation of the verb in *N*, the present, the future, and the perfect participle passive serve regularly as primary tenses, while all the rest serve as secondary tenses (996, d):

γράφω 'write,' *ἔγραφα*—(θά) γράψω, *ἔγραψα*

γράφομαι 'am written,' write my name, *ἐγράφουμουν*—(θά) γράφτῶ, *ἐγράφτηκα*—ΓΡΑΜΜΕΝΟΣ, *εἰμαι γραμμένος*, *ἔχω γραμμένο*."

### CLASSIFICATION OF VERBS.

694. For the sake of convenience, verbs are commonly classified into three groups distinguished by the character of their 'stem' or 'theme' (252. 756). According to this (*stem-*) character we have—

695. 1. *Sonantic* (or *vocalic*) verbs, i.e. verbs of which the stem character is a sonant, as λύω 'loose,' παύω 'stop,' παιδεύω 'educate,' τιμάω 'honour,' ποιέω 'do,' δηλώω 'manifest.'

696. 2. *Consonantal verbs*, in particular—

a. *Mute verbs*, i.e. verbs of which the stem character is a mute, as : διώκω 'pursue,' λέγω 'say,' πράττω 'do,' τρέχω 'run,' τρέφω 'breed.'

b. *Liquid verbs*, i.e. verbs of which the stem character is a liquid, as : στέλλω 'send,' δέρω 'flog,' νέμω 'distribute,' κρίνω 'judge.'

697. The inflection of the verb, commonly called *conjugation*, is determined not by the ending of the infinitive, as in modern languages, but by the ending of the first person of the present indicative (in the active voice). This ending shows two modes of inflection or conjugation.

698. a. The *Common conjugation* which ends in -ω and is accordingly called the *Ω-conjugation*. In three tenses, the Present, Imperfect, and Future, it attaches the endings to the stem by means of an ο or ε, commonly called *thematic* (sometimes also 'connective') vowel (758), as : ἀρχ-ο-μεν, ἀρχ-ε-τε, stem ἀρχ-.

699. b. The *Mi-conjugation* which ends in -μι. It attaches the endings directly to the stem, without a thematic vowel, as : ἵστα-μεν, ἵστα-τε, stem ἵστα-.

## I. COMMON OR Ω-CONJUGATION.

### I. SONANTIC VERBS.

#### A. BARYTONE CONJUGATION.

700. The conjugation of sonantic verbs is either *barytone* (uncontracted) or *contracted*. The barytone conjugation is illustrated by the following paradigm of παύω 'stop,' 'suspend.'

700b. Conjugation Table of παύω 'stop,' as typical representative of barytone verbs in -ω.

1. ACTIVE VOICE.

700<sup>b</sup>.]

CONJUGATION TABLE OF ᾠ-VERBS.

ACTIVE.

I. ACTIVE VOICE.

	INDICATIVE	SUBJUNCTIVE	IMPERATIVE	INFINITIVE	PARTICIPLE
<i>Present</i>	παύ-ω -εις -ει -ον -ε-τε -ου-σι <sup>1</sup>	παύ-ω -ης -ῃ -ω-μεν -ῃ-τε -ω-σι <sup>1</sup>	παύ-ε -ε-τον -ε-τε οἱ -έ-τωσαν	παύ-ειν	παύ-ων, οντος παύ-ον, " παύ-ουσα, ης
<i>Imperfect</i>	ἔ-παυ-ον -εις -ει -ον -ε-τε, -ον	παύ-οι-μι -οις -οι -οι-μεν -οι-τε -οι-εν	παύ-οι-μι -οις -οι -οι-μεν -οι-τε -οι-εν	do.	do.
<i>Perfect</i>	πέ-παυ-κα -κας, -κα-τον -κα-μεν -κα-τε -κα-σι <sup>1</sup>	πέ-παύ-κω -κας -κα-μεν -κα-τε -κα-σι <sup>1</sup>	πέ-παυ-κε -ε-τον -ε-τε οἱ -κέ-τωσαν	πε-παυ-κέ-ναι	πε-παυ-κός, ότος -κός, " -κυία, ας
<i>Pluperf.</i>	ἔ-πε-παύ-κειν -κεις -κει -ον -ε-τε -ου-σι <sup>1</sup>	πε-παύ-κοι-μι -κοις -κοι -κοι-μεν -κοι-τε -κοι-εν	do.	do.	do.
<i>Future</i>	παύ-σ-ω -εις -ει -ον -ε-τε -ου-σι <sup>1</sup>	παύ-σ-ω -ης -ῃ -ω-μεν -ῃ-τε -ω-σι <sup>1</sup>	παύ-σ-ον -ε-τον -ε-τε οἱ -ά-τωσαν	παύ-σ-ειν	παύ-σ-ων, οντος παύ-σ-ον, " παύ-σ-ουσα, ης
<i>Aorist</i>	ἔ-παυ-ε-ν -ας -ε -ον -ε-τε -ον	παύ-ε-αι-μι -αις -αι -αι-μεν -αι-τε -αι-εν	παύ-ε-αι-μι -αις -αι -αι-μεν -αι-τε -αι-εν	παύ-σ-αι	παύ-ε-αι, αντος παύ-σ-αι, " παύ-σ-ασα, ης

<sup>1</sup> As given above, the subjunctive of the perfect and pluperfect active is rather rare. The ordinary A form is periphrastic, as in the medio-passive voice (76a), viz. pf. πέπαυ-κός εἰς ἡν ἦν, πεπαυκότες εἶμεν ἦτε εἴητε, πεπαυκότες εἴητε εἴησαν.

CONJUGATION TABLE OF α-VERBS. MEDIO-PASSIVE. [700<sup>b</sup>.

	INDICATIVE	SUBJUNCTIVE	IMPERATIVE	INFINITIVE	PARTICIPLE
<i>Present</i>	παύ-ο-μαι -έ-ται -ε-σθον -ε-σθε -ο-νται -ό-μεθα	παύ-ω-μαι -ῃ -ώ-μεθα -ῃ-σθον -ῃ-σθε -ω-νται	παύ-ου -έ-σθω -ε-σθον -ε-σθε οὐ -έ-σθωσαν	παύ-ε-σθαι	παυ-ό-μενος -ό-μενον -ο-μένη
<i>Imperfect</i>	ἔ-παυ-ό-μην -ε-το -ε-σθον -ε-σθε -ο-ντο -ό-μεθα	παυ-οί-μην -οί-το -οί-σθον -οί-σθε -οί-ντο	πέ-παυ-σο -σθω -σθον -σθε οὐ -σθωσαν	δο.	δο.
<i>Perfect</i>	πέ-παυ-μαι -ται -σθον -σθε -νται -μεθα	πε-παυ-μένος ᾧ -ῃς -μήναι -μένοι -έμεν -έμεναι	πέ-παυ-σο -σθω -σθον -σθε οὐ -σθωσαν	πε-παυ-σθαι	πε-παυ-μένος -μένον -μένη
<i>Pluperf.</i>	ἔ-πε-παύ-μην -το -σθον -σθε -ντο -μεθα	πε-παυ-μένος ἔην -έην -έμεναι -μένοι -έμεναι -έμεναι	πέ-παυ-σο -σθω -σθον -σθε οὐ -σθωσαν	δο.	δο.
<i>Future</i>	παύ-ε-ομαι -εται -ε-σθον -ε-σθε -ο-νται -ό-μεθα	παύ-ω-μαι -ῃ -ώ-μεθα -ῃ-σθον -ῃ-σθε -ω-νται	παύ-ε-αι -ά-σθω -ά-σθον -ά-σθε οὐ -ά-σθωσαν	παύ-ε-σθαι	παυ-ε-ό-μενος -ό-μενον -ο-μένη
<i>Aorist</i>	ἔπαυ-ε-ά-μην -ω -α-το -ά-σθον -ά-σθε -α-ντο -ά-μεθα	επαυ-αι-μην -αι-ο -αι-σθον -αι-σθε -αι-ντο	παύ-ε-αι -ά-σθω -ά-σθον -ά-σθε οὐ -ά-σθωσαν	παύ-σ-α-σθαι	παυ-ε-ά-μενος -ά-μενον -α-μένη
<i>Future</i>	παυ-θή-σ-ομαι -η -σε-ται -σε-σθον -σε-σθε -σ-ο-νται -σ-ό-μεθα	παυ-θί-σ-ομαι -ῃ -θί-σθον -θί-σθε -θί-σθον -θί-σθον -θί-σθον	παύ-θι-τι -τω -τω -τε οὐ -θί-τωσαν	παυ-θή-σ-ε-σθαι	παυ-θι-σ-ό-μενος -ό-μενον -ο-μένη
<i>Aorist</i>	ἔ-παυ-θην -θη -θη-σθον -θη-σθε -θη-σθον -θη-σθον	παυ-θί-σ-ομαι -ῃ -θί-σθον -θί-σθε -θί-σθον -θί-σθον -θί-σθον	παύ-θι-τι -τω -τω -τε οὐ -θί-τωσαν	παυ-θί-σ-ε-σθαι	παυ-θι-σ-ό-μενος -ό-μενον -ο-μένη
<i>Future perfect</i>	πε-παύ-ε-ομαι -η -ε-ται -ε-σθον -ε-σθε -ο-νται -ό-μεθα	πεπαυ-μένος ᾧ -ῃς -μήναι -μένοι -έμεν -έμεναι	πέ-παυ-σο -σθω -σθον -σθε οὐ -σθωσαν	πε-παυ-σ-ε-σθαι	πε-παυ-σ-ό-μενος -ό-μενον -ο-μένη

**701.** So are further conjugated all sonantic verbs in *-ίω* (*-αίω, -είω*), *-ύω, -αύω*, and the very numerous class in *-εύω*, as :

ἱκνύω 'roll'	ἰκνύω 'hinder'	ἱδουλεύω 'serve'
παίω 'strike'	ἱκλείω 'close'	ἱχορεύω 'dance'
κονίω 'cover with dust'	ἱδακρύω 'weep'	βουλεύω 'advise'
ἱλύω 'loose'	ἱπιστεύω 'believe'	* βασιλεύω 'reign' etc. etc.

**701<sup>b</sup>.** So further *N*: βασιλεύω 'go down,' 'set,' φιλεύω 'treat,' ψαρεύω 'fish,' μισσεύω 'depart,' μαζεύω 'gather,' καβαλλικεύω 'ride,' κοντεύω 'am near,' σημαδεύω 'mark,' γυρεύω 'search,' φυτεύω 'plant,' πιστεύω 'believe,' χορατεύω 'joke,' 'play,' δασκαλεύω 'instruct,' χαϊδεύω 'spoil,' ζηλεύω 'envy,' etc., etc.

**702.** Since *G* times verbs in *-ίω* (i.e. *-ίω, -ύω, -είω*) have undergone hyphaeresis or contraction in the penult (148), and so became associated with contracted verbs. (Cp. 857-860.)

Thus πειν	δμνύνειν	ἀφίεις,	<i>N</i> λύεις	κλείεις	κυλίζει	πτύει
become πείν	δμνείν	ἀφείς	λείς	κλείς	κυλεῖ	φτεῖ.

**703.** When the diphthongs *av* and *ev* had assumed the sound of *av* or *af*, and *ev* or *ef* (51 ff.), popular speech began to identify verbs in *-αύω* and *-εύω* with labial mutes. Hence popular *N* treats *-αύω* and *-εύω* as *-άβω* and *-έβω* respectively (865, 1. 884).

#### ACCENT IN THE CONJUGATION.

**704. 1.** The accent of the verb, on the whole, is recessive (84<sup>b</sup>), in that it stands as far back from the end as the 'quantity' of the ultima allows. However, it can never recede beyond the augment. Thus—

προσάγω, προσάγετε, πρόσαγε, προσαγάγωμεν, προσήχθησαν,—but προσήγον (not πρόσηγον!).—

**704<sup>b</sup>.** So too in *N*, as : λέγω, ἔλεγα, ἐλέγαμεν. (But ἐπρόσεχα for προσεῖχον, after 752.)

**705.** The endings *-αι* and *-οι* of the secondary subjunctive (20<sup>b</sup>), and the participial ending *-ας* count long (197). Hence παιδεύσαι (infin.), παιδευσαι (imprt.), but παιδεύσαι (secondary subj.).

**706. 2.** The penult is accented—

*a.* In all infinitives ending in *-ναι*, as : λελυκέναι, λυθῆναι.—For *N* see 681.

*b.* In all infinitives and participles perf. middle, as : λελύσθαι, λελυμένος.—For *N* see 681.

*c.* In the infin. aor. active, as : λῦσαι, παιδεύσαι.—For *N* see 681.

**707 3.** Participles in *-ώς* and *-είς* are accented on the ultima, as : λελυκώς, λυθείς.—For *N* see 681.

**708.** Neuters and feminines accent the same syllable as their respective masculines, as : παιδεύων, παιδεύον, παιδεύουσα.—For *N* see 681.

#### I. PREFIXES.

**709.** In Greek, conjugation is effected by means of prefixes, infixes, and suffixes, all added to the stem. The prefixes consist in the augment and reduplication, the infixes in the tense character and mood vowel, and the suffixes in the person endings.

## AUGMENT.

710. The augment is the prefix indicating the past, and belongs to the *indicative* of past or secondary tenses only (692). It is either *syllabic* or *temporal*, according as the verb to be conjugated begins with a consonant or sonant.

711. *A.* The *syllabic* augment consists in an ἐ- prefixed to all verbs beginning with a consonant, as: (παύω) ἐ-παυον, ἐ-παυσα, ἐ-πεπαύκειν, ἐ-πανόμην, ἐ-πανασάμην, ἐ-πεπαύμην.—So still in *N* (but cp. 713).

712. Initial ρ- is *usually* doubled after the syllabic augment (KMeisterhans<sup>2</sup> 73 & 134), as: (ρίπτω) ῥριπτον, (ῥέω) ῥρεον. For the reason see 64 and cp. 51<sup>b</sup>.

712<sup>b</sup>. Modern editors often omit this doubling of ρ in *G-B* texts against historical orthography, as: Acta Tho. 70, 10 ἐράπισεν.

713. The syllabic augment is still normal in *N*, as: ἐπανε', ἐλνε', ἐλεγε', ἐγραψα, ἐγράψαμε', ἐπορίσετε, ἐβοτανίσετε. In northern speech, however, when unaccented, it is dropped like any other unaccented ε (ο3ο f.), as: ἐγραψα, ἐτρεξι, but πᾶρ'σα, π'ρ'πᾶρ'σα, πήγαμι, γράψ'τι, ποτίσ'τι, βοτανίσ'τι (ο3ο).

714. *B.* The *temporal* augment consists in the prefixing of the syllabic augment ἐ- to the initial vowel of the verb and the change consequent on the contraction of the two concurring vowels (156 ff.). Thus—

α	changes to η :	ἄγω 'guide'	ἦγον
ε	,,	η : ἐλπίζω 'hope'	ἤλπιζον
ο	,,	ω : ὀπλίζω 'arm'	ὤπλιζον
ι	,,	ι : ἱκετεύω 'supplicate'	ἰκέτευον
υ	,,	υ : ὑβρίζω 'insult'	ὑβρίζον
αι	,,	η : αἰσχύνω 'disgrace'	ἤσχυνον
α	,,	η : ᾄδω 'sing'	ᾄδον
αυ	,,	ηυ : αὐξάνω 'increase'	ᾠξανον
(οι	,,	ψ : οἰκτίρω 'pity'	ὤκτιρον.)

714<sup>b</sup>. The origin of the augment is a matter of vague speculation, the tendency being to connect it with the old Indian augment, which is uniformly α- (cp. *āsam* = ἦν). But when we consider that in Homeric Greek the augment is still very fluctuating, or rather undeveloped (which may be due to the still preponderating fullness of the verb-endings), we shall probably be not very far from the truth if we assume it to be closely associated, if not identical, with the archaic form of the imperfect of εἰμί : ἦ or ἦν (i.e. E, EN ; cp. *ἔα*, *ἔην*) 'was.' This prefixal ἐ- then retained its original form before all consonants (the few instances *ἐάγην*, *ἐάλων*, *ἐούρουν*, *ἐώθουν*, *ἐωνούμην*, *ἐώρων*, etc. are hardly exceptions, 123), while in all other cases of initial vowel it underwent contraction on the general principle set forth in 156-162 : (ἐ + ἔχον) *εἶχον*, (ἐ + ἄγον) *ἦγον*, (ἐ + ἐλπίζον) *ἤλπιζον*, (ἐ + ᾄδον) *ᾄδον*, (ἐ + αὔξον) *ᾠξον*, (ἐ + οἰκτιρον) *ὤκτιρον* (later transliterated to *ὤκτιρον*), (ἐ + ἡρέμεον) *ἡρέμεον*, etc.; then even (ἐ + ἐν) *ἦν* & (ἐ + ἔα) *ἦα*. As to the few verb-stems beginning with ι- ο- υ-, their technical (metrical and grammatical) 'lengthening' is probably due to the analogy of the rest (if not to App. ii. 9 & 14). Cp. also 733.

715. No visible augment is taken by those verbs which begin with

# 715-717.] ANOMALOUS TEMPORAL AUGMENT.

η-, ω-, ι-, υ-, ου- (714<sup>b</sup>), frequently also by those beginning with ει- and ευ- (717), as :

εικάζω 'presume' εἰκαζον (ἦκ-, but cp. 26, 5. 28, b)—εὐχομαι 'pray' εὐχόμεν.

716. Initial οι also remains, even in *A*, but notably in *P*, without augment, a circumstance which points to its monophthongal pronunciation (44 ff.), as :

Aesch. Pers. 768 οἰακοστρόφουν. Soph. Trach. 268 οἰνωμένους. Eur. Bacch. 32 οἰστροσα. Xen. Hell. 1, 4, 14 οἰανίζοντο; οἰκτιρε, οἰκοδόμησε, οἰκισαν, οἰκητο, οἰκισται, οἰχετο, etc. (Kühner-Blass, ii. 21). Louvre Pap. p. 321 (B.C. 160) οἰετο; PCauer<sup>2</sup> 247, 9 (B.C. 170) οἰετο; 358, 28 (B.C. 170-160) οἰκισαν; CIG 954, 2 b οἰκτίρησε. 2114 d & 1894<sup>b</sup> οἰκοδόμησα, etc. See also 45.—The same holds true for initial εὔ (= *eu* or *ef*) which since 300 B.C. discards the augment (KMeisterhans<sup>2</sup> 136, 14), as : εὐεργέτηκα, προευχρήστηκεν, etc. Sept. Gen. 17, 20 εὐλόγηκα; 25, 29 & 1 Macc. 3, 30 εὐλαβήθη, εὐφράνθη. Ps. 76, 4 εὐφράνθη. 88, 43 εὐφρανas.

[716<sup>b</sup>. Cp. Phryn. 131 φῖθηκεν, φικοδόμηκεν διὰ τοῦ ωἰ ἄριστα εἰρεῖ, ἀλλ' οὐ διὰ τοῦ οἰ, οἰθηκεν, οἰκοδόμηκεν. Moeris 385 φῖθηκας Ἀττικῶς, οἰθηκας Ἑλληνικῶς.—Hdn. ii. 789 ἐπεκράτησε κατὰ κοινὴν διάλεκτον ἡ εὐ διφθογγος μὴ τρέπεσθαι, οἷον εὐχομαι εὐχόμεν, εὐφραίνομαι εὐφραίνόμεν, εὐχαριστῶ εὐχαριστοῦν, καὶ ἴσως εὐφανίας χάριν.]

717. While the syllabic augment, whose absolute uniformity and simplicity (it is invariably ἐ-) had rendered it so familiar to the masses, was from the beginning felt to be the very representative of the past (723), and so could maintain itself through all times, the temporal augment laboured under great disadvantages. In the first place it varied in form and sound according to the initial vowel of the individual verb (714). Then it was not especially distinguishable, either to the ear or to the eye, in the frequent cases of initial ι-, υ-, η-, ω-, ου-, ει-, soon (since 300 B.C. if not earlier) also in that of ευ-, αυ-, then οι- (715 ff.). Again a number of verbs augmented initial ε- sometimes to η- (ἤλπιζον, ἤρισον, etc.), sometimes to ει- (εἶχον, εἶκον, etc. 719). Finally in some cases either the temporal augment was replaced by the syllabic (ἐώρακα, ἐάγην, ἐάλωκα, ἐώσα, etc.), or both were resorted to (ἤδυνάμην, ἤβουλόμην, ἐώραν, ἐάρταζον, etc.). In consequence of these restrictions in the great majority of cases (ι, η, υ, ω, ου, ει, ευ, αυ, οι) and fluctuations in those of οι- and ἐ-, which influenced even *A* writers (Kühner-Blass, ii. 10-22), popular *P* speech could not but lose sight of the temporal augment in the remaining three cases of initial α-, ε-, and the rare αι- (ο sounded like ω and thus escaped observation <sup>[1]</sup>),

[<sup>1</sup>] However, as initial ο- appears regularly augmented to ω- in all *P-B* literary compositions and inscriptions, despite the identity in pronunciation of the two vowels at all times, it is arbitrary or rather pedantic to depart from the traditional orthography, in which all ancient scribes were more systematically trained than is the case with schoolmasters in our days (25). Hence the omission of the argument in such cases as: Sept. ἐξομολογήτο, ὁμοώθημεν, ὀχύρωσαν, ὀνομάσθη, ὀπλοδύτησεν, προοράμην, ὀλιγοψύχησεν, ὀδοποίησε, κατορθούμη, etc. (FSturz 124); 1 Macc. 3, 7 εὐδοκῆθη; ὀφείλον or ὀφελον (very frequently). Acta Petri et Pauli 6, 16 ὀρδίνευσas; Mart. Petri 84, 19 ἡνοχλοῦντο; Acta Andr. 129, 15 & 178, 18 ὀργίσθη; Acta Tho. 17, 9 ὀμίλου; 27, 35 ὀνόμασαι; Acta Thadd. 268, 6 ὀδενον; Acta Philippi 94, 42 τὸ ὀρσιμένον; Protev. Jac. 13, 1; 15, 1 & 2 ὀγκωμένην (BH & AFH ὀγκ-); 24, 3 ὀλόλυξαν (F<sup>2</sup> ὀλ-); Acta Pilati A 16, 7 ὀνόμασεν; B 10, 2 ὀλιγοψύχησε; 11, 5 ὀδύρετο; 14, 2 ἔξορκισεν; 16, 2 ἔξορκισαν; Parad. Pilati 3 ὀφείλες; Narr. Jos. 2, 3 ὀμολόγουν; Acta Xanth. 63, 36 οἱπῶ ὀμνοήσατε. Callin. 109, 7 κατευσδοῦτο. Narr. Zos. 102, 22 ὀνήθη. Leont. Neap. V. J. 46, 6 (C) ὀρμησεν; Theoph. 734 (De Boor) ὀλισμένους, ὀρμισμένους, ὀρσιμένους, ὀχυρωμένους—and elsewhere is unjustifiable, the more so as we regularly follow the practice of writing ω (ὀμοώθημεν, ὀχύρωσαν, etc.), and putting the rough breathing, though we know that it was hardly

the more so as *ε* and *αι* were homophonous with the syllabic augment *ε-* (723). Hence even scribes since *G* are influenced by the common practice and omit all temporal augment (723. 736).

Acta Jo. 110, 12 *ἐρμήνευεν*. Dorothe. 1741 *ε* *ἐσπέρizon*. Acta Tho. 23, 30 *ἐπιστάμην*. Callin. 68, 18 *ε*α (for *ε*ία). 80, 14 *ἐψημένη*. 119, 11 *ἐτοιμάσθησαν*. 131, 5 *ἐρμήνευσεν*. (Cp. 60, 9 *ἀηδίζετο*.) CWessely Prol. 65 (†VII<sup>th</sup>) *ἐλευθερώτην*. id. Prol. 168, 11 & Mal. 168, 11 *ἐναντιούτο*. Leont. Neap. V. J. 13, 12 *αἰχμαλωτεύουσεν*. 48, 19 (F) *αἰτήσατο*. 51, 8 (F) *ἀμαρτηκέναι*. 55, 17 (C) *ἐρυθρία*. Chron. ii. 482, *ἔγειρεν*. Theoph. 295, 15 (G) *αἰχμαλωτεύσαν*. 321, 2 *ἀπληκυνένος*. 184, 2 & 325, 20 *ἔπασεν*. 40, 31 & 68, 10 *ἐκκλησιάζον* (cp. 996, 74). 433, 11 *ἀρματωμένους*; 46, 18 *ἐλλάγησεν*. 300, 1 & 303, 30 *ἐρήμωσα*, etc. CGL 405, 45 *emi agorasa*. ib. 47 *emimus agorasamen*. ib. 49 *emerunt agorasan*. 416, 48 *salutari aspasamen* (i.e. *ἀσπασάμην*). 652 *ἀλειψα unxi*.

718. As a matter of course, *N* ignores the use of temporal augment (except in a few cases 720 ff.), as: FTrinch. 13 (1005 A.D.) *ἀγορασμένους*; 23 (1029 A.D.) *ἀγόρασα*, *ἐρημωμένα*; 182 (A.D. 1145) *ἀσφαλισμένα*; 261 & 293 (A.D. 1180) *ἀγόρασαν*; 328 (A.D. 1198) *ἀρχήσαμεν*; 89 (A.D. 1101) *ἐνώσαμεν*; SCusa 87 *ἀγόρασας*; 117 *ἀγοράσατε*, etc. (GHatzidakis 69);—and so on ever since.

719. A few verbs beginning with *ε-* (which however was originally preceded by *f* or *φ*, 123, 209) augment the initial *ε-* to *ει-* (instead of *η-*). These are—

<i>ἔχω</i> 'have'	<i>ἔρπω</i> (and <i>ἐρπύζω</i> ) 'creep'	<i>ἔπομαι</i> 'follow'
<i>ἐστιάω</i> 'entertain'	<i>ἐθίζω</i> 'accustom'	<i>ἔιργάζομαι</i> 'work'
<i>*ἐάω</i> 'permit'	<i>ἔλκω</i> (and <i>ἐλκύνω</i> ) 'draw'	<i>ἐλίσσω</i> 'revolve'

as: *εἶχον*, *εἶρπον*, *εἶων*, *εἶλκον*, *εἶλισσον*, *εἶθιζον*, *εἶργαζόμεν* (beside *ἤργα*), *εἶασα*, etc.

720. Observe that in most of these verbs the accent falls on the augment *ει-*. This coincidence, coupled with other similar cases frequent in popular speech (*εἶπον*, *εἶδον*, *εἶπα*, *εἶδα*, cp. *ἡμελλον*) and with the common occurrence of *η-* as augment of initial *ε-* (*ἤβελον*, *ἤρχετο*, *ἦτο*, *ἦνρηκα*, etc.), seems to have led the uneducated to imagine that accented initial *ε-* (*εἶ-* or *εἷ-*, *ἦ-* or *ἦ-*) was, next to the syllabic augment, a characteristic sign of the past. Hence those of the above-mentioned verbs which still survive in *N* not only preserve their ancient temporal augment, as: *εἶχα*, *ἤβελα*, *εἶπα*, *εἶδα*, *ἦνρα*, then *ἦνρηκα*, *ἦτο*, *ἤρχεσθε*, etc., but have at the same time served as a pattern for many other formations. Accordingly, besides the now universal *ἦπα* for *ἐπα* (i.e. *ἐπιον*) and the less general *ἦλεγα* (i.e. *ἔλεγον*, due to *εἶπα*), many insular dialects (Chios, Carpathos, eastern Crete, etc.) express the augment by *ι-* (*ἦ-*, *ει-*) whenever it bears the stress, as: *ἦτραγα*, *ἦφαγα*, *ἦπεσε*, *ἦκαμα*, *ἦφερες*, *ἦβλεπες*, etc. (so too *ἦφηκα* felt as simple, 958), but *ἐτρώγαμε*, *ἐφάγετε*, *ἐπέσαμε*, *ἐκάμετε*, *ἐφέρετε*, *ἐβλέπετε*, *ἐπίναμε*, *ἀφήκαμε*, etc. (cp. 713)—*ἐπέρα* (cp. *ἡταιρνα* from *παῖρνα*), *ἐδούλευε*, *ἐνίκα*, *ἐγέλας*, etc. Some few idioms (Thera, Patmos, Aenos, etc.) have gone even further and fused both temporal and syllabic augment into this *ι-* (*ἦ-*, *ει-*), as: *ἦπέρα*, *ἦμίλειε*, *ἦθάρρειε*, *ἦζήσανε*, *ἦμιλήσανε*, *ἦπέρασε*, *ἦπάτησα* (i.e. *ἐπάτησα*), *ἦκτύπα*, etc. (cp. GHatzidakis 72).

721. Conversely other insular idioms (Rhodes, Cyprus, Syme, etc.) now regularly prefix the syllabic augment to all verbs, whether they begin with a consonant or a sonant, as: (*πατώ*) *ἐπάτησα*, (*ἀγαπῶ*) *ἐγάπησα*, (*δ[ν]θῶ*) *ἐθήσα*, (*δρίζω*) *ἐρίσα*. (Cp. 723 ff.)

722. The three verbs *μέλλω* 'am about (to),' *βούλομαι* 'wish,' *δύναμαι*

uttered even in *A*.—In the same way there is no reason for adopting the spelling *ἶδον* for *εἶδον* (as Mart. Pauli 117, 3 & Evang. Tho. A 19, 4 *ἶδμεν*; Acta Pilati A 14, 2 *ἶδετε*, *ἶδμεν* twice; 16, 6 *ἶδε*. ib. P. ii. 1 *ἶδε* and elsewhere), since *ει-* here has been not reduced but retained, simply because it happened to sound like *ι*. Cp. 971.



## 722-724.] LOSS OF AUGMENT AND ITS EFFECTS IN N.

'am able,' can take the temporal, beside the syllabic, augment viz. *ἔμελλον* and *ἤμελλον*, *ἐβουλόμην* and *ἡβουλόμην*, *ἐδυνάμην* and *ἡδυνάμην*.

[Moeris 161 *ἤμελλον*, *ἡβουλόμην*, *ἡδυνάμην*, *ἡξάμην* διὰ τοῦ *η* ('Αττικῶς), διὰ δὲ τοῦ *ε* 'Ελληνικῶς.]

722<sup>b</sup>. So now *ἥθελα*, *ἡθέλησα*, though the present is always *θέλω* (never *ἐθέλω*, 723).

723<sup>c</sup>. The temporal augment of the above three verbs (722) is due to their association with *ἐθέλω* either in form, as *ἐθέλω* × *μέλλω*: *ἤθελον* *ἤμελλον*.— or in meaning, as *ἐθέλω* × *βούλομαι*: *ἤθελον* *ἡβουλόμην*; so too *ἡβουλήθη* *ἡδυνήθη*. (G Meyer<sup>2</sup> 422.)

723. The great perspicuity, frequency, and regularity of the syllabic augment (717) gradually led to the impression that every initial *ε*- was the sign of the past. Verbs therefore beginning with *ε*- or its homophonous *αι*- retained this prefix in the past tenses, because it was more familiar and more expressive than the temporal augment (*η*- or *ει*-), as: *ἐρμήνευον*, *ἐσπέρizon*, *ἐγείρον*, *ἐπιστάμην*, *αἰχμαλώτευσσα*, etc. (717; cp. 750). As time went on, initial *ε*- (also *αι*-) in the present and future came to be felt odd or out of place and so was gradually dropped, as: *ἐθέλω* *θέλω*, (*ἔστηκα*) *στήκω*, (*ἐγρήγορα*) *γρηγορῶ*<sup>[1]</sup> (cp. *λοικῶς* *εἰκῶς*). Presently verbs beginning with *ε*- (*η*-, *ει*-, *ι*-, *υ*-, *ο*-, etc.), the normal representative of the temporal augment (720), were also affected, and the result was that nearly all verbs (sometimes even substantives associated therewith) beginning with *ε*-, *αι*-, *η*-, *ει*- (*ι*-, *υ*-, *ο*-, etc.), especially when unaccented, have either altogether lost or changed their initial sonant (135. 1135), as:

	from	ἐνδύνω	ξεικάζω	from	ἐξεικάζω
ντύνω	"	ἐπαινῶ	ρωτῶ	"	ἐρωτῶ
παινῶ	"	εὐρίσκω	ματάνω	"	αἰματάνω
βρίσκω	"	εὐλογῶ	λιάζω	"	ἡλιάζω
βλογῶ	"	εὐπορῶ	συχάζω	"	ἡσυχάζω
*πορῶ (130 [1])	"	ἐμβαίνω	μεράνω	"	ἡμερόνω
μπαίνω	"	ἐκβιβάζω	δρώνω	"	ἰδρόνω
βγάζω	"	ἐλευθερώω	σταίνω	"	ἰστάνω
λευτεράνω	"	ἐμβάλλω	βέγομαι	"	οὐρέγομαι
βάλλω (βάνω)	"	ἐξερῶ	ρίζω	"	οὐρίζω 'οὐρη'
ξερνῶ	"	ἐμποδίζω	βρίζω	"	ὕβριζω
μποδίζω	"	ἐνθυμούμαι	πάγω	"	ὑπάγω
θυμούμαι	"	ἐμφανίζομαι	ποτάσσω	"	ὑποτάσσω
φανίζομαι	"	ἐξετάζω	γαίνω	"	ὕγαίνω
ξετάζω	"	ἐξορίζω	περασπίζομαι	"	ὑπερασπίζω
ξορίζω	"	ἐπαίρω	περηφανεύομαι	"	ὑπερηφανεύομαι
παίρω	"	ἐπιτηδεύομαι	ἀργάζομαι	"	ἐργάζομαι
πιτηδεύ(γ)ομαι	"	ἐπιβουλεύω	ἀρμηνεύω & ὀρμ-	"	ἐρμηνεύω
πιβουλεύ(γ)ομαι	"	ἐπιθυμῶ (Prod. 6, 242)	ὀρπίζω	"	ἐλπιζω
πεθυμῶ	"	ἐπιτυγχάνω	ἀναύω	"	ἐναύω
πετυχαίνω	"				

723<sup>b</sup>. For verbal substantives see 753-5.

724. It is obvious that the presence of initial *ε*- in the *N* imperfect and aorist indicative of verbs like the above (as *ἐπαίνεσα*, *ἐξήρασα*, *ἐπῆρα*, *ἐπεθύμησα*, *ἐπέτυχα*, *εὐλόγησα* [*ἐβλόγησα*], etc.) is not constituent but prefixal, representing the syllabic augment.

Cp. Leont. Neap. V. J. 46, 9(B) *ἐσφάλιζεν* (from *ἀσφαλίζω*). V. S. 24, 198 *ἐσφαλισμένοι*. So now dialectally *ἐγάπησα* (for *ἡγάπησα*), *ἔκουσα* (*ἡκουσα*), *ἔρσα* (*ᾠρσα*), *ἐγανάκτησα* (*ἡγανάκτησα*), *ἐγύρασα* (*ἡγύρασα*), *ἐπόμενα* (for *ἀπόμενα*, i.e. *ἀπέμεινα*), *ἐπύθανα* (*ἀπέθανα*, i.e. *ἀπέθανον*), etc. (721; cp. GHatzidakis 73).

[<sup>1</sup>] Compare Phryg. 95 *γρηγορῶ*, *γρηγορεῖ* οὐ δεῖ, ἀλλὰ *ἐγρήγορα* λέγειν καὶ *ἐγρήγορεν*.

725. In a number of cases the syllabic augment  $\epsilon$ - was mistaken for the closing sound of the preceding (proclitic) word and so passed over to it as a repective (or protective) suffix, as:  $\delta\epsilon\nu'$ ,  $\tau\omicron\nu'$ ,  $\mu\alpha\sigma'$ , etc. (132 f. 208. 536.)

726. A few verbs, though beginning with a sonant, take the syllabic augment (cp. 714<sup>b</sup>. 1113); a few others again take both, as:

$\omega\theta\acute{\epsilon}\omega$ 'push,' $\acute{\epsilon}\omega\theta\omicron\nu\nu$	$\delta\rho\acute{\alpha}\omega$ 'see,' $\acute{\epsilon}\omega\rho\omega\nu$
$\omega\nu\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ 'buy,' $\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu\omicron\mu\epsilon\nu$	$\alpha\nu\text{-}\omicron\acute{\iota}\gamma\omega$ 'open,' $\alpha\nu\acute{\epsilon}\phi\omicron\gamma\omicron\nu$ .

727. However, P phonology frequently contracts  $\acute{\epsilon}\omega$ - to  $\acute{\omega}$ -, as:  $\acute{\omega}\theta\omicron\nu\nu$ ,  $\acute{\omega}\rho\omega\nu$ ,  $\acute{\omega}\nu\eta\sigma\acute{\alpha}\mu\eta\nu$ . Cp. Hesych.  $\acute{\alpha}\pi\omega\sigma\mu\alpha\iota$   $\acute{\omega}\theta\eta\sigma\alpha$ . (152.)

## REDUPLICATION.

728. Reduplication is the repetition of the initial sound with the syllabic augment interposed. It is the sign of an action standing complete and applies to *perfect* and *pluperfect* (also *future perfect*) in all moods and in the verbal nouns (680). Regarding its application observe that—

729. Verbs beginning with a *simple* consonant (except  $\rho$  731) reduplicate that consonant with an  $\epsilon$  interposed, as:

$\lambda\acute{\upsilon}\omega$ 'loose'	Perf. Act. $\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\text{-}\lambda\upsilon\kappa\alpha$	Perf. medio-passive $\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\text{-}\lambda\upsilon\mu\alpha\iota$
$\pi\alpha\iota\delta\acute{\epsilon}\omega$ 'educate'	„ „ $\pi\epsilon\text{-}\pi\alpha\acute{\iota}\delta\epsilon\nu\kappa\alpha$	„ „ $\pi\epsilon\text{-}\pi\alpha\acute{\iota}\delta\epsilon\nu\mu\alpha\iota$ .

730. Initial aspirates suffer dissimilation, that is they become smooth (182, a) by reduplicating the first, and discarding the second, element of their (original) biliteral symbols (170), as:

$\theta\acute{\upsilon}\omega$ ( $\tau\eta\acute{\upsilon}\omega$ ) 'sacrifice'	$\tau\acute{\epsilon}\text{-}\theta\upsilon\kappa\alpha$	$\tau\acute{\epsilon}\text{-}\theta\upsilon\mu\alpha\iota$
$\chi\omicron\rho\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\omega$ ( $\kappa\eta\eta\rho\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\omega$ ) 'dance'	$\kappa\epsilon\text{-}\chi\acute{\omicron}\rho\epsilon\nu\kappa\alpha$	$\kappa\epsilon\text{-}\chi\acute{\omicron}\rho\epsilon\nu\mu\alpha\iota$
$\phi\acute{\iota}\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\omega$ ( $\pi\eta\iota\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\omega$ ) 'love'	$\pi\epsilon\text{-}\phi\acute{\iota}\lambda\eta\kappa\alpha$	$\pi\epsilon\text{-}\phi\acute{\iota}\lambda\eta\mu\alpha\iota$
$\theta\eta\rho\acute{\epsilon}\omega$ ( $\tau\eta\eta\rho\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\omega$ ) 'hunt'	$\tau\epsilon\text{-}\theta\acute{\eta}\rho\epsilon\nu\kappa\alpha$	$\tau\epsilon\text{-}\theta\acute{\eta}\rho\epsilon\nu\mu\alpha\iota$ .

731. Verbs beginning with *two consonants* or a *compound consonant*, or  $\rho$ , take only the syllabic augment instead of the full reduplication, as:

$\kappa\tau\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega$ 'build'	Perf. $\acute{\epsilon}\text{-}\kappa\tau\iota\kappa\alpha$	Inf. $\acute{\epsilon}\text{-}\kappa\tau\iota\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha\iota$
$\sigma\tau\rho\alpha\tau\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\omega$ 'take the field'	„ „ $\acute{\epsilon}\text{-}\sigma\tau\rho\acute{\alpha}\tau\epsilon\nu\kappa\alpha$	„ „ $\acute{\epsilon}\text{-}\sigma\tau\rho\alpha\tau\epsilon\nu\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha\iota$
$\zeta\eta\tau\acute{\epsilon}\omega$ 'seek'	„ „ $\acute{\epsilon}\text{-}\zeta\acute{\eta}\tau\eta\kappa\alpha$	„ „ $\acute{\epsilon}\text{-}\zeta\eta\tau\eta\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha\iota$
$\psi\alpha\acute{\upsilon}\omega$ 'touch'	„ „ $\acute{\epsilon}\text{-}\psi\alpha\nu\kappa\alpha$	„ „ $\acute{\epsilon}\text{-}\psi\alpha\nu\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha\iota$
$\beta\acute{\iota}\pi\tau\omega$ 'throw'	„ „ $\acute{\epsilon}\rho\text{-}\rho\acute{\iota}\phi\alpha$	„ „ $\acute{\epsilon}\rho\text{-}\rho\acute{\iota}\phi\acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha\iota$
But $\kappa\acute{\tau}\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ 'acquire,' has	„ „ $\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\text{-}\kappa\tau\eta\mu\alpha\iota$	„ „ $\kappa\epsilon\text{-}\kappa\tau\acute{\eta}\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ .

732. But verbs beginning with a *mute + liquid* suffer dissimilation by reduplicating the mute (cp. 730), as:

$\gamma\rho\acute{\alpha}\phi\omega$ 'write'	Perf. Act. $\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\text{-}\gamma\rho\alpha\phi\alpha$	Perf. Pass. $\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\text{-}\gamma\rho\alpha\mu\alpha\iota$
$\beta\lambda\acute{\alpha}\pi\tau\omega$ 'harm'	„ „ $\beta\acute{\epsilon}\text{-}\beta\lambda\alpha\phi\alpha$	„ „ $\beta\acute{\epsilon}\text{-}\beta\lambda\alpha\mu\mu\alpha\iota$ .

733. Verbs beginning with a *sonant* take the temporal augment (as far as admissible) instead of the full reduplication, as:

$\delta\acute{\gamma}\omega$ 'lead'	Perf. Act. $\delta\acute{\gamma}\chi\alpha$	(from $\acute{\epsilon}$ + $\delta\chi\alpha$ ? 714 <sup>b</sup> )
$\alpha\acute{\iota}\rho\acute{\epsilon}\omega$ 'take'	„ „ $\acute{\eta}\rho\eta\kappa\alpha$	( „ „ $\acute{\epsilon}$ + $\alpha\acute{\iota}\rho\eta\kappa\alpha$ ? 714 <sup>b</sup> )
$\delta\nu\epsilon\acute{\iota}\delta\acute{\iota}\omega$ 'reproach'	„ „ $\delta\nu\epsilon\acute{\iota}\delta\iota\kappa\alpha$	( $\delta\nu\epsilon\acute{\iota}\delta\iota\kappa\alpha$ App. ii. 9 & 14)
$\omega\phi\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\omega$ 'am of use'	„ „ $\omega\phi\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\eta\kappa\alpha$ .	

734. Several verbs beginning with a *liquid* take *ει-* instead of the reduplication, as :

εἰληφα	εἰλημαι	from	λαμβάνω 'take'
εἰληχα	εἰλημαι	"	λαγχάνω 'obtain'
εἶρηκα	εἶρημαι	"	stem <i>ρε-</i> 'say'
	εἰμαρται	"	" <i>μερ-</i> 'it is fated'
εἶωθα	—	"	" <i>εθ-</i> 'am wont'
συν-εἶλοχα	συν-εἶλεμαι	"	συλ-λέγω 'gather'
	δι-εἶλεμαι	"	δια-λέγομαι 'converse.'

735. Some verbs beginning with *α-, ε-, ο-*, take the temporal augment and at the same time prefix to it the initial vowel together with the succeeding consonant. This is called *Attic reduplication* by the ancient grammarians, obviously because in their time it was foreign to the living language (cp. 677) :

ἀκούω 'hear'	Perf.	ἀκ-ήκοα	Perf. Pass. (ήκουσμαι)
ἀλείφω 'anoint'	"	ἀλ-ήλιφα	" " ἀλ-ήλιμμαι
ἐλαύνω 'drive'	"	ἐλ-ήλακα	" " ἐλ-ήλαμαι
ὀρύσσω 'dig'	"	ὀρ-ώρυχα	" " ὀρ-ώρυγμαι
ἐλέγχω 'convict'	"	—	" " ἐλ-ήλεγμαι
ἐγείρω 'wake'	"	ἐγρ-ήγωρα	" " ἐγ-ήγερμαι.

[Phryn. 24 *ἡλειπται, κατώρυνται οὐ χρή, ἀλλὰ διπλασίαζε τὴν φωνήν ὥσπερ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀλλήλειπται κατωώρυνται.* 25 *ῥοκε τελέως ἄρhes' χρή γὰρ ῥωμόκε λέγειν.* Moeris 221 *κατωώρυνται Ἀττικῶς, κατώρυνται Ἑλληνικῶς.*]

736. The *P-N* history of the augment and reduplication has been determined by various causes, but particularly by the principle of dissimilation. The identity of augment and reduplication, or rather the absence of reduplication, in all verbs beginning with a sonant inevitably led to a close connexion between the perfect and aorist, two otherwise naturally associated tenses (740. 786. 1870-5). The same considerations apply to the numerous other cases of verbs beginning with two consonants, a compound consonant, an aspirate, or *β*, inasmuch as here *dissimilation* excluded a consonantal reduplication and thus led to the substitution of the syllabic augment for it. It is true that an initial mute or aspirate admitted of reduplication under certain conditions (730-2), but even in these limited cases, common practice was frequently influenced by the preponderance of the other verbs, and dispensed with the reduplication (cp. *ἐγνώκα, ἐβλάφα, ἐβλάστηκα*, etc.; also *ἐβούλευκα, ἐχάλευνται, ἐνωγάμισται* are cited as Attic by Eustathios; cp. G Hatzidakis 74<sup>(1)</sup>): *P* Greek, in particular common speech, naturally went much further in this direction, and ultimately led to the total extinction of the reduplication in *N* (737. 740). The gradual process of the phenomenon can be detected even in the elevated style of the writers of the time who, despite their Atticistic zeal, cannot help admitting into their compositions such forms as the following (adduced by Kκόντος in Σωκράτης i. 121 ff.):

*ἐβλάστηκα, ἐπετρούγμαι, ἐγλυμμένος*—Polyb. 5, 82, 7 *ἔτακτο.* p. 658 *γεωμετρη-*

(1) Eust. p. 759 *Ἰστέον δὲ ὅτι ἡ κακοφωνία τοῦ ἐν παρακειμένῳ ἀναδιπλασιασμοῦ ἢ δι' ἐναλλαγῆς θεραπεύεται στοιχείων οἷον φέφραδα πέφραδα, χεχειρικά κχειρίρικα, ἢ διὰ παντελοῦς ἀπελεύσεως [read ἀπελάσεως] τοῦ κατ' ἀρχὴν στοιχείου, οἷον ἐσπεγκα, ἐφθακα, ἐζηκα, κτλ.—and p. 1750 *ἐπεὶ καὶ τὰ φιλά καθὰ καὶ τὰ δασία συμφωνεῖ κατὰ αὐτὰ τινα ἐπαλληλίαν, γίνεται καὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐξώθησις καλλιφωνίας χάριν καὶ εὐαρμοστίας λεκτικῆς ἣν φιλοῦμεν ἄνθρωποι* [read *ἄνθρωποι οἱ ἄνθρ-]*. τοιοῦτον τὸ πέφθακε καὶ τὸ κεχάλλεγται ἅπερ Ἀττικῶς ἐφθακέ φασι καὶ ἐχάλλεγται. ὅμοιον δὲ τούτοις καὶ τὸ βεβούλεγκεν ὅτε λεχθῇ ἐβούλεγκεν. ἀποσκευάζονται δὲ ὁμοίως γλυκεῖας ἀπηχῆσεως χάριν τὸ τῆς αὐξήσεως κατάρχον σύμφωνον καὶ τὸ εἰλημμένον, κτλ.*

κέναι. 964 βασιλευκότες. 1113 πρεσβευκέναι. 1340 δυστυχηκίῳ. So [Menandr.] 431 δυστυχηκόσι. Diød. 5, 45, 4 γεωργηκέναι. 12, 45, 4 δενδροκοπημένης. 1863, 3 πειθαρχηκόσι. Epistologr. ed. Henschel p. 4 δενδροκοπημένην. Hermas Vis. 2, 4 ἐποιήκας. Athen. 14, 65 τελειωμένος<sup>(2)</sup>. Apollod. Arch. 16 κρεμασμένος. Diosc. i. 22 λεπτοκοπημένην. 811 κακοτεχνημένος. Hero Alex. 245, 17 περασμένην. 264, 19 κέντραται. Plool. Diad. in Encl. p. 54 μεγεθυσμένους. 145 πληθυσμένους. Philo v. 4 τεχνιτευμένη. Hesych. πέπανται: πεπράνται, καινογρηκόντα: νέα πράγματα ἐργασάμενον. κεκαινοτόμηται: νεωτέρισται. πεπλεγμένον: κοσμημένον. Schol. Oppian. 349, 25 νεωστὶ ἐφονευμένον. Orib. ii. 61 ἐσιμωμέναι τὰ χεῖλη. ClG 11 ἐγραμμέναι.—Add further: Gr. Pap. Br. Mus. 117, 40 (+IV<sup>th</sup>) ἐγραμμένον: ib. 40 ἐπεγ:αμμένω. Enst. 1163 τίθλασαι: ἐθλασαι ἀφ' οὗ ἐθλασμένον παρὰ τῷ Δειπνοσοφιστῇ. So ἐχρωμάτιστο, ἐχρύσωτο ἡ γῆ, ἐκρέμαστο (ΚΚόντος ib. 153 f). SStorret i. 252, 32 ψηφισμένον. Cleemanns 85 τελεσμένους. 89 γλυμμένον. Macar. 137 β ζυμαμένους. Alchem. 313, 21 λειοτριβημένα. 322, 5 κοσκινισμένον. ib. 25 λαγαρισμένον; et passim. Aporphth. 120 β φιλοκαλημένον. JMoschos 3081 α διεθήκασι. CWessely Prol. 65 (+618) ἐποιήκασιν, ἐποίημαι. Theoph. 156. 18 σιδηρωμένους. 208, 16 κασπελλωμένα. 361, 30 ῥινοκοπημένους. 441, 22 σαγματωμένον. 433, 11 ἀρματωμένους. 321, 2 ἀπληκευμένους. Sym. Mag. 613 στραμμένον καὶ χαλινωμένον. Vita SA 24\* α ἡ χήρα ἡ παραπονημένη. Porph. Adm. 149, 9 βαπτισμένους. Cer. 329, 12 βουλλαμένους. Theoph. Cont. 140, 14 μαρμάρωται. FTrench. 114 μοιρασμένη. 315 πηγμένη. 270 (A.D. 1181) χαρακωμένον. 595, 6 Βλαμμένον (proper name); cp. GHatzidakis 75).

737. As a matter of course, *N* preserves no trace whatever of reduplication, as: στρωμένος, ζωμένος, τριμμένος, γραμμένος, μαρμαμένος, θυμωμένος (1:6). Even reduplicated presents and substantives have been, on the same principle, dissimilated or reduced to their thematic representatives in every case except where the systematic application of the principle would have led to monosyllables, as: γνώσκω (Et. M. 42, 17) γι(γ)νώσκω γνώθω, βιβάζω βάζω, διδάσκαλος δίσκαλος (perhaps also ὑπαγάγω ὑπάγω), τίθημι θέτω, etc. But δίδωμι δίδω (never δῶ).

738. The reverse phenomenon also, that is the casual misapplication of the reduplication, points to its retreat from the living language, and its consequent unfamiliarity with the respective writers of the time.

JACramer iii. 256, 6 ἀμαρτάνουσιν οἱ λέγοντες ζήηκα καὶ πέψυχα. δέον διὰ καθαρὸν τοῦ εἰ. ib. 17 πεφθόνηκα. Macar. 664 c ζεζυμωμένους. Cyrill. Al. 1108 α πεφθαρμένους. Damasc. ii. 268 α πεφθακώς. Mal. 206, 14 κεκτισμένην. 263, 15 κεκτισμένον. Epiph. i. 203, 12; also [Callisth.] 3, 23 & Theoph. 480, 27 ζεζοφωμένους. 425, 24 κεκάθικεν. ΚΚόντος further cites (Σωκράτης i. 153) ζεζυμωμένους, πέψυγμαί, πεπτακέναι (from Choerob.), γεγεγαμμένα, κεκτενισμένα (Hesych.), πεπτερύγηται (E. M.), etc.

739. For the occasional reduplication of initial *p* even in classical Greek see Kühner-Blass ii. 23 Al. 2, and add from post-Christian sources: Great Louvre Pap. 194 βέριμμα. JACramer iii. 257 (H.ln. Gr. Philot. 417) βέρανται, βέρευκε. Ens. 5, 28 (P. 253, 40) βεραδιουργήκασι. 6, 69 βεραθύμηκα. Acta Tho. 39, 17 βερυπωμένους. 65, 20 διαερρηγμένην. Acta Pil. A. i. 15, 1 βέριπται. JMoschos 2888 α βερυπωμένους. Theoph. 113, 33 (f) βερυπωμένην; and (ΚΚόντος in Σωκράτης i. 53) βεραδιουργημένα, βερυτιδωμένην, βερητινωμένην, βεραφανιδωμένους (Hesychios). CGL 416, 18 cexysmenon i.e. κέψυμένον.

740. With the disappearance of the consonantal reduplication, the perfect was reduced to the level of past tenses and thus brought closer to the otherwise kindred aorist (736). The latter tense, then, retaining as it

[<sup>2</sup>] It is certain, however, that in several of these *G* compositions the omission of reduplication is chargeable mainly to the copiers, who were unconsciously carried away by the influence of dissimilation so fully established in their time. To such an influence we may also safely attribute various other cases of compound verbs, as [Arist.] Probl. 20, 20 (t. 4, 210) πεπάνθαι. Polyb. 3, 58, 8 ἐκβαρβαρώσθαι. 779 συγκλειμένον. 1208 κατέτακτο. 1244 παραδύσθαι. Paus. 4, 3, 5 κατέηκτο. Diosc. i. 652 ἐπικλίσθαι.

## 740-746.] AUGMENT AND REDUPLICATION IN COMPOUNDS.

still did its full force in the living language, soon succeeded in absorbing the mutilated perfect. In the case of the perfect participle, since it did not of itself refer distinctly to the past, its reduplication even in the form of temporal augment appeared out of place and so was simply dropped. Cp. the above instances (736): βασιλευκότες, δυστυχηκυῖά, δυστυχηκούσι, δενδροκοπημένῃς, πειθαρχηκούσι, τελειωμένους, λεπτοκοπημένους, κακοτεχνημένους, περασμένην, etc. etc.

### AUGMENT AND REDUPLICATION IN COMPOUND VERBS.

**741.** Compound verbs beginning with one or more *prepositions* take the augment and reduplication *after* the prepositions (the latter being treated as distinct adverbs, 1138), as:

πρὸς-τάσσω 'command' Imperfect πρὸς-έ-τασσον Perf. πρὸς-τέ-ταχα  
παρ-εἰς-άγω 'introduce' " παρ-εἰς-ἤγον " παρ-εἰς-ἤγμαι.

**742.** In such compound verbs the preposition may naturally appear in a modified form as the result of phonopathy (170-200), as:

ἐμ-βάλλω (191)	Imperf. ἐν-εβαλλον	Perf. ἐμ-βέβληκα.
ἐμ-μένω (195)	" ἐν-έμενον	" ἐμ-μέμονα
συγ-χώρειν (189)	" συν-εχώρων	" συγ-κεχώρηκα
ἐκ-βάλλω (191)	" ἐξ-έβαλλον	" ἐκ-βέβληκα
συν-στρατεύομαι (200)	" συν-εστρατεύομην	" συν-εστράτευμαι
συν-ράπτω (195)	" συν-έρραπτον	" συν-έρραφα
ἀπο-βάλλω	" ἀπ-έβαλλον (139)	" ἀπο-βέβληκα
παρα-βάλλω	" παρ-έβαλλον (139)	" παρα-βέβληκα
συγ-κατα-βαίνω (189)	" συγ-κατ-έβαινον	" συγ-κατα-βέβηκα
προ-δια-λύω	" προ-δι-έλυον (139)	" προ-δια-λέλυκα
συν-παρ-απ-ύλλωμι	" συμ-παρ-απ-ύλλυν	" συμ-παρ-απ-ολώλεκα.

**743.** Only *πρὸ* (which could not be reduced to *πρ*) and *περί* (dissociation from *πέρ* and *ἐπέρ*?) retain their final vowel in all cases (141), as: *περι-βάλλω* 'encompass,' *περι-έβαλλον*; *προ-βάλλω* 'put forward,' *προ-έβαλλον*. *Πρὸ* can moreover (though in *A* inscriptions only previous to III<sup>rd</sup> B.C.) be contracted with a succeeding simple *ε*, as: *προ-έβαλλον* (*πρόβαλλον* App. ii. 9 & 14) *προύβαλλον* (not *προύβαλλον*! 159, a), but never in *προ-έωρον* and *προ-έσχον*.

**744.** Verbs not directly compound, but derived from nouns compounded with prepositions, also take the augment and reduplication *after* the preposition, as:

	from	imperf.	perf.
ἐμποδίζω 'hinder'	ἐμ-ποδών 'impediment,'	ἐν-ἐπόδιζον	
ἐπιορκέω 'swear falsely'	ἐπί-ορκος 'perjured,'	ἐπι-ώρκουν,	ἐπι-ώρηκα
κατηγόρειω 'accuse'	κατ-ήγορος 'accuser,'	κατ-ηγόρουν	κατ-ηγόρηκα
ὑποπτεύω 'suspect'	ὑπ-οπτος 'suspected'	ὑπ-ώπτευον.	

**745.** A few compound verbs augment and reduplicate both the verb and the preposition, as:

ἀν-έχομαι 'endure'	Imperf. ἤν-ειχόμεν	aor. ἤν-εσχόμεν
ἐπ-αν-ορθύω 'restore'	" ἐπ-ην-ώρθουν	perf. pass. ἐπ-ην-ώρθωμαι
ἐν-οχλείω 'annoy'	" ἤν-ώχλουν	aor. ἤν-ώχλησα
δι-αιτάω 'arbitrate'	" (κατ-)έδι-ήταν	perf. δε-δι-ήτηκα, δε-δι-ήτημαι.

745<sup>b</sup>. So *A* ἐκάθμα, *P* ἐκάθμα, in CIA (KMeisterhans' 146, 8).

**746.** Several verbs, though compounded with prepositions, are felt as simple and thus take the augment *before* the preposition (cp. 750 f.), as:

# AUGMENT AND REDUPLICATION IN COMPOUNDS. [746-750.

καθ-εύδω 'sleep'	Imperf.	ἐκάθευδον, beside καθηῦδον
καθ-ίζω 'sit'	"	ἐκάθιζον aor. ἐκάθισα
καθ-ίστομαι 'sit down'	"	ἐκαθεζόμεν
ἐν-αντιόμαι 'resist'	"	ἠναντιούμεν
ἀφ-ίημι 'send'	"	ἤφει(ν), beside ἀφίει.

747. So *P* ἦνοιγον, ἦνοιξα, ἦνοιγμαι—beside *A* ἀνένοιγον, ἀνένοιξα, ἀνένοιγμαι, from ἀν-οίγω 'open.'

748. Verbs compounded with prefixes other than prepositions, or derived from nouns of such a composition (1143 ff.), take the augment and reduplication at the beginning (cp. 751), as :

ἁδικέω 'do wrong'	Imperf.	ἠδίκουν	perf.	ἠδίκηκα
ἁπιστέω 'mistrust'	"	ἠπίσταν	"	ἠπίστηκα
δυστυχεῖω 'am unhappy'	"	ἔδυστύχουν	"	δέδυστύχηκα
εὐεργετέω 'benefit'	"	εὐεργέτουν	"	εὐεργέτηκα
οἰκοδομέω 'build'	"	οἰκοδόμουν	"	οἰκοδόμηκα
πολιορκέω 'besiege'	"	ἐπολιόρκουν	"	πεπολιόρκηκα.

749. Verbs beginning with a vowel preceded by the prefix *δυ-* or *εὐ-* can augment the initial vowel, as : *δυ-*αρεστέω 'am displeased,' *δυσ*ἡρέστουν, *εὐ-*αρεστέω 'please,' *εὐ-*ἡρέστουν, *εὐ-*εργετέω 'benefit,' *εὐ-*ἡργέτουν.

750. From the preceding sections about compound verbs (741-749), it will be seen that as long as they were felt to be distinctly compound, that is as long as each component was felt as a distinct and separate word, both augment and reduplication were invariably inserted between prefix and stem. When the nature of such a composition began to be lost sight of, both augment and reduplication became shifting and so were now internal, now external, sometimes both, or otherwise anomalous, according as either the simple verb or the prefix was still familiar, or had lost touch with the living language (cp. 745. 746). When finally such compounds came to be felt as simple verbs they were treated as such, both augment and reduplication (so far as the latter still survived 736) being prefixed to the preposition, or, in case the preposition began with a sonant, altogether dropped (717-724).

a. So even in *A*, as : ἡμφίεσα, ἦνανον, ἠπιστάμεν, ἐκάθισον, ἐκαθήμην, ἐκάθευδον, κεκάμμηκα, ἐσυνῆκε, δεδήγηται, αἰσχυρορρήκηνι (Kühner-Blass, ii. 36). Then Sept. 1 Macc. 10, 76 ἦνοιξαν. So often in the NT (Acts 7, 56 ; 12, 14 ; 14, 27 ; 16, 14 ; Rev. 8, 1 ; 11, 10.). Sept. Deut. 21, 23 κεκατηραμένους. So again in Num. 22, 6 & 24, 9. Num. 31, 9 ἐπροφῆτεον ; 53 ἐπροφῆτευσα. Matt. 11, 13 ; 22, 22, etc. ἐπροφῆτευσαν. Just. Apol. 1, 44 πεπροφητεύσθαι. Phryn. 132 ἀνίστατο λέγε καὶ μὴ ἠνίστατο.—Acta Tho. 4, 39 ἐκατήντησαν (S). 92, 18 ἐπαρεκαθίσοντο. Chron. 353, 15 ἐδιοικήθη. 490, 12 ἠφόρισεν. Gloss. Laod. 85 ἐκατηραμένους. So also GSpata 36 [A.D. 1193]. Leont. Neap. V. J. 28, 9 & 51, 6 ἠφόρισεν. Sym. 1740 B ἐδιοικήθη. Mal. 69, 2 ἐδιοίκουν. 69, 8 ἐδιοίκει. 116, 5 ἐμεθώρησαν (read ἐμεθόρησαν). Theoph. 52, 16. 109, 12 ἐδιοίκει. 136, 6 ἠπατήθη. 493, 11 ἠπατήσε. 170, 118 ἠφόρισαν. So again 170, 28 & 202, 24. 257, 28 & 310, 18 ἐπισύναζαν. Theoph. Cont. 22 ἐσυμβούλευε. Apoc. Mar. 120, 35 ἐσύνιον. Porph. Cer. 787 ἠφορίσθη. Anna Comn. 7, 198 ἐδηγῆσατο. Georg. Mon. 265 ἀπόλεκε, etc.—and so on in *M-N* speech, though only in the case of the syllabic augment (717).

b. GKaibel 989 ἀκούσαμεν. Luke 13, 13 ἀνορθώθη (ἀναιρ-?). Great Louvre Pap. 45 ἀνάγκασα. Gloss. Laod. 131 ἀναγίνωσκον. CIG 8664 (†VIII<sup>th</sup>) ἀνακαινίσαντο. Mal. 168, 11 ἐναντιούτο (see 717). Theoph. 364, 12 ὑπαντηκότες. 471, 4 ὑπερασπίετο CIG 5072 (Silko) ἀναχωρήθην.

c. NT 2 Tim. 1, 16 ἐπαισχύνθη. Acta Tho. 5, 1 ἐξέταζεν (RS). 13, 32 ἐπιστάμην (PQ). Callin. 91, 22 παραιτήσαντο. CWessely Akad. Wiss. 1889 p. 116 (†V-VII<sup>th</sup>) ὑπόγραφα, ἀπόλυσα. Leont. Neap. V. J. 83, 17 (A) ἐπιδείκνυτο. Anast. Sin. 45 B ἐνέργησαν. Mal. 168, 11 ἐναντιούτο. CIG 8668 (†VIII<sup>th</sup>) ἐγκενίσθη. 9151<sup>a</sup> ἐπηδήμυσα. Theoph. 60, 11 ἐπισκόπησεν. 61, 17 ἐπισκώπει. 40, 31 & 68, 10 ἐκκλησίασαν. 90, 25 ἐξέμεσαν. 180, 16 ἐξετάσθησαν. CGL 409, 2-6 ἐρεπesses, ἐραπesses, ἐραπessen, ἐραπessan. So too in *M*, as: FTrinch. 40 (A.D. 1042) ἐνχειρίσθη. 91 ἀνέγειρα. 58 (†1059) ἐκτίθη. 116 (†1121) ἐγκαινίσθη. 125 (A.D. 1125) ἀπόλαβον. 114 ἐγκάλεσεν. 147 (A.D. 1131) ἀπόδωκε. 327 (A.D. 1196) ἀπόλαυα. 220 ἀποπαύσαμεν. 230 (A.D. 1170) ἐπικράτησαν. 241 (A.D. 1175) εἰσπήδησεν. 286 (A.D. 1184) ἀπόδωκα. SCusa 317 ἐξετάσαμεν. 32 ἀπολάβομεν, etc. (cp. GHatzidakis 63)—where the initial vowel of the preposition stands to a certain extent also for the augment (752).

d. CIA ii. 331, 27 (B.C. 272-265) κατασκευασμένοι. Louvre Pap. 63, 297, p. 370 (B.C. 165), 16 παρασπονδημένας. Polyb. p. 1148 καταπολεμημένων. Dion. H. Thuc. 42. κατεπιτηδεύσθαι. Cleemans 39, 17 μεθερμηνευμένα. 129 μεθερμηνευται. Plot. i. 254, 4 ἐμψυχώμενος. So too Soer. 392 A & Cyrill. Al. x. 116 c. Athen. 14, 68 ἐγκεντρισμέναις. 69 προσαπαληρώκει. Xen. Eph. 2, 9, 1 κατέκλειστο. Eus. Alex. 333 B διαρρηγμέναις. Codin. 78, 12 συμπτωμέναις.

751. A number of verbs were augmented even in *A* both before and after the preposition, obviously because the internal augment alone was not sufficiently indicative, as: ἡμψ-ειχόμεν, ἡμψ-εγνόουν, ἡν-ειχόμεν, ἡντ-εβόλησε, ἐπην-ώρουν, δεδι-ώκηται, ἡν-ώχλουν, ἡντ-εδίκει, ἡμψ-εσβήτουν, κατ-εδι-ήτων, δεδι-ηκόνηκα, ἐπαρ-ώνουν (Kühner-Blass ii. 35). This becomes more frequent in *P-G*, owing to the ignorance of the time, as: Sept. Num. 30, 1 κτεπροσώνμευσεν. Mark 3, 5 & Luke 4, 10 ἀπεκατέστη. An. Bekk. iii. 1285 ἐπρο-εφασαύομην; Theodos. 40, 8 ἐπροέταξε. Eus. Alex. 429 B ἐκατ-ηρώμην, ἐκατ-ηράβην. CGL 225 ii. 24 ἐ-δι-ώρωσεν. Vita Euthym. ἐκατ-ελαβόμεθα. Byz. Zeitschrift i. 615 ἐκατ-ετέθη (†504). Leont. Neap. V. J. 51, 9 (C) ἐπαρ-ήνει. 55, 10 (AE) ἐπ-εκατ-έλαβεν. 66, 17 (A) ἀπ-εκατ-έσταινεν. 84, 8 (A) ἐκατ-εδέχετο. Epist. Abgari 283, 14 ἐκατέθη. GSpatā 90 (A.D. 1096) ἐπροεκράτουν. (See 753 & cp. 755 fin.)

752. As a matter of course *N* treats compound verbs like simple verbs, and so supplies the preposition with the syllabic augment, while the reduplication is invariably dropped (cp. 736, 750, c).

Apoc. Mar. 123, 35 ἐσύνιον. FTrinch. 73 ἐπρόσταξα, ἐπροδέσποσεν. 220 (A.D. 1165) ἐδικέδικησαν. 355 (A.D. 1206) ἐσυνμαρτύρησαν. 114 ἐγκάλεσεν. 121 ἐσυνάλαζαν, ἐσυναρέσθησαν. 147 (A.D. 1131) ἐπρόσθεσα. 200 (A.D. 1154) ἐσυνάλλαξα. 242 ἐπρόσταξα. GSpatā 90 (A.D. 1096) ἐπροχειρήσαμεν, ἐπερίκλεισεν (ubi ἐπετρίκλεισεν), etc. (cp. GHatzidakis p. 66).

753. Only apparent is the augment in *N* cases like ἀνέβαινα, ἀνέβηκα, ἐκατέβαινα, ἐκατέβηκα, etc., since this augment-like -ε- is not proper to the indicative of past tenses, but common to all moods and tenses, and even to nouns derived therefrom: ἀνέβαινω, κατέβαινω (also κατηβαίνω). ξεμαθαίνω, ἀνέβασμός or ἀνέβασμα, κατέβασμός or κατέβασμα, κατέβασα, etc. The presence of the -ε- here is apparently due to dissimilation and reduction, in that two otherwise homophonous and strong sonants would follow each other: ἀναβαίνω, καταβαίνω, ἀνάβηκα, ἐκατάβηκα, καταβασία. A similar process is traceable in a few sporadic instances of older times, as: PCauer Del.<sup>2</sup> 128, 37 ἀνεωπασμένοι. KMeisterhans<sup>2</sup> 138, 26 ἀνάλωμα (246-226 B.C.), ἀνιλωσας, ἀνιλωσσι (III<sup>rd</sup> B.C.); Gr. Pap. Br. Mus. 169, 3 (†78-79) ἀνιλωμάτων. Leont. Neap. V. J. 39, 14 (A, B).—and particularly in the frequent cases cropping up during *M*, cited in another sense by GHatzidakis (65 f.), as:

Digen.<sup>2</sup> 197 ἐκατεφρόνησε. 135 & 463 ἐκατέλαβον. 877 ἐκατεφίλει. FTrinch. 11 (A.D. 1000) ἐπαρεδάκαμεν (for ἐπαράδ-). 46 ἐπαρέδωκα, ἰδωτέξαντο (for ἰδωτάξαντο).

47 (A.D. 1051) ἐκατέστησα. 73 (A.D. 1019) ἐκατήρπαζεν (for ἐκατέρπ-). 91 ἐκατελήφθησαν. 217 (A.D. 1164) ἐκατέλαχεν. 228 (A.D. 1168) ἐκατεφύτουνεν. 245 (A.D. 1175) ἐκατέγραψα. 253 (A.D. 1179) ἐκατεγράφατο. 286 ἐκατηγράφατο. 289 (A.D. 1185) ἐκατέλειπεν. 293 ἐκατήλαζεν. GSpata 58 (A.D. 1095) ἐκατήρπαζε. 68 (A.D. 1176) ἐπαρχωρήσαμεν καὶ ἰσυνεπαθήσαμεν. (Cp. 755 end.)

754. So now in eastern Crete, then in Patmos, Paros, and Thera, all compounds with unaccented ἀνα-, as: ἀνεγελῶ, ἀνεύρω, ἀνεχασίζω, ἀνεπνέω, ἀνεπνοῖα, ἀνέδοχνοι μοι (as if ἀναδοκεῖ μοι) 'I reconsider,' ἀνεθεματίζω, etc. (but ἀνάδιοξέ μου ἀνάθεμα, ἀνάσταμα, ἀνάδωμα, etc.).

755. Within recent times a theory has been advanced by GHatzidakis (64) and generally favoured, that *N* forms like ἀνέβαινα ἀνέβηκα, ἐκατέβαινα ἐκατέβηκα, ἐξέκινουνα ἐξέκινησα, ἐξεμάθαινα ἐξέμαθα, etc., are survivals of the internal augment, and that this augment has been transferred to the present ἀνέβαινω, κατέβαινω, ξεμαθαίνω, ξεκινῶ, as well as to their respective substantives ἀνέβασμος or ἀνέβασμα, κατέβασμος or κατέβασμα, κατέβασιά, ξεμαθημός or ξεμάθημα, ξεκινημός or ξεκίνημα, this process applying also to all the multitudinous *N* verbs and substantives beginning with ξε-. Such a doctrine, however, though ingenious, labours under the following difficulties: (1) *N* ever since its first appearance in popular form has treated compound verbs as simple (752), admitting of the syllabic augment only before the preposition; (2) The *N* compounds in ἀνε- and ξε- are of far too recent origin to be connected with the remote time when the augment was inserted between preposition and verb; (3) The prefix ξε- corresponds, both in meaning and usage, not to ancient ἐξ (ἐκ), but simply to Latin ex- (also dis-) and its Italian progeny (723. 135; cp. *ex*pareasco, *ex*posco, *ex*cutitur—\*χπαresco, \*χποσco, \*χcutitur, *spare*asco, *sp*osco, *sc*utitur, FStolz Hist. Lat. Gr. 202). (4) No other preposition shows a parallel phenomenon of a fossilized internal augmen, not even ἐκ in any case (cp. βγαίνω, γδέχομαι, γδικώνομαι). All the data adduced by GHatzidakis in support of his theory find a simpler explanation in the process of reduction or dissimilation as indicated above (136. 753), as: (ἐπιθυμῶ) πεθυμῶ, (ἀνάφορος) ἀνήφορος (also Cretan ἀνηφορῶς 'chimney'), (κατάφορος) κατήφορος, (καταβατόν) κατέβατόν, (ἀνταμείβω) ἀντημέβω, (ἀπολογούμαι) ἀπηλογούμαι, (ἀναμένω) ἀνημένω, (ἐπιτυχαίνω) πετυχαίνω; so too the dialectal forms (περιχύννω), περεχύννω, (ἀναγαλλῶ) ἀνεγαλλῶ, (ἀναρράπτω) ἀνερράβω, (ἀνασπῶ) ἀνεσπῶ, (ἀνασύρω) ἀνεσύρω, ἀνέφορο, κατέφορο, ἀνηβαίνω, κατήβαινω, etc., etc. So further the established practice in the dialects mentioned in 754. The same process is traceable in *B* forms like ἐκατηρώμην, ἐκατηρήσθην, ἐκατελαβόμεθα, ἐπεκατέλαβεν, ἀπεκατέστανεν, ἀπεκατέστη, ἐκατέδεχτο, etc., mentioned in 751 f.; further in κατηράσασθαι (Alchem. 36, 6). (Cp. also Cretan Ἀπανηχώρι, Κατηχώρι.)<sup>[1]</sup>

## II. INFIXES.

756. In order to form and inflect a tense, we must know its *tense character*. This consists in one or more letters affixed directly to the stem. The present and imperfect, as well as all second tenses of all voices, then the perfect medio-passive, have no fixed or specific character, but all the rest show a characteristic sign. This is—

- c- in the future and aorist active and middle: παυ-*c*-, ἔπαυ-*c*-
- κ- „ 1st perfect and 1st pluperfect passive: πεπαυ-*κ*-, ἔπεπαυ-*κ*-
- θε- „ aorist passive: παυ-θέ-*ντων*. (757.)
- θησ- „ future passive: παυ-θησ-

[<sup>1</sup>] No conclusive evidence to the contrary can be claimed by such solitary examples of -βαίνω, as: Alchem. 36, 6 ἵνα ἐξεβαίνῃ. 321, 11; 322, 22 ὅτι ἐξεβαίνει. 323, 10 νὰ ἐξέβῃ ὁ ἀτμός. 325, 9 ἵνα ἐξεβαίνῃ ὁ καπνός. 333, 11 τοῦ ἐξεβήναι. ib. 14 & 22 ἐξήβαλε (for ἐκαβαλε). 334, 25 νὰ ἐξεβάλῃς. 335, 2 νὰ ἐξέβῃ. (ib. 21 ἐξέβαλον, beside ἐβγαλον 336, 29, etc.). ib. 25 νὰ ἐξέβῃ. 444, 27 νὰ σεβαίνῃ. 445, 10 νὰ σέβῃ, etc.



## 757-763.] TENSE CHARACTER—PERSON ENDINGS.

757. The character *-θη-* of the aorist passive appears 'lengthened' to *-θη-* in the indicative and infinitive.

758. Immediately after the tense character, a *thematic vowel* or *thematic sonant* (698) is added to the stem in all tenses except the perfect, pluperfect, and aorist passive, and remains through all the moods. This is—

a. For the present, imperfect, and future *-ο-* before *μ* and *ν*, otherwise *-ε-*: *παύ-ο-μεν, ἔπau-ο-ν, παύ-ο-ντες—παύ-ε-τε, ἔπau-ε-ς, παύ-ε-τε.*

b. For the aorist active and middle, and for the perfect active *-α-*: *ἔπauσ-α, ἐπαύσ-α-μεν, ἐπαύσ-α-σθε, πεπαύκ-α-μεν, πεπαύκ-α-σι'.*

c. For the pluperfect active *-αι-*: *ἔ-πε-παύκ-αι-ν, ἔ-πε-παύκ-αι-τε.*

759. In addition to the thematic sonant, the subjunctive annexes a *mood vowel*. In the primary subjunctive, this consists in the mere lengthening of the thematic vowels *-ο-* and *-ε-* to *-ω-* and *-η-* respectively, while the secondary subjunctive [optative] has a specific *-ι-* which coalesces with the preceding vowel:

*παύ-ω-μεν, παύσ-ω-μεν, πεπαύκ-ω-μεν—παύ-η-τε, παύσ-η-τε, πεπαύκ-η-τε*  
*παύ-ο-ι-μι, παύσ-ο-ι-μι, πεπαύκ-ο-ι-μι—παύσ-α-ι-μι, παυθε-ι-ην.*

759<sup>b</sup>. All above remarks on the infixes, referring as they do to prehistoric antiquity, are naturally applicable to *N* also, so far as the verbal forms affected still survive.

### III. PERSON ENDINGS.

760. The Greek verb has separate person endings for the voices, as well as for the primary and secondary tenses. In their primitive form (930), these were—

#### I. INDICATIVE AND SUBJUNCTIVE.

##### a. ACTIVE.

SINGULAR.	DUAL.	PLURAL.
Principal: -μι -ις -ι	-τον -τον	-μεν -τε -ντι
Secondary: -ν -ς —	-τον -την	-μεν -τε -ν ογ -σαν

##### b. MEDIO-PASSIVE.

SINGULAR.	DUAL.	PLURAL.
-μαι -σαι -ται	-σθον -σθον	ἑμεθα -σθε -νται
ἑμην -σο -το	-σθον ἑσθην	ἑμεθα -σθε -ντο

761. The entire aorist passive, as well as the future subjunctive and imperative passive, have active endings (804. 807).

761<sup>b</sup>. *N* has *-κα* in the aorist passive indicative. (801. App. iii. 29.)

762. The above person endings are regularly appended to the infixes (756 ff.), or, where there are no infixes, to the stem. Mark only that the two endings *-σαι* and *-σο* (medio-passive) generally drop the *σ* when it should stand between two sonants as: *λύεσθαι* (λύεαι) *λήν, ἐλύεσθo ἐλύεο ἐλγόγ; παύεσθo παύογ* (782. 809).

763. But in three solitary cases the 2nd person singular of the middle ends in *-ει* (instead of *-η*): *βούλει* 'thou wishest,' *οίει* 'thou thinkest,' *ἔξει* (future) 'thou wilt see; also *ἔσει* (beside *ἔσθ*) 'thou wilt be.' (But see 26, 4.)

For *P-N* see 773.

**764.** The subjunctive of the perfect and pluperfect active, in particular medio-passive, are formed mostly by way of circumlocution (687. 1883 f. 2106 f.), that is by the subjunctive of εἶμι and the appropriate participle: πεπαυκῶς or πεπαυμένος ὦ (ῆς ῆ, etc.), πεπαυμένος εἶην (εἶης εἶη, etc.). So too the 3rd person plural indicative medio-passive, when the endings -νται and -ντο would concur with a preceding consonant: γεγραμμένοι εἰσιν or ἦσαν (instead of \*γέγραφνται, \*έγέγραφντο; cp. 169. 687. 886).

**765.** In connecting together as well as in the proper order the thematic and mood vowels with the personal endings, the resulting combinations of the common or Ω-conjugation are the following:

*Present Indicative (Active and Medio-passive).*

	ACTIVE.			MEDIO-PASSIVE.		
Present	S. -ω <sup>1</sup>	-εις <sup>2</sup>	-ει <sup>3</sup>	ῥομαι	-ῃ(-ει) <sup>4</sup>	ῥetai.
	D. (ῃ)	ῥετον	←=	ῥεθον	←=	
Indicative	P. ῥομεν	ῥετε	ῥουσι <sup>5</sup>	-όμεθα	ῥεσθε	ῥονται.

**766. 1.** The first person singular of the active voice -ω is the result of dropping the personal ending -μι and the consequent antectasis of the preceding thematic vowel -ο- to -ω (163).

**767. 2.** The second and third persons singular of the active voice, -εις and -ει, have arisen from ε-ις and ε-ι (760, a), originally from -εσι and -ετι respectively (930).

**768. 3.** The third person plural ῥουσι<sup>5</sup> arose from (-οντι) -ονσι by expelling -σ- with antectasis (163).

**769. 4.** In the second person singular of the medio-passive voice, the form ῥη (ῥει) arose from original ῥεφαι by extruding intersonantic -σ- (762).

**770. II. Future indicative active and middle.** By prefixing σ to the above endings, we obtain the future indicative active and middle: -σω, -σεις, -σει — -σεται, -σεται — -σομεν, -σετε, -σουσι<sup>5</sup>, and -σομαι, -σῃ, -σεται — -σεσθον, -σεσθον — -σόμεθα, -σεσθε, -σονται.

**770<sup>b</sup>.** The middle future has become extinct in N (1478-86).

**771. III. Present and future subjunctive, active and middle.** On the other hand, by substituting -ω- and -ῃ- for -ο- and -ε- respectively, we obtain the subjunctive of the present and future active and middle: -ῶ, -ῆς, -ῇ, — -ῆτον, -ῆτον, — -ῶμεν, -ῆτε, -ῶσι<sup>5</sup>, and -ῶμαι, -ῆῃ, -ῆται, — -ῆσθον, -ῆσθον, — -ῶμεθα, -ῆσθε, -ῶνται.

**772.** According to 761, the future subjunctive passive is -θῶ, -θῆς, -θῇ — -θῆτον, -θῆτον — -θῶμεν, -θῆτε, -θῶσι<sup>5</sup>.

**773.** The verbal endings effected by the above process (765-772) are still substantially preserved in N. It is even significant that the original form -σαι of the second person singular medio-passive (760, b) has been, since H, restored after the analogy of the perfect medio-passive (λέλυσαι, πεποίησαι, κάθισαι, κείσαι) and such present types as δύνασαι, ἴσταςαι, τίθεσαι, δίδουσαι etc. (783).—Moeris 16: ἀκροῦ Ἀττικῶς, ἀκροῦσαι Ἑλληνικῶς. Phryn. in An. Bekk. 18, 19 ἀνακτῆ τόνδε, ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀναλαμβάνεις ἐκμηκότα. οἱ δὲ ἀμαθεῖς προσθήσει τῆς σαι συλλαβῆς ἀνακτῶσαι λέγουσι. Sept. Ruth 2, 14 φάγεσαι (so too Ps. 127, 2; Luke 17, 8); Deut. 28, 39 πίσει (so

# 773-779.] PERSON ENDINGS OF PRESENT INDICATIVE.

too 3 Reg. 17, 4; Luke 17, 8); 3 Reg. 14, 6 ἀποξενούσαι. Luke 16, 25 ὀδυνᾶσαι. Rom. 2, 17 & 23 καυχᾶσαι (also 1 Cor. 4, 7). Rom. 9, 18 κατακαυχᾶσαι. Hesych. ii. 219 κοιμάσαι (so too Sept. Deut. 31, 16). Acta Tho. 25, 38 ὀράσαι. 33, 18 ἐφομοῦσαι. 53, 15 ἐνθυμείσαι. 74, 27 λυτροῦσαι. Proch. 152, 6 βούλεισαι. Greg. Naz. iii. 272 Ὁ δεξιούσαι. Basil. I. 753 Ἀ ἐναντιούσαι. Callin. 133, 1 προσκολᾶσαι. 140, 6 τελειούσαι. Apophth. 141 B & C, then J Moschos 3017 Ὁ πολεμείσαι. Vita Euthym. 73 περισπᾶσαι. 79 ἐξέρχεται. Leo Taot. 9, 40 ἐπιείχεται. Leont. Mon. 665 Ἀ δεξιούσαι. Porphy. Cer. 250 εἶσαι (also 253; 264; 266). 376, 8 κομίζεσαι (also 377, 23). 623 ἀναλαμβάνεσαι. Basil. Sel. 473 Ἀ λυτροῦσαι, ἰασαι,—and so on ever since. (Cp. EASoph. Gloss. 93 & 73.)

774. The influence of analogy in this case is more strikingly shown by the circumstance that even verbs like δύναμαι, κρέμαμαι, κάθημαι—δίδομαι, δίδωμι, τίθεμαι, τίθημι, and the rest of the Mi-class, which Ἀ Greek formed without thematic sonant, were soon attracted and assimilated to the general norm of barytone Ὡ-verbs (936 f.), as: Louvre Pap. 39 (161 B.C.), 10 δύνομαι; also Gr. Urk. Berlin 246 (†II-III<sup>rd</sup>), 10. Sept. Jer. 28, 2 δυνύμεθα. ib. 59, 14 ἡδύνοντο. 4 Macc. 2, 20 ἐδύνετο. (996, 54.)

775. These analogical formations indicate the mode and line of transition from the Mi-verbs to the barytone or Ὡ-class, a phenomenon illustrated by the following examples (936 f. 853):

δίδομαι, etc.	δίδομεν, δίδοτε—ΔΙΔΟΜΕΝ ΔΙΔΕΤΕ	-ουσι	δίδω	-εις	-ει
ζώννυμαι, etc.	ζώννυμεν, ζώννυτε—ΖΩΝΝΟΜΕΝ ΖΩΝΝΕΤΕ	,,	ζώνω	,,	,,
στρώννυμαι, etc.	στρώννυμεν, στρώννυτε—ΣΤΡΩΝΝΟΜΕΝ ΣΤΡΩΝΝΕΤΕ	,,	στρώνω	,,	,,
χώννυμαι, etc.	χώννυμεν, χώννυτε—ΧΩΝΝΟΜΕΝ ΧΩΝΝΕΤΕ	,,	χώνω	,,	,,
ἀπόλλυμαι, etc.	ἀπόλλυμεν, ἀπόλλυτε—ΑΠΟΛΛΟΜΕΝ ΑΠΟΛΛΕΤΕ	,,	ἀπόλλω	,,	,,
ἀφίεμαι, etc.	ἀφίεμεν ἀφίετε—ΑΦΙΟΜΕΝ ΑΦΙΕΤΕ	,,	ἀφίω	,,	,,

776. Even a single person can serve as basis for new formations; thus—

τιθείαι has called forth *Ρ* τιθέαμεν τιθέατε  
 διδάσαι ,, ,, ,, διδάμεν διδάτε. (Cp. 930, a. 996, 51.)

777. The third person plural active -ουσι appears since *T* also in the syncopated form -ουν, as: Bull. Corr. Hell. vii. 309, 7 ἐπιτηδεύουν. Alchem. 322, 9 νὰ ψυχρανθοῖν. 324, 27 νὰ λυθοῖν, etc. Nomoc. 47 ποιήσουν. ib. 307 ἰσθιοῖν, ἔχουν. Leo Gram. 359, 13 κυριεύουν. FTrinch. 34 (†1034) ἵνα κληρονομήσουν. 75 (†1093) ἵνα ἡμᾶς ἔχουν, ἵνα σηκώσουν. 78 (†1097) ἔχουν—and so on ever since. This abbreviation, which is apparently due to the analogy of the corresponding person of the perfect (785-8. 793-6), has been ever since in popular use, and *N* now, while still preserving the ancient form -ουσι in some dialects (Crete, Rhodes, Thera, Cyprus, Chios, Leros, etc., cp. GHatzidakis 112), commonly says θέλου, τρώγου, φάγου, λάβου, γράφου, γράψου, λύσου, etc. or amplifies to θέλουνε, λάβουνε, γράφουνε, etc. (132<sup>b</sup>. App. iii. 29.)

778. In the same way, the third person plural medio-passive -ονται has been influenced by the corresponding ending -ουν, or rather by the contracted forms (ποι)ούμεθα, (δηλ)οῦσθε (ποι-, δηλ-)οῦνται, and thus changed to *N* -ονται, as: ἔρχονται, χαίρουνται, δέρουνται, γίνονται, κάθονται (cp. 850 b. ff.). This *N* form occurs even in the earliest *M* popular compositions, as: SCusa 81 ἄρχονται, κατάρχονται. FTrinch. 373 (A.D. 1223) περιορίζονται.

779. As regards the subjunctive forms φ, ψ, η; ωμεν, ητε, ωσι—ωμαι, η, ηται; ὦμεθα, ἦσθε, ὦνται, generally speaking, they have been strictly adhered to by correct writers of all times. However, as the difference between indicative and subjunctive in most of the cases (ω, εις, ει, ὦμεν; ω, ης, η, ὦμεν; ὦμαι, η, ὦμεθα; ὦμαι, η, ὦμεθα) was a matter of mere orthography (1987 ff.), it naturally escaped observation and the homophony existing in all these cases soon led to a complete uniformity. This was obtained by assimilating the few heterophonous forms of the subjunctive (ητε, ωσι, ηται, ἦσθε) to those of the indicative which were far more familiar, since they occurred also in the imperative,

## PERSON ENDINGS OF IMPERFECT INDICATIVE. [779-785.

and, with a slight prefixal variation, in the imperfect and 2nd aorist indicative (φεύγετε, φύγετε, ἐφεύγετε, ἐφύγετε; ἔρχεσθε, ἤρχεσθε, etc.). Accordingly the heterophonous forms appear to have retreated from popular speech as early as G, and are, as a matter of course, unknown to N.

NT Mark 11, 25 *ὅταν στήκετε*. 1 Thess. 3, 8 *ἐὰν ὑμεῖς στήκετε*. Gal. 2, 4 *ἵνα παταδωλοῦσουσιν*. Tit. 2, 4 *ἵνα σωφρονίζουσιν*. 1 Cor. 4, 6 *ἵνα μάθετε*. Hermas Vis. 3, 12, 3 *ἐὰν ἐλθνέετε*. John 17, 3 *ἵνα γινώσκουσιν* (cp. Gal. 15, 24 *ὅταν παραδίδοι* = *ἰδῇ*). John 5, 20 *ἵνα θαυμάζετε*. Phil. 2, 11 *ἵνα ἐξομολογήσεται*. Matt. 7, 6 *μήποτε καταπατήσουσιν καὶ ῥήξωσιν*. Acts 7, 7, *ᾧ ἐὰν δουλεύουσιν*. Mark 15, 20 *ἵνα σταυρώσουσιν*. Matt. 18, 19 *ἐὰν συμφωνήσουσιν*. Rev. 13, 15 *ὅσοι ἐὰν προσκυνήσουσιν*. John 17, 3 *ἵνα γινώσκουσιν*. Rev. 12, 6 *ἵνα τρέφουσιν*. 3, 9 *ἵνα ἡξουσιν καὶ προσκυνήσουσιν*. 6, 4 *ἵνα σφάζουσιν*. 4, 9 *ὅταν δώσουσιν*. 9, 20 *ἵνα μὴ προσκυνήσουσιν*. Acts 2, 22 & Hermas Vis. 1, 3, 2 *ἐὰν μετανήσουσιν*. CIG 5128, 22 *ἄχρις οὗ ἀγάγουσιν*. Acta Tho. 28, 35 *ἵνα βλέπωσι καὶ ἀκούσι*. 66, 3 *ὅταν λαμβάνουσιν*. 59, 20 *ὅταν ἐξουσίαν ἔχετε*. Acta Petri et Pauli 194, 3 *ἵνα μὴ μόνον φύγωσιν ἀλλὰ καὶ δειγματίσουσιν*. Acta Pauli et Theclae 243, 11 (ABC) *ἵνα μένουσιν*. 256, 9 & 12 *ἵνα ζήσεται*. Acta Pilati A i. 2, 5 *ἵνα φονεύσουσιν*. Acta Andreæ 117, 8 *ὅπως ἐγκαταλείψουσιν* (cp. 850-1). CGL 233, 25 *ἐὰν θέλετε si vultis*.—For other examples see 1988 ff. & 1990, & cp. 850.

779<sup>b</sup>. Even learned and staunch Atticists cannot escape the influence of this confusion as: Proc. i. 479, 17 *ἦν ὡς αὐτοῖς ἔσησε*. 336, 13 *ὅπως συλλήμνται*. ii. 71, 20 *ὅπως ἀκούσῃσθε*. Agath. 41, 3 *ὅπως μὴ ὁμοία πείσῃσθε*,—seeing that such blunders merely point to a scholastic reaction. (Cp. 805 & 1935<sup>b</sup>.)

### 780. Imperfect (& 2nd Aorist) Indicative.

#### ACTIVE.

S. -ον	-ες	-ε
D. -ον	-ετην	
P. -ομεν	-ετε	-ον

#### MEDIO-PASSIVE.

-όμεν	(-εσο)-ου	-ετο
	-ισθον	-ισθην
-όμεθα	-εσθε	-οντο

781. For the P-N changes in the endings -ον -ομεν and -ετε see 786-791.

782. The form -ου of the 2nd person singular medio-passive arose from *εσο* by extruding intersonantic σ (762. 934). However, the original form remains unchanged in M<sub>i</sub>-verbs and in the pluperfect, as: *ἴστασο, ἐτίθεσο, ἐδίδασο, ἐδείκνυσο, — ἐδέδασο*.

783. Starting from these few remnants, P-B Greek revived and extended the original form -εσο, first to contracted verbs (cp. 773), then to all verbs indiscriminately (cp. Kühner-Blass ii. 69), as: *ἠκροᾶσο, ἐκυνχᾶσο, ἐλέγεσο, ἤρχεσο*. Antatt. 98, 28 *ἠκροᾶσο ἀντὶ ἠκροῦ* 'Ἀντιφάνης Ἐπιδαύρῳ. It still survives in South Italian Greek, as: GMorosi ii. 56 *ἐρκεσο* for *ἤρχεσο*; 140 *ἐγράφεσο* (cp. APellegrini 26 & 42; also GHatzidakis 61). For all other P-N changes see 801 ff. 849 f. 852. 859 f.

784. By substituting -α and the appropriate tense character (-σ- or -κ-, 756) for the thematic -ο- and -ε-, the 1st aorist active and middle, and the perfect active as well are effected. The only variation noteworthy is that in the active voice: (a) the first person singular drops final -ν in the aorist and perfect; (b) the third person singular takes of necessity -ε for -α; and (c) the third person plural has -ν in the aorist and -σι in the perfect.

785. Similarly, if we replace -ο- and -ε- by -κει- or -θη-, we obtain the pluperfect active or the aorist passive respectively.

**785-789.] PERSON ENDINGS OF AORIST INDICATIVE.**

	ACTIVE.			MIDDLE.			PASSIVE.		
Aorist	S.	-σα	-σας	-σε"	-σάμην	ἔσω	-σατο	ἔθην	ἔθης ἔθη
	D.		ἔσατον	-σάτην		ἔσασθον	-σάσθην		ἔθητον -θήτην
	P.	ἔσαμεν	ἔσατε	-σαιν	-σάμεθα	ἔσασθε	ἔσαντο	ἔθμεν	ἔθητε ἔθησαν
Perfect Active	S.	-κα	-κας	-κε"			ἔκειν	ἔκεις	ἔκει
	D.		ἔκατον	ἔκατον				ἔκειτον	-κέιτην
	P.	ἔκαμεν	ἔκατε	ἔκασιν			ἔκειμεν	ἔκειτε	ἔκεισαν

786. There has been, since *A* times, a close affinity between the aorist and perfect. First they bordered on each other in meaning (736. 739. 1870-5), then both had virtually the same endings save in the 3rd person plural (-α, -ας, -ε, -αμεν, -ατε, —); often even the same prefix as augment and reduplication respectively (731. 733. 736). These common points naturally could not fail to bring about a complete assimilation. The first step in the process was made by the 3rd person plural, the only varying terminal suffix, since it was -ασιν in the perfect, while the aorist ended in -(σ)αν. If the balance of frequency were to turn the scale, the perfect would have prevailed over the aorist, but the position of the latter was strengthened by several allied cases of -σαν, occurring in the same person of the pluperfect (ἐλελύκεισαν) and aorist passive (ἐλύθησαν), in the imperative (λύτωσαν, λύσάτωσαν, λυθήτωσαν), and in the secondary subjunctive (λύσῃσαν, λύσαισιν, 791 f.). The assistance rendered by the aorist passive was of no small moment, since this tense already performed, to a considerable extent, the office of the middle and active voice (1478-86), as: ἐχάρησαν, ἀπηλλάγησαν, ἐφοβήθησαν, ἐπραγματεύθησαν, ἐβουλήθησαν, ἠνέχθησαν, etc. Accordingly the aorist ending -(σ)αν prevailed over the perfect ending -ασιν, so that the perfect active appears ever since the III<sup>d</sup> B.C. also in the form -αν (cp. *A* ἔθηκεν, ἔδωκαν):

KMeisterhans<sup>1</sup> 147, 8 (B.C. 246-226) παρείληφان. CIG 3052 (B.C. 193) ἀπέσταλκαν. Gr. Pap. Br. Mus. 10, 23 (B.C. 162) εἰληφان. Ib. 11, 50 ἐπιδέδωκαν. GMeyer<sup>2</sup> § 560 κέκρικαν. KMeisterhans<sup>2</sup> 147, 8 (I<sup>st</sup> B.C.) διατετέλεκαν, ἐντέτευξαν, εἰσχηκαν, πεποίηκαν. Sept. 1 Chron. 19, 10 γέγοναν. Jesu. 5, 29 ἔωρακαν. Jud. 7, 10 πέποιθαν. NT Acts 16, 36 ἀπέσταλκαν. Col. 2, 1 ἔωρακαν. John 17, 6 τετήρηκαν. 17, 7 ἔγνωκαν. Rev. 18, 3 πέπτωκαν. 19, 3 ἔιρηκαν. Jas. 5, 4 εἰσελήλυθαν. Batrach. 179 ἔοργαν; also Sib. or. 14, 253 (cp. CIG 4712 b ἐνέτηρηκαν). Peyron, Pap. Taur. p. 24 κεκυρίευκαν. Sib. or. 1, 86 ἔσχηκαν. Lycoph. Alex. 252 πέφρικαν, ἐλήλυθαν. Sext. adv. Gr. 213. also Geop. 2, 6, 27 Hippol. Haer. 272, 24 δεδέξακαν. [Jacob.] 17, 1 οἶδαν. [Callisth.] i 46, p. 52<sup>b</sup> πέφυκαν. i 26, p. 27 (C) δέδωκαν. Acta Pil. 4 γέγοναν. Leont. Neap. V. J. 21, 12 δέδωκαν. So Theoph. 232, 6 (2), 2, 15 (C) πέποιθαν. Theoph. 294, 19; 21; 23; 352, 3 (also 116, 8 y) & Leo Gram. 292, 22 πεποίηκαν. Theoph. 227, 10 (2) γέγοναν. (Cp. Kühner-Blass ii. 49.)—Conversely: Gr. Urk. Berlin 22, 21 (†114) ὡν πέπρακον λαχάνων.

For *N* see 789 f.

787. This influence soon extended to the 2nd aorist also (907-916), the more so as that tense was syntactically identical with the 1st aorist:—

CIG 2264 add. μετέσχαν. Polyb. 3, 19, 5 ἀντέπεσαν. 33, 17, 1 ἐνέπεσαν. Sept. 2 Reg. 23, 16 ἔλαβαν. Tobit 3, 9 ἀπέβαν. 1 Sir. 10, 14 εἶδαν, ἐφυγαν; 27, 20 εὔραν. NT Mark 14, 46 ἐπέβαλαν. Matt. 14, 15 προσήλθαν. Luke 8, 35 ἦλθαν. Rev. 7, 11 ἔπεσαν. Gr. Urk. Berlin 146 (†II-III<sup>d</sup>) ἐπήλθαν. Hermas Vis. 1, 4, 1 ἦλθαν καὶ ἦραν καὶ ἀπήλθον. Ib. 3 ἀπήλθον. Acta Tho. 19, 9 παρείδαν. 93, 3 ἐξήνεγκαν. 89, 35 ἀνήνεγκαν. Proch. 43, 1 εἶπαν. So 43, 7; 48, 14; 18; 92, 3, 91, 6 ἐξέβαλαν, etc. Also Narr. Zos. 99, 13 & 18; 106, 9. Leont. Neap. V. J. 22, 24 ἔπεσαν. Mal. 66, 13 ἐφυγαν.

788. This form has ever since been current in popular speech, and is now universal in *N*, as: ἐφυγαν, εἶδαν, ἔπαθαν, ἔγιναν.

789. The analogical influence of the 3rd person plural -αν could not

but also soon affect the only remaining past tense, namely the imperfect, the more so as the identity of the 3rd with the 1st person plural in this tense (780. 794) called for a dissociation. This assimilation then completed the levelling of all tenses referring to the past : aorist, pluperfect, perfect, and imperfect, whether barytone or contracted.

Sept. 2 Reg. 6, 3 ἦσαν. So too Ἐφημ. ἀρχ. 1892, 41-2. Louvre Pap. 40 (156 B.C.), 39 ὑβρίζαν με. Also 41, 29. CIA iii. 1379, 4 ἤφεραν. Hermas Vis. 3, 2 (N) κατέκοιπταν. Acta Andr. et Matt. 3 προσέδεναν. Mich. Arch. 2, 8 εἶχαν.—Eur. Hec. 574 ἐπληρούσαν. CIG 1583, 4 ἐνικῶσαν. Bull. Corr. Hell. 1890, 5 παρεκαλοῦσαν. Sept. Gen. 6, 4 ἐγεννώσαν. Ex. 33, 8 κατενοοῦσαν. 2 Reg. 20, 15 ἐνοοῦσαν. Ps. 5, 12 ἐδοιοῦσαν. Job 1, 4 ἐποιοῦσαν. Jer. 19, 13 et 39, 29 ἐθυμῶσαν. 41, 10 ἔωσαν. Ezech. 22, 11 ἠγομοῦσαν. 2 Esdr. 6, 14 φκοδομοῦσαν. Sol. Ps. 8, 12 ἐπατοῦσαν. 2, 2 κατεπατοῦσαν. 2, 3 ἐβεβηλοῦσαν. 17, 15 ἐπεκρατοῦσαν. Gr. Urk. Berlin 183 (†85), 6 προεγαμοῦσαν. Hermas Sim. 9, 9, 5 ἐδοκοῦσαν. Steph. Diacon. 1104 D ἐπαλινοδοῦσαν. (Cp. NT Acts 17, 5 ἰθουρβοῦσαν.) [In all these cases the accent was borrowed from ἐπληροῦμεν, ἐπληροῦτε, παρεκαλοῦμεν, ἐδοιοῦμεν, ἐδοιοῦτε, etc.; not from ἐπλήρουν, as GHatzidakis argues in Παρνασσός 17, 581-8. Cp. ἡμάρτοσαν, ἐφάγοσαν, ἐμάθοσαν, etc. from ἡμάρτομεν, ἡμάρτετε, ἐφάγομεν, ἐφάγετε, etc. 791.]

790. This form has ever since been current in popular speech and is still universal in N, where it has been transferred even to the passive voice : ἐφοβοῦν-ταν, ἐφαίνονταν (= ἐφοβοῦντο, ἐφαίνοντο).

791. To what extent the ending -(σ)αν came to be felt as the characteristic suffix of the past, may be gathered from the fact that it soon began to be superadded even to the thematic vowel of the 2nd aorist and imperfect, then even to the kindred secondary subjunctive [optative] active, thus leading to -οσαν :

Bull. Corr. Hell. vi. 41-43 (180 B.C.) παρελάβοσαν. Ephem. epigr. i. 278 (170 B.C.), 41 δῆπλθοσαν. Gr. Pap. Br. Mus. 23 (B.C. 161), 31 ἐλαμβάνωσαν (read -οσαν). Hermas viii. 433 διελάβοσαν. Sept. Josu. 8, 19 (B) ἤλθοσαν. Gen. 8, 19 & 12, 5, also Josu. 2, 8 ἐξήλθοσαν. Deut. 1, 25 & Josu. 11, 19 (B) ἐλάβοσαν. Deut. 7, 19 ἴδοσαν (write εἶδοσαν, 717 [1]). 32, 5 ἡμάρτοσαν. Ps. 76, 17 & 97, 3, also Jes. 41, 5 ἴδοσαν. 77, 29 ἐφάγοσαν. 114, 3 εὔροσαν. Jer. 28, 7 ἐπίοσαν. Ruth 4, 11 εἶποσαν. Nehem. 3, 5 κατέσχοσαν. Josu. 3, 14 (B) ἤροσαν (for ἦσαν). 8, 22 κατέλθοσαν. Dan. 3, 22 ἐνέβάλοσαν. Josu. 6, 23 (B) ἐξηγάγοσαν.—Scymn. 695 ἐσχοσαν. Et. M. 282, 27 ἐμάθοσαν. Leo Gram. 290, 22 εἰσῆλθοσαν. cp. CALobeck Phryn. 349 εἶδοσαν, ἐφεύροσαν, ἤλθοσαν.—Bull. Cor. Hell. vii. 57 (180 B.C.) συνήγοσαν. Pap. Louvre 34 (±150 B.C.), 13 ἐφάσκοσαν. A. P. 5, 209 εἶχοσαν. Lycophr. 21 ἐσχάζοσαν. Sept. Ex. 16, 24 ἐλαμβάνοσαν. 18, 26 ἐκρίνοσαν, ἀνεφύροσαν. 1 Mac. 4, 50 ἐφαίνοσαν. Ezech. 22, 12 ἐλαμβάνοσαν. 1 Par. 22, 4 ἐφύροσαν. John 15, 22 & 24 εἶχοσαν. Sol. Ps. 8, 11 διηρπάζοσαν. 8, 25 εἶδοσαν; 10, 7 ἡμάρτοσαν; 17, 16 ἐφύγοσαν. 13, 3 ἐπειδράμοσαν, ἐτίλλοσαν. Kühner-Blass ii. 55 ἐλέγοσαν, ἐφεύγοσαν, ἐγράφοσαν, εἶπασαν (-οσαν?). Antatt. 91, 14 ἐλέγοσαν, ἐγράφοσαν, καὶ τὰ ὅμοια Ἀλεξάνδρεῖς λέγουσι. Ανυκόφρων Ἀλεξάνδρα 'ναῦται λαζον καθὸ γῆς ἐσχάζοσαν.' Leont. Neap. V. J. 30, 8 (E) εἰσῆλθοσαν (ubi -θωσαν). Mich. Arch. 3, 10 διήλθοσαν. 11, 10 ἤλθοσαν.

792. As similar macaronic instances of the secondary subjunctive [optative] note the following cases in -αισαν and -οισαν, suggested by -σαι and -αι respectively (805):

Sept. Gen. 49, 8 αἰνέσαισαν. Deut. 1, 44 ποιήσαισαν. Job 5, 14 ψηλαφήσαισαν. 18, 7 θηρεύσαισαν. 18, 9 ἔλθοισαν. 18, 11 ὀλέσαισαν. 20, 10 πυρσεύσαισαν. Ps. 34, 25 εἰποισαν. 103, 35 ἐκλείποισαν. Tobit 3, 11 εὐλόγησαισαν. Sol. Ps. 4, 8 δικαιοῦσαισαν. 4, 20 ἐκκώψαισαν. 12, 6 κληρονομήσαισαν. CIG 1699 παρέχοισαν. Hippol. 283, 47 λέγοισαν. Phavor. p. 172, 23 εἵπαισαν. (So CIG 11, 6 ἀποτίνοισαν; for more examples see 805.)

793. On the other hand, the great frequency (in P-B Greek) of the perfect and the consequent popularity of its ending -ασι (supported as it was by

**793-798.] PERSON ENDINGS OF PAST INDICATIVE.**

the -ουσι of the other two principal tenses, notably the present, with which it was syntactically associated), inevitably exerted a counter-influence on the invading aorist. Hence we often find the ending -ουσι applied to the aorist and imperfect, though hardly previous to 7, as:

Clem. Rom. 1, 44 (A) ἐδῶκασι (if not δεδῶκασι). Gr. Urk. Berlin 275 (†215), 5 ἐπῆλθασι τινες. CWessely Prol. 65 (†618) ἐποιήκασιν (or πεποιήκασιν?). Acta Pilati B 10, 6 (A) ἐλάβασιν. Vita Epiph. 68 D ἀπεδῶκασι. Acta Tho. 22, 35 εἶπασιν. Apocr. Martyr. Barthol. 2, also JMoschos 308i A διεθήκασι. Damasc. ii. 324 A εἶπασιν. Theoph. 468, 6 ἐπῆρσασιν. (Cp. Villos. Anecd. ii. 122 ἐτιθέασι.)

FTrinch. 60 (A.D. 1063) ἀφιερῶσασιν. 125 (A.D. 1125) ἐποιήσασιν. 151 (A.D. 1133) ἐχρήσασιν. 167 (A.D. 1141) ἐκλέψασι. 242 (A.D. 1175) ὁμύσασιν. 412 (A.D. 1244) ὁμύσασιν. 413 εἶχασιν, ἐσυναινέσασιν, ἐτίσασιν, etc. SCusa 416 (A.D. 1117) ἤλθασιν, ὑπῆρχασιν. Prodr. 1, 88 παρεδῶκασι. 304 ἡθέλασι. 2, 438 ἐθέκασι. 3, 272 ἐπουλουντᾶσι—and so on to the present time. (Cp. GHatzidakis 112.)

**794.** Another departure from A conjugation is shown by the 1st person of past tenses. The ending -ον of the 2nd aorist and imperfect served as 3rd person plural also (780. 789), and thus rendered an unmistakable distinction necessary. This was readily found in the 1st person of the 1st aorist and perfect (ἐλυσα, λέλυκα):

CIA iii. 1636, 5 ἔσχα. RWagner 119 ἤλθα, and often. NT Acts 12, 7 ἔπεσα. Rev. 17, 3 εἶδα. Gr. Urk. Berlin 261 (±II-III<sup>rd</sup> A.D.), 18 ἔλαβα. CIA iii. 1379 (III<sup>rd</sup> A.D.) ἤφερα (996<sup>295</sup>). also GKaibel 168, 2 & JMoschos 3004 A ἔφερα. Mal. 234, 15 εἶπα. CIA iii. 1350, 4 ἤλπι(α). Acta Pauli et Theclae 258, 3 ἐγὼ κατέφυγα. So Acta Tho. 77, 3. Leont. Neap. V. J. 90, 12 ἀπέτυχα. Sym. 1701 A ἐγκατέλιπα (ubi -λείπα); 1700 D ἐφυγα, κατέφυγα. CGL 399, 26 elaba (ἐλαβα), 402, 32 edrama (ἐδραμα).

**795.** This form has ever since been current in popular speech and is still universal in N, as: ἐφυγα, εἶδα, ἔλεγα, ἔβλεπα.

**796.** Once established in the 3rd person plural and the 1st person singular (789. 794), the thematic -α- soon extended to the remaining 1st and 3rd persons of the plural:

(Aeschin. 2, 176 ἐνεπέσαμεν.) Polyb. 4, 57, 1 ἀπελίπαμεν. Sept. 1 Sir. 10, 14 εἶδαμεν. 2 Sir. 19, 42 ἐφάγαμεν. Orph. Argon. 119 εἶδαμεν. So NT Acts 4, 20. Luke 8, 35 & 23, 2 εὔραμεν. Acts 21, 8 ἤλθαμεν. Clem. R. ad Cor. 38, 3 εἰσῆλθαμεν. Acta Tho. 1, 6 διελίπαμεν. 43, 39 & 44, 26 κατελίπαμεν (ubi -λείπ-). CWessely Akad. Wiss. 1889, p. 106. (V-VII<sup>th</sup>) ἔσχαμεν. Acta Pil. A. i. 15, 1 εἶδαμεν. Proch. 53, 16 & Acta Pil. A. 4, 5 ἤλθαμεν. So 54, 21; 59, 3; 67, 15 etc.—Proch. 117, 2 εἰσῆλθαμεν. So 148, 6; 160, 3 & 5; 161, 81.—64, 5 ἐξήλθαμεν. So 18; 87, 3; 117, 2 etc. 102, 14 εἶπαμεν. 103, 18 ἤρραμεν. 44, 2 εὔραμεν. So 86, 9. 102, 4 εἶπαμεν. 108, 9 μετελάβραμεν. Mal. 449, 20 ἤρραμεν. Acta Pilati A. i. 1, 5 εἶχαμεν. So Vita Epiph. 108, 1; Leont. Neap. V. J. 19, 16 (D) εὔραμεν. Sym. 1688 c ἐγκατελίπαμεν (ubi -λείπαμεν). Apoc. Mar. 122, 36-7 εἶδαμεν (twice).—Sept. Esai. 1, 4 ἐγκατελίπατε. Amos 4, 4 εἰσῆλθατε. NT Matt. 25, 36 ἤλθατε. 11, 7 ἐξήλθατε. Gal. 5, 4 ἔξευσατε. Polyo. ad Phil. 9, 1 εἶδατε κατ' ὀφθαλμούς. Acta Tho. 79, 11 εἶπατε. So 85, 15. Mart. Petri et Pauli 124, 10 κατελίπατε (ubi -λείπατε). Acta Petri et Pauli 191, 2 ἐγκατελίπατε (-λείπ-). Leont. Neap. Sym. 1681 A ἐγκατελίπατε (ubi -λείπατε). CWessely Prol. 65 (†VI-VII<sup>th</sup>) ἐλάβετε.

**797.** These forms have ever since been current in popular speech and are now very common in N, except the 2nd person plural (-ατε), for which the ancient form -ετε is by far commoner. (Cp. NT Matt. 23, 23 ἀφήκετε.)

**798.** Under the influence of such an assimilating process, it was a foregone conclusion that the only remaining anomaly in the personal endings of past tenses, the 2nd person singular, should be removed. This was done by substituting the -ες of the imperfect and 2nd aorist for the -ας of the perfect and 1st aorist:

Sept. Ex. 5, 22 ἀπέσταλκες. NT Acts 21, 22 ἐλῆλυθες. John 8, 57 ἔωρακες.

# PERSON ENDINGS OF N PAST TENSES. [798-801<sup>c</sup>.

Rev. 2, 3 κεκοίτακε. 2, 4 ἀφήκες. 2, 5 πέπτακες. Le Bas 2415 οἰκοδόμησες, ἐκτίσες. GKaibel 570 (II<sup>nd</sup> A. D.) ἤρπαςες (so IGS 2040 & 525). 577 & 578 ἤρπασες (so too IGS 1754). 241, 1 ἀπέπτασες. IGS 40; 407a; 578 ἐζήσες. Gr. Urk. Berlin 261 (±II-III<sup>rd</sup> A. D.), 14 δάδ.κες. ib. 23 οἶδες. ib. 24 ἔγραψες. Apoll. D. Synt. i. 36, 37 (also CWessely Akad. Wiss. 1889 p. 116) ἔγραψες. 37, 9 εἶρηκες. Acta Pilati B. ii. 7 ἐγύρενες. CWessely Pröl. 65 (†608) ἐχορήγησας (for -ες). Leont. Neap. V. J. 43, 14 (C) ἐσκέπασες. CGL 400, 10 εἰσέσες (ἐφίλησες). 401, 58 εἰδipνες (ἐδείκνυσες). ib. 68 ἐρίσες (ἤρισες). 402 ἐπάτησες (ἐπάτησες). ib. 14 ἐραπες (ἐρραπες). ib. 56 ἐχέσες (ἐχέσες). ib. 70 ἐρροῖσας (ἐρήφισες). ib. συντετήρησες (συντετήρησες); et passim<sup>[1]</sup>.

798<sup>b</sup>. This form has ever since been current in popular speech and is now universal in N, as: ἔγραψες, ἐκτίσες, ἐφίλησες, ἐδωκες.

799. For the P-N morphology of the Middle Future and Aorist, see once for all 1478-1486.

800. On the other hand, the ending -ατε, -ασθε, owing to the presence of -αμεν, -ασι, perhaps also to the phonodynamic superiority of α over ε (146), has not only held its own against -ετε, -εσθε the longest, but was even transferred to the future imperative and still obtains in several Nidioms.

Sept. Ps. 145, 3 & Jer. 9, 4 μὴ πεποιθᾶτε. Josu. 11, 19 μὴ ἐστήκατε. Acta Petri et Pauli 192, 10 εἰσέλθατε. Acta Tho. 13, 20 περιέλθατε. 21, 29 ἐξέλθατε. 93, 19 εἰσέλθατε. 49, 29 ἀνέλθατε (even 82, 29 ἐλθάτω! cp. Acta Pil. B. 4, 2 μηδὲν ποιήσατε κακόν). Cleemans 19, 15 ἐλθατω for -τε. CGL 656, 12 ἐλθατε ὦδε. 657, 14 ἀνελθάτω τις καὶ ἀγγελάτω.

801. As recent N does not well admit of a closing -ν (218, 221), the aorist passive ending -θην has been changed to -θηκα (App. iii. 29), where -κα has been borrowed from the perfect (786), as: A ἐλύθην, N ἐλύθηκα; A εὐρίθην, N εὐρίθηκα; A ἐχάρην, N ἐχάρηκα; A κατέβην, N ἐκατέβηκα.

801<sup>b</sup>. In this way, popular speech has since G times gradually established a uniform system of person endings for all past tenses, including the perfect (the pluperfect having previously retreated before its analytical substitute 1880), in the following manner:—

## Imperfect, Perfect, and Aorist in G-N speech:

I. G-N	-α	-ες	-ε	λαμεν	λατε & λετε	(λοσαν) -αν
II. A-B	-όμεν	λεσο	λετο	-όμεθα	λεσθε	-οντο
N	λούμου*	λούσου*	-ετο*	-όμεστα	λεστε	λουντα* <sup>[2]</sup>
III. A-B	λθην	λθης	λθη	λθμεν	λθτε	λθσαν
N	λθηκα	λθηκες	λθη	λθηκαμε*	λθηκατε	λθηκαν
			& -θηκε*		& -θήκατε	& -θήκανε <sup>[2]</sup>
						& -θήκασι*

801<sup>c</sup>. Regarding the N forms given here under II, note that the terminal -ου\* is due chiefly to the influence of the preceding thematic -ου- (859<sup>b</sup>; for the 2nd person cp. also the imperative κάθου, φοβοῦ, λυτήσου), while this thematic -ου- is again due to the influence of contracted verbs (852, 859<sup>b</sup>). Once established, this form, λούμουν λούσουν or with the protective -ε (northern -α) (App. iii. 28), -όμουνε -ούσανε (-να), attracted the 3rd person -ετο\*, and under the influence of the 3rd person plural led to -ουνταν\*.—In the plural -όμεστα, the σ is due to -εστε (i. e. -εσθε 176). This form moreover is changed in northern N speech to λμαστε, also λμασταν (Epiros) or λμαστον (Macedonia), with a corresponding 2nd and 3rd person λσατε and λσαταν or (Chios) λσασταν. See also App. iii. 28.

[1] Conversely but rarely: εἰσῆλθας (due to εἰσελήλυθας) Great Louvre Pap. 2340. CGL 642, 20 εὐχερῶς (read εὐκαίρως) ἦλθας opportune venisti.

[2] Sometimes also -ουντασι\*, which occurs even in Prodr. 3, 272 ἐπουλούντασι for ἐπαλούντο.

[3] See App. iii. 28.



## 802. SECONDARY SUBJUNCTIVE [OPTATIVE].

## a. ACTIVE.

Imperfect	S. -οιμι	-οις	-οι
2nd Aorist	D. -οιτον	-οιτην	
	Pl. -οιμεν	-οιτε	-οιεν

## b. MEDIO-PASSIVE.

-οιμην	-οιο	-οιτο
-οισθον	-οισθην	
-οιμεθα	-οισθε	-οιτο

803. By prefixing to the above endings the tense character -σ- or -κ- (756), we obtain the subjunctive of the 1st aorist and pluperfect respectively: -σοιμι, -σοις, -σοι, etc.; -σóiμην, -σoιο, -σoιτο, etc.—-κοιμι, -κοις, -κοι, etc. Likewise, the tense character -θησ- produces the aorist passive: -θησóiμην, -θήσoιο, -θήσoιτο, etc.

804. Mark however that the aorist subjunctive (active and medio-passive), as indicated above, is rare and that its regular and common formation is effected by substituting the thematic vowel -α- for -ο- (758, b); or, in the case of the aorist passive, by special active endings (761). Thus the aorist subjunctive has the following endings:

## a. ACTIVE.

S. -σαιμι	-σαις or -σαιας,	-σαι or -σαιε
	-σαιτον	-σaiτην
Pl. -σαιμεν	-σαιτε	-σαιεν or -σαιαν

## b. MIDDLE.

-σαιμην	-σαιο	-σαιτο
-σαισθον	-σαισθην	
-σαιμεθα	-σαισθε	-σαιντο

## c. PASSIVE.

S. -θείην	-θείης	θείη
D. -θείτον	-θείτην	-θείτην
Pl. -θείμεν	-θείτε	-θείεν

805. Owing to its early retreat from the living language (679), the secondary subjunctive, considered from a morphological point of view, has no P-N history. Its only noteworthy feature is that scholarly writers of all P-M ages made a more or less correct use of it according to their proficiency in A grammar, whereas unlearned scribes either altogether discarded it or blundered in its use—especially in the aorist—being mostly guided by what they imagined to be analogy or Attic idiom (827). In this connexion the frequency of the ending -(σ)αν in the 3rd person plural is particularly striking (779<sup>b</sup>, 792):

CIG 11, 6 ἀποτίνοαν. 2266, 11 εὔρειαν (for εὔροιεν). Sept. Gen. 49, 8 ἀνέσαισαν. Deut. 1, 44 ποιήσαισαν. Job 5, 14 ψηλαφήσαισαν. 18, 7 θηρεύσαισαν. 18, 9 ἐλθοισαν. 18, 11 ὀλέσαισαν. 20, 10 πυρσεύσαισαν. Ps. 34, 25 εἰποισαν. 103, 35 ἐκλείποισαν. Tobit 3, 11 εὐλογήσαισαν. Sir. 33, 11 εὔροισαν. CIG 1699 & 1702 παρέχοισαν. GCurtius Anecd. Delph. 5, 12, 13, 31 παρέχουν (for -χειεν). Porph. Adm. 136, 8 γένειεν. [CIG 5760 γραῡ μεθύστρια ζήσοις (write ζήσης<sup>[1]</sup>). Eus. ii. 891 A ὑγιαίνοντά σε ὁ θεὸς διαφυλάξοι. Athan. i. 361 D ὁ θεὸς ὑμᾶς διαφυλάξοι; Cyrill. H. Procat. 17 φυτεύσοι δὲ ὑμᾶς εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν καὶ στρατεύσοι ὑμᾶς ἐναντῶ. Theophyl. 327, 9 ὁ θεὸς ὑποτάξοι σοι πάντα. Nic. ii. 744 B ὁ θεὸς φυλάξοι τοὺς εὐλαβεῖς:—most if not all for -η. See 1953<sup>b</sup> and cp. 1935-6. App. v. 4 f. 15<sup>b</sup>.]

[<sup>1</sup>] However, in this and all succeeding cases of mere wish, where the 'optative' had lingered the longest (1924. App. iv. 13-15<sup>a</sup>), it is most probable, if not certain, that the spelling with οι is a pedantic transcription of the η of the primary subjunctive which had been current ever since H times for the 'optative' (1919). It is certainly strange that the 'optative' should have been practised chiefly in those cases where it is homophonous with the primary subjunctive (App. iv. 15).

## II. IMPERATIVE.

806. The Imperative has the following endings:—

ACTIVE.		MEDIO-PASSIVE.	
-θι <sup>2</sup>	-τω	-σο <sup>2&amp;4</sup>	-σθω
-τον	-των	-σθον	-σθων
-τε	-ντων or -τωσαν <sup>5</sup>	-σθε	-σθων or -σθωσαν <sup>5</sup>

807. 1. The future passive has active endings (761).

808. 2. The ending -θι is simply dropped in the present, as παῖε; but in the aorist passive after the tense character -θη-, it is changed by dissimilation into -τι- (182, b), as παύθητι.

809. 3. The ending -σο in the present loses its σ, and ο then coalesces with the preceding thematic ε to ου (762), as: (\*παυεφο παύεο) παύου.

810. 4. The 2nd person singular of the future active and middle is irregularly formed in -σον and -σαι respectively: παύσον, παύσαι (instead of παύσε [παυσεφο] παύσου).

811. 5. Of the two alternative endings active and middle -ντων or -τωσαν, and -σθων or -σθωσαν, the former (-ντων and -σθων) prevail in A, the latter (-τωσαν and -σθωσαν) since 300 B.C.

811<sup>b</sup>. A contaminatory form (-ντων x -τωσαν) -ντωσαν is also found since A, as: καθελόντωσαν CIA iv. 104 a (352-1 B.C.), 17; μισθωσάντωσαν (116), ποιησάντωσαν, ἀποδόντωσαν Jour. Hell. Stud. 1896 p. 235 (bis).

812. In considering the P-N history of the imperative, we must distinguish between its second and third person. The latter retreated comparatively early from the common language before the subjunctive, and its presence in post-Christian compositions is due mainly to scholasticism. (1919-1930. App. v. 1-5. 17.)

813. On the other hand, the second person active shows such changes as might be expected from the influence of analogy. The endings -ε and -ετε, occurring as they do in the present and in the 2nd future [2nd aorist] (φεύγε, φεύγετε; φύγε, φύγετε; κρίνε, κρίνετε), not to mention the perfect (πέπαιε), were far more familiar than the sigmatic forms -ον, -ατε (λύσον, λύσατε, κρίνον, κρίνατε). Hence the former attracted and, after a considerable struggle and cross-influence (cp. 122, and Vita SA 49\* x ὑπαγομαι καὶ σκόπησον), gradually assimilated the latter, and thus brought about a uniform imperative. This process of equalization signalized itself in G (L Ross 246 ἐρυξε. S Sterret, i. 82 δῖασε. ii. 311 ζῆσαι, i.e. ζῆσε; Vita Aesopi ed. A Westermann 10, 27 πῤαφε. CGL 402, 39 hypodese [ὑπόδησε or ὑπόδεσε]. 652 περί(ω)σε), but has not yet completely closed, since a few modern Greek idioms (as Pontos, South Italy, Cyprus) still preserve the ending -ον, as: γράφον, γέλασον, ὕβρισον, ξύσον, φύγον<sup>[1]</sup>. In all other N dialects, however, the only endings known are -ε and -ετε: γράφε, γράφετε—γράψε, γράψετε (CGL 652 συνάξετε, ἀγοράσετε. cp. 653 ἀνάπτεσε discombe)—πλύνε, πλύνετε (these two serving both as present and future).

814. On the same principle, the medio-passive endings are still fully preserved in N, so far as they agree with the present endings -ου and -εσθε. As to the future, in which the middle and passive voices have assumed a com-

[1] This occurs chiefly in Pontos and Otranto, though in the latter dialect the ancient form survives only in proparoxytones, as: φάνασο, πιστευσο, κράτησο, etc., but κλαῦσε, ῥίψε, γράψε, κλείσε, etc. (GMorosi i. 135 f.)

mon form (1478-86), the ending *-θητε* still survives in Pontos (GHatzidakis 29), but all other *N* dialects have replaced it by *-σου*, naturally moulded on the ancient and more familiar form *-ου*, as : *φαντάσου, κοιμήσου, νύσου*. The plural *ἔθητε* has become *-θήτε* by assimilation to the cognate hortative subjunctive (App. v. 16 ff. 1919), as : *κοιμηθήτε, πλυθήτε, χαθήτε*. Moreover this accentuation seems on the whole to be applicable also to *G-B* popular compositions, as : *φοβηθήτε, χαρήτε*, etc. (App. v. 16, b.)

## INFINITIVE.

815. The infinitive endings are—

Active : *-εν* or *-ναι*. — Medio-passive : *-θαί*.

816. 1. The ending *-ναι* is peculiar to the perfect active and aorist passive : *πεπαυκέ-ναι, παυθή-ναι*.

817. 2. The ending *-εν* coalesces with the preceding thematic *-ε* to *-ειν* : *παύειν παύειν*. (But see App. ii. 8-14).

818. 3. Instead of *-σειν*, the aorist active has, by exception, the ending *-σαι*, as : *παύσαι*.

819. Owing to its simple and indeclinable character, the infinitive shows no morphological vicissitudes since *A* times, except an occasional interchange of tenses. This confusion, however, points to the gradual retreat of the infinitive altogether from the common speech, and therefore its investigation belongs to the syntax (2063. App. vi).

## PARTICIPLE.

820. In the active voice, the participle has no fixed endings, except a terminal character *-ντ* or (in the perfect) *-στ*, attached to the thematic vowel. This *-ντ* or *-στ* coalesces with the succeeding ending giving rise to antectasis (163. App. ii. 9 ff. & 14) :

(παυοντ + σ)	παύων,	(παυσοντ + σ)	παύσων,	(παύσαντ + σ)	παύσας,
	παῦον,		παῦσον,		παῦσαν
	παύουσα,		παύσουσα,		παύσασα
(παυθεντ + σ)	παυθείς,	(πεπαυκοτ + σ)	πεπαυκός.		
	παυθέν,		πεπαυκός.		
	παυθείσα,		πεπαυκυῖα.		

821. In the medio-passive voice [save in the aorist passive 761], the participle invariably ends in *-μένος, -μενον, -μένη*, as :

*παυόμενος (-ον, -η), παυσόμενος (-ον, -η), παυσάμενος (-ον, -η), πεπαυμένος (-ον, -η).*

822. Regarding the *P-N* history of the participle, mark that the medio-passive, especially in the perfect form *-μένος*, still obtains in *N*, while the active, following as it did an imparisyllabic inflection, has naturally shared the fate of the 3rd declension (338). However, in South Italian *N* (GMorosi i. 132. 138. 142), the active form is still lingering in the adverbial termination *-οντα*, as : *γράφοντα, γράφσοντα*.

823. This *-οντα*, which is evidently a relic of a *neuter* participle active in *-ντα* (instead of simple *-ν*), occurs rather frequently in *T-B* diction, and

thus seems to mark the transition from the ancient participle active to the *M-N* participial adverb in -οντα<sup>s</sup> (1102<sup>b</sup>).

CLeemans 19 (+III-IV<sup>th</sup>) ζῶδιον λαῖν χεῖρα ἐκτετακότα, τὴν δὲ ἐτέραν [κεκ'αμμέ-  
νην] ἔχοντα. Vita Epiph. 88 ἂ τὸ παιδίον ζῶντα. 89 ἂ (αὐ)τὸ ἀποθανόντα, ἀνα-  
στάντα, λαβόντα. 15 c τὸ πλοῖον σπᾶσαντα (ubi ἀσπᾶσαντα) ἀπὸ τῶν κυμάτων.  
JMoschos 2948 c πλοῖον ὁρμῶντα. Leont. Neap. V. J. 5, 9 σταυρίον ἀργυροῦν  
ὄντα. 9, 14 πρόθεμα περιέχοντα τὸν τύπον τοῦτον. 24, 6 πιττάκιον περιέχοντα  
οὕτως. 42, 21 τὸ ἐσωφύριον αὐτοῦ ἀναγκαῖον ὑπάρχοντα. 64, 1 γύναιον προσπί-  
πτοντα καὶ λέγοντα. 88, 12 τὸ παιδίον ἐτῶν ὑπάρχοντα ἐπτά. Mal. 38, 11 τὸ πῦρ  
κατενεχθέντα. 60, 22 πλῆθος οἰκόντα. 206, 24 τὸ ἱερὸν Σολομῶντος ὄντα.  
211, 19 τὸ βουλευτήριον πεσόντα. 217, 3 τὸ πᾶνθεον μέλλοντα συμπίπτειν. 220, 15  
τὸ λείψανον σμῆρνιασθέντα. 235, 12 λουτρὸν παρέχοντα. 367, 14 τὸ δημόσιον  
πεσόντα. 399, 14 χωρίον ὄντα (bis). 464, 4 τὸ βάνδον συλλαφθέντα. Δρος.  
Mag. 120, 37 θηρίον πτερωτὸν ἔχοντα τρεῖς κεφαλὰς. 124, 34 ἡ ψυχὴ βοᾷ λέγοντα.  
Chron. 608, 2 τὸ Δόρας χωρίον ὄντα. FTrinoh. 9 (999 A.D.) ἡμεῖς βλέποντα. 13. (1005  
A.D.) τὸ ὄντα καὶ διακείμενον. 34 (1034 A.D.) φαινόμενα ἀφιερώνοντα. ἐὰν φανῶ-  
μεν καταζητοῦντα καὶ ἐνοχοῦντα. GSprta 64 (1176 A.D.) φαίνομαι πιπράσκοντα  
ἅπαντα τὸ ἐμὸν ὀλίγον ἀμπέλιον . . . τὸ ὄντα καὶ διακείμενον. Belth. 305  
βλέποντα καὶ τὸ ζῶδιον θλιμμένα νὰ ἰστέκη. 572 καὶ ἡ τετάρτη φθάνοντα,  
κἀκείνος ταύτην λέγει. 885 ἡ Φαιροκάτσα πρὸς αὐτὸν γελῶντ' ἀπηλογήθη.  
1004 μικρὸν ἀπειδείσας βλέποντά τον ἡ κόρη. 1010 ἀκούοντα ὁ Βέλθανδρος οὐδὲν  
ἀπηλογήθη. 1026 λέγοντα. 1311 νὰ πᾶ γρεῦνόντα τον.—Chron. Mor. Prol. 390  
ἦσαν ἐπάροντα (ib. 1274 ἦτον ἀποθανῶν). 1093 ἦτον ποιήσοντα. 7747 ἦσαν  
σταθέντα. Prol. 18 ἰδόντας τοῦτ' ὁ ἅγιος. 28 θρηνῶντας. 89 κοῦρσεύοντας,  
κερδίζοντας. 1048 διαβάντα, etc.

[823<sup>b</sup>. Compare Boiss. An. iii. 164 ἵνα μὴ βαρβαροῦ καὶ αὐτὸς ὥσπερ ἄρα  
βεβαρβάρωνται γε οἱ Λάκωνες καὶ νῦν κέκληνται Τζάκωνες, καὶ πιάσονται καὶ  
σφίζονται καὶ δώσονται, καὶ ἤμενον [i.e. ἔμενον 720] καὶ ἡρχύντησαν καὶ  
καθεζού(ν)τησαν [i.e. ἤρχοντο καὶ ἐκαθέζοντο], καὶ ἔλα δὲ, πᾶ, καὶ αἰτιολώσω[?]  
τον, καὶ ἀλλ' ἅττα βάρβαρα λέγουσι.]

## B. CONTRACTED CONJUGATION.

### CONTRACTED VERBS.

**824.** Sonantic verbs the character of which is *a, e, o*, lengthen this vowel before the consonantal tense character (756), and contract it with any succeeding thematic or terminal vowel. Contraction therefore takes place only in the present and imperfect where a tense character is wanting (756), and lengthening in all other tenses. Verbs of this class are called *contracted verbs*, and their contraction and lengthening are due to prosodic and grammatical or analogical influences (156-165<sup>b</sup>. App. ii. 14).

**825.** The rule of lengthening is that, before a succeeding consonant, -*a*- and -*e*- change into -*η*-, and -*o*- into -*ω*-.

#### I. Verbs in -*άω*.

**826.** The rule of contraction is that of 156<sup>c</sup>, namely—  
*a* and *e* or *η* produce *α*—(that is *a + e* or *a + η = α*; *a + e* or *a + η = α*.)  
*a* and *o* or *ω* produce *ω*—(that is *a + o* or *a + ω = ω*; *a + o* or *a + ω = ω*.)

**827.** The imperfect subjunctive [present optative] has in the singular either the normal ending -*οιμι* or, more commonly, the passive ending -*οιην*, which in this case is called *Attic* (cp. 804, c).

828. Conjugation table of verbs in -άω : τιμάω τιμῶ 'honour' — (Cp. also p. 214 ff.)

ACTIVE				
	INDICATIVE	SUBJUNCTIVE	IMPERATIVE	INFINITIVE
Present	τιμά-ω ἀ-εἰς τιμᾶς ἀ-εἰ τιμᾷ ἀ-ε-τον τιμάτον " " ἀ-ο-μεν τιμῶμεν ἀ-ε-τε τιμάτε ἀ-οι-σι' τιμῶσι'	τιμά-ω ἀ-ῖς τιμᾶς ἀ-ῇ τιμᾷ ἀ-ῇ-τον τιμάτον " " ἀ-ω-μεν τιμῶμεν ἀ-ῇ-τε τιμάτε ἀ-ω-σι' τιμῶσι'	τίμαε ἀ-έ-τω τιμάτω ἀ-ε-τον τιμάτον ἀ-έ-τε τιμάτε οὐ ἀ-έ-τωσαν οὐ τιμάτωσαν	τιμά-εν τιμῶν
	ἐτίμα-ον ἀ-εἰς ἐτίμας ἀ-εἰ ἐτίμα ἀ-ε-τον ἐτιμάτον ἀ-ε-την ἐτιμάτην ἀ-ο-μεν ἐτιμῶμεν ἀ-ε-τε ἐτιμάτε ἀ-ον ἐτιμῶν	τιμά-οιμι ἐτιμῶμι ἀ-οῖς ἐτιμῶς ἀ-οῖ ἐτιμῶ ἀ-οῖ-τον ἐτιμῶτον ἀ-οῖ-την ἐτιμῶτην ἀ-οῖ-μεν ἐτιμῶμεν ἀ-οῖ-τε ἐτιμῶτε ἀ-οῖ-εν ἐτιμῶεν		
Imperf.				do.
Perfect	τετίμηκα	τετιμηκώς ὧ ῆς ῆ	τετίμηκε -έτω	τετιμηκέαι
	ἔτετιμήκειν & -κη	τετιμηκώς ἔην εἶης εἴη		do.
Future	τιμήσω -εις -ει	τιμήσω -ῆς -ῇ	τιμήσον -άτω	τιμήσων
Aorist	ἐτίμησα	τιμήσαιμι -ειας -ειε	τιμήσαι	τιμήσας

CONJUGATION TABLE OF VERBS IN -άω — MEDIO-PASS. [828.

MEDIO-PASSIVE							
Present	τιμά-ομαι	τιμῶμαι	τιμά-ωμαι	τιμῶμαι	τιμῶ	τιμῶσθαι	τιμα-όμενος τιμώμενος
	ἀ-ρ(ε)- ἀ-εται ἀ-εσθον	τιμῶ τιμᾶται τιμᾶσθον	ἀ-γ ἀ-γται ἀ-γσθον	τιμῶμαι τιμᾶται τιμᾶσθον	ἀ-εσθω ἀ-εσθον ἀ-εσθω	τιμᾶσθαι τιμᾶσθαι τιμᾶσθω	-μενον τιμώμενον -μένη τιμώμένη
Imperf.	ἀ-όμεθα ἀ-εσθε ἀ-ονται	τιμῶμεθα τιμᾶσθε τιμῶνται	᾿ ᾿ ᾿	ἀ-όμεθα ἀ-εσθε ἀ-ονται	ἀ-εσθε ἀ-εσθον ἀ-εσθω	τιμᾶσθαι τιμᾶσθαι τιμᾶσθω	do.
	ἐτιμα-όμην ἀ-ον ἀ-ετο	ἐτιμῶμην ἐτιμῶ ἐτιμᾶτο	τιμα-όμην ἀ-οιο ἀ-οιτο	τιμῶμην τιμῶ τιμῶτο	ἀ-οισθον ἀ-οισθον ἀ-οισθον	do.	do.
Perfect	τετίμημαι		τετιμνημένος ὧ ἢς ἦ		τετίμησο -σθω	τετιμῆσθαι	τετιμνημένος
Future	τιμήσομαι		τιμήσομαι -ῃ -ῃται		τίμησαι -άσθω	τιμήσασθαι	τιμησόμενος
Aorist	ἐτιμησάμην		τιμησάμην -σαιο -σαιτο			τιμήσασθαι	τιμησόμενος
Future	τιμηθήσομαι		τιμηθῶ		τιμήθῃ	τιμηθήσεσθαι	τιμηθσύμενος
Aorist	ἐτιμήθην		τιμηθείην			τιμήθηναι	τιμηθείς

833.] CONJUGATION TABLE OF VERBS IN -έω—ACTIVE.

833. Conjugation table of verbs in -έω : — ποιέω ποῶ 'do, make.'—See p. 214 ff.

ACTIVE									
		INDICATIVE		SUBJUNCTIVE		IMPERATIVE		INFINITIVE	PARTICIPLE
Present	ποιέ-ω	ποιῶ	ποιέ-ω	ποιῶ	ποιέ-ε	ποιέ-τω	ποιέ-ων	ποιέ-εν	ποιέ-ων
	έ-εις	ποιεῖς	έ-ῃς	ποιῇς	έ-έ-τω	έ-έ-τον	έ-έ-των	ποιέ-ειν	ποιέ-ων, οὔτως
	έ-ει	ποιεῖ	έ-ῃ	ποιῇ	έ-έ-τω	έ-έ-τον	έ-έ-των	ποιέ-ειν	έ-ον
	έ-ε-τον	ποιεῖτον	έ-ῃ-τον	ποιῇ-τον	έ-έ-τω	έ-έ-τον	έ-έ-των	ποιέ-ειν	έ-ουσιν
	έ-ο-μεν	ποιούμεεν	έ-ο-μεν	ποιώμεεν	έ-έ-τω	έ-έ-τον	έ-έ-των	ποιέ-ειν	έ-ουσιν, οὔτως
Imperf.	έ-ε-τε	ποιεῖτε	έ-ῃ-τε	ποιῇ-τε	έ-έ-τω	έ-έ-τον	έ-έ-των	ποιέ-ειν	έ-ουσιν, οὔτως
	έ-ου-σι	ποιούσι	έ-ου-σι	ποιώσι	έ-έ-τω	έ-έ-τον	έ-έ-των	ποιέ-ειν	έ-ουσιν, οὔτως
	έ-ποιέ-ον	έ-ποιούν	έ-ποιέ-ον	έ-ποιούν	έ-έ-τω	έ-έ-τον	έ-έ-των	ποιέ-ειν	έ-ουσιν, οὔτως
	έ-ε-ς	έ-ποιεῖς	έ-οῖς	ποιή-ς	έ-έ-τω	έ-έ-τον	έ-έ-των	ποιέ-ειν	έ-ουσιν, οὔτως
	έ-ε	έ-ποιεῖ	έ-οῖ	ποιή-ι	έ-έ-τω	έ-έ-τον	έ-έ-των	ποιέ-ειν	έ-ουσιν, οὔτως
Perfect	έ-ε-τον	έ-ποιεῖτον	έ-οῖ-τον	ποιή-τον	έ-έ-τω	έ-έ-τον	έ-έ-των	ποιέ-ειν	έ-ουσιν, οὔτως
	έ-ο-μεν	έ-ποιούμεεν	έ-οῖ-μεν	ποιή-μεεν	έ-έ-τω	έ-έ-τον	έ-έ-των	ποιέ-ειν	έ-ουσιν, οὔτως
	έ-ε-τε	έ-ποιεῖτε	έ-οῖ-τε	ποιή-τε	έ-έ-τω	έ-έ-τον	έ-έ-των	ποιέ-ειν	έ-ουσιν, οὔτως
	έ-ον	έ-ποιούν	έ-οῖ-ον	ποιή-ον	έ-έ-τω	έ-έ-τον	έ-έ-των	ποιέ-ειν	έ-ουσιν, οὔτως
	έ-ποιή-κα	έ-ποιή-κα	έ-ποιή-κα	έ-ποιή-κα	έ-έ-τω	έ-έ-τον	έ-έ-των	ποιέ-ειν	έ-ουσιν, οὔτως
Future	έ-ποιή-σω	έ-ποιή-σω	έ-ποιή-σω	έ-ποιή-σω	έ-έ-τω	έ-έ-τον	έ-έ-των	ποιέ-ειν	έ-ουσιν, οὔτως
	έ-ποιή-σεις	έ-ποιή-σεις	έ-ποιή-σεις	έ-ποιή-σεις	έ-έ-τω	έ-έ-τον	έ-έ-των	ποιέ-ειν	έ-ουσιν, οὔτως
	έ-ποιή-σιν	έ-ποιή-σιν	έ-ποιή-σιν	έ-ποιή-σιν	έ-έ-τω	έ-έ-τον	έ-έ-των	ποιέ-ειν	έ-ουσιν, οὔτως
	έ-ποιή-σιν	έ-ποιή-σιν	έ-ποιή-σιν	έ-ποιή-σιν	έ-έ-τω	έ-έ-τον	έ-έ-των	ποιέ-ειν	έ-ουσιν, οὔτως
	έ-ποιή-σιν	έ-ποιή-σιν	έ-ποιή-σιν	έ-ποιή-σιν	έ-έ-τω	έ-έ-τον	έ-έ-των	ποιέ-ειν	έ-ουσιν, οὔτως

CONJUGATION TABLE OF VERBS IN -έω—MEDIO-PASS. [838.

MEDIO-PASSIVE					
Present	ποιέ-ομαι	ποιῶμαι	ποιέ-ομαι	ποιῶμαι	ποιέ-ομαι
	έ-η	ποιῇ	έ-η	ποιῇ	ποιέ-ομαι
Imperf.	έ-εσθον	ποιεῖσθον	έ-ησθον	ποιήσθον	ποιέ-ομαι
	έ-ομεθα	ποιούμεθα	έ-ομεθα	ποιούμεθα	ποιέ-ομαι
Perfected	έ-εσθαι	ποιεῖσθαι	έ-εσθαι	ποιεῖσθαι	ποιέ-ομαι
	έ-οντο	ποιούντο	έ-οντο	ποιούντο	ποιέ-ομαι
Future	ποιήσωμαι	ποιήσεται	ποιήσωμαι	ποιήσεται	ποιήσωμαι
	ποιήσῃ	ποιήσῃ	ποιήσῃ	ποιήσῃ	ποιήσῃ
Aorist	ποιήσῃ	ποιήσῃ	ποιήσῃ	ποιήσῃ	ποιήσῃ
	ποιήσῃ	ποιήσῃ	ποιήσῃ	ποιήσῃ	ποιήσῃ
Future	ποιήσῃ	ποιήσῃ	ποιήσῃ	ποιήσῃ	ποιήσῃ
	ποιήσῃ	ποιήσῃ	ποιήσῃ	ποιήσῃ	ποιήσῃ
Aorist	ποιήσῃ	ποιήσῃ	ποιήσῃ	ποιήσῃ	ποιήσῃ
	ποιήσῃ	ποιήσῃ	ποιήσῃ	ποιήσῃ	ποιήσῃ



837.] CONJUGATION TABLE OF VERBS IN -όω—ACTIVE.

837. Conjugation table of verbs in -όω : δηλώω δηλῶ 'declare.'—See p. 214 ff.

ACTIVE		INDICATIVE	SUBJUNCTIVE	IMPERATIVE	INFINITIVE	PARTICIPLE
Present	δηλόω	δηλώω	δηλόω	δηλοο-ε	δηλόειν	δηλῶν
	δηλοῖς	δηλοῖς	δηλοῖς	ο-έτω	δηλοῦν	ὄον
Imperfect	δηλοῖ	δηλοῖ	δηλοῖ	-ετον	δηλοῦν	δηλοῦν
	δηλοῖτον	δηλοῖτον	δηλοῖτον	ο-έτων	δηλοῦν	ὄουσα
Perfect	δηλώω	δηλώω	δηλώω	ο-όντων	δηλοῦν	δηλῶν
	δηλώω	δηλώω	δηλώω	ο-έτωσαν	δηλοῦν	ὄουσα
Pluperfect	δηλώω	δηλώω	δηλώω	ο-έτωσαν	δηλοῦν	δηλῶν
	δηλώω	δηλώω	δηλώω	ο-έτωσαν	δηλοῦν	ὄουσα
Future	δηλώω	δηλώω	δηλώω	ο-έτωσαν	δηλοῦν	δηλῶν
	δηλώω	δηλώω	δηλώω	ο-έτωσαν	δηλοῦν	ὄουσα
Aorist	δηλώω	δηλώω	δηλώω	ο-έτωσαν	δηλοῦν	δηλῶν
	δηλώω	δηλώω	δηλώω	ο-έτωσαν	δηλοῦν	ὄουσα

CONJUGATION TABLE OF VERBS IN -όω—MEDIO-PASS. [ 837.

[illegible]

*Verbs in -άω continued from p. 209.*

**829.** A few verbs in -άω contract to η those vowel sequences which otherwise would produce α. Such verbs are ἰζάω 'live,' ἰπεινάω 'hunger,' χράσμαι 'use,' as :

ζῶ, ζᾶς, ζῆ, ζῶμεν, ζᾶτε, ζῶσι. Imperf. ἔζων ἔζης, ἔζη, ἔζωμεν ἔζατε, ἔζαν. Inf. ζᾶν. χράσμαι, χρᾶ, χρῆται, etc. Imperf. ἐχράμην, ἐχρῶ, ἐχρατο, etc.; Inf. χρῆσθαι.

**830.** This contraction is proper to A only, P-N diction (from Aristotle onwards) following the normal contraction: πεινάς, διψᾶ, χρᾶσθαι<sup>[1]</sup>. The only exception is ζάω which still preserves its A conjugation in N: ζῶ, ζῆς, ζῆ, ζῆτε—but πεινάς διψάς, πεινά διψᾶ, etc., whereas χρῆσθαι has become extinct.

**830<sup>b</sup>.** The imperative ending -α(τίμα)', which still fully survives in N, has by analogy attracted a few verbs from the barytone class, as: τρέχα (after πήδα) for and beside τρέχε, φεύγα (for and beside φεύγε), φευγάτε (φεύγετε), χάσκα (after μάσα) for and beside χάσκε.

**830<sup>c</sup>.** For other P changes see 850-863.

*Verbs in -έω.*

**831.** The rule of contraction is that of 156<sup>o</sup>, 5, namely—

εε produces αι,  
εο     ,,     ου.

**832.** Otherwise -ε- is absorbed by any succeeding long sonant (η, ω, ει, η, ου, ου; cp. 146-154).

**833.** The conjugation table of verbs in -έω is given in p. 210 f.

**834.** Monosyllabic stems contract *only* in combinations where the resultant, under normal conditions, would be -αι-, as :

πλέω, πλείς, πλεί, πλέομεν, πλείτε, πλέουσι—πλέω, πλείς, πλείη, etc. πλείομι, etc. πλείν, πλείων, πλέον—ἐπλεον, ἐπλεις, etc.

**834<sup>b</sup>.** But δέω, in the sense of 'bind,' is contracted throughout: (δέω) δῶ, (δέεις) δείς, (δέομεν) δοῦμεν, etc. (Cp. 844.)

**835.** In P-B Greek the above class of verbs dispense with all contraction (Kühner-Blass ii. 138), as: χέεις, χέεις (Rev. 16, 1 ἐκχέετε), πλείν, δέεται (Great Louvre Pap. ἀξιοί καὶ δέεται); πνεύτω πῦρ ib. 2117<sup>[2]</sup>. So always in N, as: πλείεις, πλείει (like κλαίεις, κλαίει).

*Verbs in -όω.*

**836.** The rule of contraction is that of 156<sup>o</sup>, 5, namely—

οε οο — produce ου  
οει οη οοι     ,,     οι  
οη οω     ,,     ,,     ω

**837.** The conjugation table of verbs in -όω is given in p. 212 f.

[1] Phryn. 132 πεινήν, διψήν λέγε, ἀλλὰ μὴ διὰ τοῦ α. Moeris 366 χρῆται Ἀττικῶς, χρᾶται Ἑλληνες. Mitth. ix. 289 (200-150 B.C.), 24 χρᾶ[σθαι].

[2] Phryn. 195 ρέει, ζέει, πλέει Ἰακὰ ταῦτα διαιρούμενα λέγε οὖν ρεῖ, ζεῖ, πλεῖ. 196 ἰδέετο, ἐπλέετο (ἐρρέετο) Ἰωνικὰ ταῦτα, ἡ δὲ Ἀττικὴ συνήθεια συναίρει. ἰδεῖτο, ἐπλεῖτο, ἐρρεῖτο. 197 προσδέεσθαι λέγε, ἀλλὰ μὴ προσδέεσθαι διαιρῶν, ὡς Φαβωρίνος λέγων ἀμαρτάναι.

*Peculiarities of Contracted Verbs.*

**838.** The rule that contracted verbs lengthen their character  $\alpha$  or  $\epsilon$  to  $\eta$ , and  $\omicron$  to  $\omega$  before a consonant (824), suffers the following modifications :

**839.** 1. Verbs in  $-\rho\acute{\alpha}\omega$ ,  $-\epsilon\acute{\iota}\omega$ ,  $-\acute{\iota}\alpha\omega$  and  $-\omicron\acute{\alpha}\omega$  preserve  $-\alpha-$  (cp. 65. 186°. 2694. 892), but lengthen it in the barytone (uncontracted) tenses, as :

$\theta\eta\rho\acute{\alpha}\omega$  'hunt'  $-\acute{\delta}\omega$   $-\acute{\delta}\sigma\alpha$   $-\acute{\alpha}\kappa\alpha$ ;  $-\acute{\alpha}\theta\eta\sigma\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$   $-\acute{\alpha}\theta\eta\eta$   $-\acute{\alpha}\mu\alpha\iota$   
 $\epsilon\sigma\tau\acute{\iota}\alpha\omega$  'treat'  $-\acute{\delta}\omega$   $-\acute{\delta}\sigma\alpha$   $-\acute{\alpha}\kappa\alpha$ ;  $-\acute{\alpha}\theta\eta\sigma\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$   $-\acute{\alpha}\theta\eta\eta$   $-\acute{\alpha}\mu\alpha\iota$ .  
 $\acute{\alpha}\rho\omicron\delta\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$   $-\acute{\delta}\sigma\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ ,  $-\acute{\delta}\sigma\acute{\alpha}\mu\eta\eta$ . But  $\chi\rho\acute{\alpha}\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$  'use,'  $-\acute{\eta}\sigma\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ ,  $-\eta\sigma\acute{\alpha}\mu\eta\eta$ ,  $-\eta\mu\alpha\iota$ .

**839<sup>b</sup>.** So too  $N$  verbs in  $-\rho\acute{\alpha}\omega$  (now mostly  $-\rho\eta\acute{\iota}\omega$  906), also  $-\rho\acute{\epsilon}\omega$ ,  $-\rho\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\omega$ ,  $-\rho\epsilon\sigma\alpha$ , as:  $\kappa\epsilon\rho\acute{\alpha}\omega$ ,  $\phi\omicron\rho\acute{\epsilon}\omega$ ,  $\chi\omega\rho\acute{\epsilon}\omega$ ; further  $\delta\epsilon\iota\lambda\acute{\iota}\alpha\omega$  'shrink back':  $-\acute{\alpha}\sigma\omega$ ,  $-\alpha\sigma\alpha$ .

**840.** 2. Some verbs (mostly liquid and sonantic) preserve the short vowel, but insert in the future perfect and 1st aorist passive a  $-\sigma-$  after the character. These are commonly (cp. 846 ff.) the following :

$\Gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\acute{\alpha}\omega$ 'laugh'	$-\acute{\delta}\sigma\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ ( $P$ $-\acute{\alpha}\sigma\omega$ )	$-\alpha\sigma\alpha$ $-\alpha\kappa\alpha$ ;	$-\alpha\sigma\theta\eta\sigma\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ $-\acute{\alpha}\sigma\theta\eta\eta$	$-\alpha\sigma\mu\alpha\iota$
$\tau\epsilon\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\omega$ 'complete'	$-\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\omega$ (or $\tau\epsilon\lambda\acute{\omega}$ 889)	$-\epsilon\sigma\alpha$ $-\epsilon\kappa\alpha$ ;	$-\epsilon\sigma\theta\eta\sigma\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ $-\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\theta\eta\eta$	$-\epsilon\sigma\mu\alpha\iota$
$\alpha\acute{\iota}\delta\epsilon\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$	$-\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$		$-\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\theta\eta\eta$	$-\epsilon\sigma\mu\alpha\iota$
$\acute{\alpha}\nu\omega$ 'complete'	$\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\omega$	$-\upsilon\sigma\alpha$ $-\upsilon\kappa\alpha$ ;	$-\upsilon\sigma\theta\eta\sigma\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ $-\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\theta\eta\eta$	$-\upsilon\sigma\mu\alpha\iota$
$\epsilon\rho\acute{\alpha}\omega$ 'love'			$-\alpha\sigma\theta\eta\sigma\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ $-\acute{\alpha}\sigma\theta\eta\eta$	

**841.** So further:  $\ast\sigma\pi\acute{\alpha}\omega$  'drag,'  $\circ\kappa\lambda\acute{\alpha}\omega$  'break,'  $\circ\delta\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\omega$  'suffice,'  $\circ\tau\acute{\rho}\epsilon\omega$  'tremble,'  $\circ\epsilon\lambda\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\omega$  'draw.'

**841<sup>b</sup>.** So still  $\gamma\epsilon\lambda\acute{\alpha}\omega$ ,  $\sigma\tau\acute{\alpha}\omega$ , ( $\kappa\lambda\acute{\alpha}\omega$ ), the only representatives of the whole class surviving in  $N$ .

**842.** 3. The verb  $\acute{\alpha}\rho\omicron\omega$  'plough' preserves  $-\omicron-$  throughout:  $\acute{\alpha}\rho\omicron\sigma\omega$ ,  $-\omicron\sigma\alpha$ ,  $-\acute{\omicron}\theta\eta\eta$ .—Extinct in  $N$ .

**843.** 4. The verb  $\alpha\acute{\iota}\nu\acute{\epsilon}\omega$  'praise' preserves  $-\epsilon-$  throughout, save in the perfect passive:

$\acute{\iota}\pi$ -,  $\pi\alpha\rho\text{-}\alpha\acute{\iota}\nu\omega$   $-\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$  ( $P$   $-\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\omega$ )  $-\epsilon\sigma\alpha$   $-\epsilon\kappa\alpha$ ;  $-\epsilon\theta\eta\sigma\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$   $-\acute{\epsilon}\theta\eta\eta$ , but  $-\eta\mu\alpha\iota$ .

**843<sup>b</sup>.**  $N$  verbs in  $-\acute{\nu}\epsilon\omega$  generally preserve  $-\epsilon-$  throughout (cp. 839 f.), as:  $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\alpha\acute{\iota}\nu\omega$  'praise,'  $\pi\omicron\nu\acute{\omega}$  'pain,'  $-\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\omega$ ,  $-\epsilon\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\varsigma$ . This peculiarity, however, is of ancient date, as: Sept. Esai. 19,  $\text{το πονέσω}$ ,— $\text{διακονέσω}$  996, 48.

**844.** 5. The verb  $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\omega$  'bind' changes  $-\epsilon-$  to  $-\eta-$  only in the future and aorist active (cp. 834<sup>b</sup>):

$\delta\acute{\epsilon}\omega$  'bind'  $\delta\acute{\eta}\sigma\omega$   $\acute{\epsilon}\theta\eta\sigma\alpha$ — $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\delta\epsilon\kappa\alpha$ ;  $\delta\epsilon\theta\eta\sigma\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$   $\acute{\epsilon}\delta\acute{\epsilon}\theta\eta\eta$   $\delta\epsilon\delta\epsilon\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\varsigma$ .

**845.** In  $T-N$  this verb has the form  $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omega$  and preserves  $-\epsilon-$  throughout:  $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\omega$ ,  $\acute{\epsilon}\delta\epsilon\sigma\alpha$ ,  $\delta\epsilon\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\varsigma$ .

**846.** 6. A few verbs (mostly liquid and sonantic), despite their diphthongal and therefore long character (840) insert  $\sigma$  in the perfect and aorist passive:

$\circ\kappa\epsilon\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\omega$ 'order'	$\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\epsilon\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\upsilon\sigma\theta\eta\eta$	$\kappa\epsilon\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\mu\alpha\iota$
$\Gamma\sigma\acute{\epsilon}\omega$ 'shake'	$\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\epsilon\acute{\iota}\sigma\theta\eta\eta$	$\sigma\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\epsilon\tau\epsilon\sigma\mu\alpha\iota$
$\Gamma\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\omega$ 'shut'	$\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\lambda\epsilon\acute{\iota}\sigma\theta\eta\eta$	$\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\lambda\epsilon\iota(\sigma)\mu\alpha\iota$
$\Gamma\kappa\rho\acute{\upsilon}\omega$ 'strike'	$\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\rho\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\theta\eta\eta$	$\kappa\epsilon\kappa\rho\upsilon(\sigma)\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\varsigma$

**846<sup>b</sup>.** So further,  $\circ\delta\rho\acute{\alpha}\omega$  'do,'  $\Gamma\chi\rho\acute{\iota}\omega$  'smear.'

**847.** So too in  $N$ , excepting  $\kappa\epsilon\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\omega$  and  $\delta\rho\acute{\alpha}\omega$ , which have become extinct.

**848.** 7. The following seven verbs (all sonantic or liquid) exhibit some individual peculiarities:

1. *ἀκούω 'hear'	ἀκούσομαι (P-σω), ἤκου-σα	ἄκ-ἤκο-α (735)	} 996 <sup>a</sup>
	ἀκου-ε-θήσομαι ἤκού-ε-θην	ἤκου-ε-μαι	
2. Ἰκαίω } 'burn'	καύ-σω	κέκαυ-κα	} 996 <sup>123</sup>
or κάω }	καυ-θήσομαι	κέ-καυ-μαι	
3. Ἰκλαίω } 'weep'	κλαύ-σομαι	έκλαυ-σα	} 996 <sup>122</sup>
or κλάω }		κέκλαυ-μαι	
4. Ἰπλέω 'swim'	πλεύ-σομαι	έπλευ-σα	} 996 <sup>217</sup>
	πλευσοῦμαι	έπλευ-ε-θην	
5. *πνέω 'blow'	πνεύ-σομαι	πέπνευ-κα	} 996 <sup>219</sup>
6. °νέω 'swim'	νεύ-σομαι	πέπνευ-ε-μαι	
		πέπνευ-σα	} 996 <sup>219</sup>
7. χέω 'pour'	χέω (P-N χύσω)	έχνε-σα	
(Pχύω, P-N χύννω)	χυ-θήσομαι	έχυν-θη	} 996 <sup>212</sup>
		κέχυν-μαι	

## CONTRACTED CONJUGATION IN P-N.

849. In dealing with the *P* history of contracted verbs, we have to distinguish between contracted tenses and uncontracted or barytone tenses (824). The latter still fully survive in *N* and also preserve their ancient form (-ήσω, -ησα; -ώσω; -ωσα; -ημένος -ωμένος), so that they need no further comment here, as:

τιμήσω, ἐτίμησα, τε]τιμημένος—πατήσω, ἐπάτησα, πε]πατημένος—στεφανώσω, ἐστεφάνωσα, ἐ]στεφανωμένος.

850. On the other hand, the two contracted tenses, the present and imperfect (824), as well as their cognate future subjunctive passive (-έω, -έης, etc.) have undergone considerable modifications and so require a special examination. When critically sifted, these contracted forms show a process of assimilation and equalization analogous to that observed in the indicative and primary subjunctive of barytone verbs (773-9). Just as there the majority of cases have assimilated the few deviating forms, so here in the three classes of contraction (-άω, -έω, -ώω) the more numerous and more familiar cases among the resulting sonants have attracted and assimilated the rest. This process is manifested here in two distinct but parallel forms, one in the resultants *ω* *ου*, and another in the resultants *ει* *η* *οι*. In either case the question at issue was which of the competing resultants was more familiar with the masses. In the case of *ω* and *ου*, this was undoubtedly *ου*, since it occurred in the two classes of -έω and -ώω, which comprised the great majority of contracted verbs.

(Cp. πατούμεν, πατούσι; πατούμαι, πατούμεθα, πατούνται; δηλούμεν, δηλούτε, δηλούσι; δηλούμαι, δηλούται, δηλούμεθα, δηλούσθε, δηλούνται; ἐπάτουν, ἐπατούμεν, ἐπάτουν; ἐπατούμεν, ἐπατούντο; ἐδήλουν, ἐδηλούμεν, ἐδηλούτε, ἐδήλουν; ἐδηλούμεν, ἐδηλούτο, ἐδηλούμεθα, ἐδηλούσθε, ἐδηλούντο; πατούντες, δηλούντες, πατούμενος, δηλούμενος, δηλούν, δηλούσθαι, πατούσα, δηλούσα, etc.)

850<sup>b</sup>. Accordingly, popular speech substituted the sonant -ου- for -ω-, that is -ώμεν for -ούμεν, -ώσι for -ούσι, -ώμαι for -ούμαι, -ώμεθα for -ούμεθα, -ώνται for -ούνται, and the more easily as the deviation was limited only to the initial sonants *ω*- and *ου*- (cp. 778), and thus obtained the desired uniformity and simplicity. The earliest traces of this simplification make their appearance in *H* times, but complete uniformity was apparently established during *T*, and thence subsequently passed into *N* speech.

PCauer Del.<sup>2</sup> 47, 5 δαπανούμενα. 180, 10 τιμούντες. Sept. Ex. 1, 16 δταν μαίουσθε τὰς Ἑβραίας καὶ ὡσι πρὸς τῇ τίκτειν. NT Matt. 15, 23 ἡρώτων. Rev. 2, 17 τῇ νικούντι. 25, 2 (C) νικούντας. John 11, 38 ἐμβριμούμενος. Mark 14, 5 ἐνεβριμούντο. Gal. 4, 17 ἵνα αὐτοὺς (ζηλοῦτε. 1 Cor. 4, 6 ἵνα μὴ φυσιοῦσθε. Martyr. Petri et Pauli 43 πλανοῦμαι (πλανᾶσαι ib.). Acta Tho. 37, 8 ἡγάπων. Acta Andr. 127, 14 ἐναρκουν. Martyr. Andr. 61, 28 (CF) ἐτόλμων. Acta Matt. 170 ἐπεβόουν. Test. XII 1117 c ἐδν εὐδοῦται. Acta Xanth. 75, 3 ὥρμων ἐπὶ τῇ Βαβυλωνίᾳ. CWessely N. Zaub. (III-IV<sup>th</sup>) 373 & JMoschos 3017 c κοιμού. Proc. ii. 101, 13

(also 327, 24 ; 543, 7) ἐτόλμων. Mart. Petri et Pauli 120, 13 ἀγαπούντες (E). Callin. 133, 2 προσκολλοῦ. 127, 4 ὠδύνουν. Leont. Neap. V. J. 23, 8 (A) δαπανοῦνται. 93, 14 (AC) δαπανοῦμεθα. 77, 2 (A) νικούμαι. 48, 2 (CF) ἐπείνουν. 45, 23 πλανοῦμεθα. 80, 11 (EC) συναγτοῦσαν. Sym. 1672 A (Vind.) καταντούσης. ib. D (Vind.) ἐκπηδούσαν. Vita Andr. Sal. 8, 66 (also 9, 85 ; 16, 124) ἑώρουν. Mal. 39, 18 & 54, 11 ἐτίμουν. 247, 8 ἐμελέτουν. 267, 7 ἡπατοῦντο. 374, 11 ἵνα μηδεῖς μοι ἐναντιοῦται. id. ἡρώτων, νικοῦνται—ἀγαποῦνταν, τιμοῦσι. Apoc. Mar. 121, 24 ἔβδουν ; 119, 33 ἐκρεμῶντο. (Cp. also κοιμοῦ Gr. Pap. Br. Mus. 96 I ± IV<sup>th</sup> A.D.), 395, ubi κοιμοῦ.)

850<sup>c</sup>. The following observation is also instructive: Theodos. 1037, 10 Εἰρήναιος δὲ ὁ περὶ Ἀττικῆς συνηθείας γράψας φησὶ τοὺς Ἀττικοὺς τὰ τρία πρόσωπα τῆς τρίτης συζυγίας διὰ τοῦ Ω λέγειν: ἔδν χρυσῶται, ἔδν γυλῶται, ἔδν στεφανῶται. For this means that at the time of Irenaeus (Π<sup>rd</sup> A.D.) the 2nd person subjunctive in -ῶται (ἔδν χρυσῶται) had already become unfamiliar even to scribes, having long been assimilated to -οῦται of the indicative.

851. The other parallel process which told on the P-N history of contracted verbs (850), bears on verbs in -έω and verbs in -όω. Here we find that in all cases where they contracted to homophonous resultants (εο σε οο to ου, and εε εε ει οι οη to ι [ει, η, οι]), the two classes are regularly distinguished from each other in the script. On the other hand, in those cases where the resultants of contraction are heterophonous the subcurrent process cannot well be concealed from the eye, and so we meet with odd forms like the following:

NT Matt. 13, 32 κατασκηνοῖν (which is a scholastic spelling for κατασκη-νέιν); Heb. 7, 5 ἀποδεκατοῖν (-τεῖν); Damasc. ii. 320 B στεφανεῖν; Pallad. 1073 C κατηλείος (-λεις). [Such instances as 1 Cor. 4, 6 ἵνα φυσιοῦσθε; Gal. 4, 17 ἵνα ζηλοῦτε, etc. (850<sup>c</sup>) are due to the presence of ου in φιλοῦμεν, δηλοῦμεν, φιλοῦμεθα, δηλοῦμεθα, φιλοῦσι, δηλοῦσι, φιλοῦνται, δηλοῦνται, etc. 773-9.]

851<sup>b</sup>. This means then that, in their contracted forms, verbs in -όω, as the less numerous, had long been identified with verbs in -έω, as the more numerous and more familiar of the classes, but that the process of assimilation, though already complete, had all along been systematically suppressed by scholastic practice or historical orthography (25<sup>g</sup>).

852. As a matter of course, before they had been completely assimilated to each other, contracted verbs passed through a stage of cross influence. It is this intermediate stage that accounts for the shifting of such A-H verbs, as:

οἰδέω & οἰδάω, ξυρέω & ξυράω, φληναφέω & φληναφάω, βοφέω & βοράω, σκηνέω & σκηνόω, κυκλείω & κυκλόω, γανάω & γανόω, βύγώω & βύγάω (? 996<sub>238</sub>), καφάω & καφέω & καφάω, ἱρέω & ἱράω (996<sub>72</sub>).—For N see 854.

853. When, in their contracted forms, verbs in -όω had been assimilated to those in -έω, there arose a striking anomaly and contrast of the two classes, seeing that, in their barytone tenses, verbs in -έω showed the regular endings -έσω, -ηθῶ, -ομένος, etc., while verbs in -όω retained their ancient endings -ώσω, -ωθῶ, -ομένος, etc. Here then a reaction set in towards dissociating and discriminating the two classes, and the direction of the process was suggested by the analogy of verbs in -ών(ν)ω (775, 1090) with which verbs in -όω were associated through a common future subjunctive and above all through the perfect participle passive (-ώσω, -ωθῶ, -ωμένος):

Just as στρώω, ζώω, χώω, ωθῶ -ωμένος led to a pr. στρώωνω, etc.

so πυρώω, θυμώω, ὀρκώω,	"	"	"	πυρώωνω, etc.
φανερύω, διπλώω,	"	"	"	φανερύωνω, etc.

Cleemans 115 [II-III<sup>rd</sup>], 28 δακονοντα. Acta Tho. 14, 24 (P) τελείωνω ; 55, 29 φορτάνειν. Apophth. 276 D ζώνουσιν. Leont. Neap. V. J. 6, 9 (BEL) στενάνων. 23, 18 φορτάνει. Theoph. 150, 21 κομβώνεις. 442, 23 τυφλώνων. Gloss. Leod. 141 ἀξιώνω. Sym. Mag. 639, 8 ἑλευθερόνω. Porph. Adm. 76 & 79

# 853-855.] P-N HISTORY OF CONTRACTED VERBS.

σκαλάνω. 208, 12 φιβλάνουσι. (Cp. Cer. 463, 7 καμωθέντων from καμωμένος.)  
 Alechem. 21, 22 συμφογάσεται, λειάνεται. 315, 13 περιπήλασε. 328, 4 & 10 χρύσανε.  
 ib. 8 ὅταν χρυσάνης. 326, 28 ἀνακάνέ το, etc. etc. FTrinch. 34 (A.D. 1304)  
 ἀφιερώνοντα, ἀφιερώνομεν. 60, 90, 104, etc. ἀφιερώνοντα. 145 κυκλώνει. 394  
 (A.D. 1232) κεντρώνομεν, etc. (cp. GHatzidakis 408)—and ever since in *N* passim.

[853<sup>b</sup>. In his Einleitung (p. 395 & 408) GHatzidakis maintains that 'the *N* verbs in -ώνω arise from the aorist ending -ωσα after the pattern ἔζωσα ζώνω, ἔστρωσα στρώνω, ἔδωσα δώνω [this however comes from *donō*, 996, 51], ἔσωσα σώνω, etc.' But I for one fail to see how the aorist -ωσα could so surely lead to a present in -ώνω, since no previous stage of the language supplies any analogue. An aorist -ωσα (or rather a future in -ώσω-ω'θῶ, and a participle passive in -ω'μένος) can point to a present in -ώθω, -όσωω (-όττω), -ύω, etc., but not to one in -ώνω. Moreover, as Hatzidakis has omitted to explain the genesis of his very premises, that is how ἔζωσα, ἔστρωσα, ἔδωσα, ἔσωσα, etc., have produced ζώνω, στρώνω, etc., his line of argument resolves itself to a *petitio principii*.]

[853<sup>c</sup>. Still more feeble appears to me the theory of the same scholar that *N* verbs in -άω and -έω proceed solely from the aorist ending -ησα. That this tense, or rather the future (-ήσω) has contributed to strengthen the position of the contracted present is admissible; but to affirm that it has called forth the whole contracted system is a forced theory. For first other aorist endings, beside -ησα, admit of a contracted present in -άω or -έω, as: ἐκοίasia κοιῶ (later κοιῶ), ἐδείλasia δειλιῶ, ἀναγρίχasia ἀνατριχῶ, ἐκάλεσα καλῶ, ἐφόρεσα φορῶ, ἐπόνεσα πονῶ, ἐγέλασα γελῶ, ἐπλάνεσα πλανῶ, ἐχώρεσα χωρῶ, ἐμπόρεσα μπορῶ, ἐπείνασα πεινῶ, ἐδίψασα διψῶ, ἐκέρασα κερνῶ, ἐπέραςα περνῶ, ἐχάλασα χαλῶ, ἐτράβησα τραβῶ, ἐχαιρέτησα (also -ησα) χαιρετῶ, ἐζήτησα (-ησα) ζητῶ, ἐπερπάτησα (-ησα) περπατῶ, ἐβάσταξα βαστῶ, ἐβούτηξα βουτῶ, ἐβρόντηξα (-ησα) βροντῶ, ἐπῆδηξα (-ησα) πηδῶ, etc., etc. Then it is rather abnormal that one uniform aorist ending -ησα should not suggest one uniform present either in -άω or in -έω, but that two different forms should have come into existence. It is also strange that *N* verbs in -έω, supposing that they are new formations, should have their exact and almost invariable parallel in ancient Greek.—That *N* contract verbs in -άω and -έω are direct survivals, with mutual influence and interchange, of the corresponding ancient forms, is too manifest to be insisted upon.]

854. After verbal contraction had been limited to the two classes of -άω and -έω (851 ff.) a struggle arose between them, and is still going on in *N*, with a steady ascendancy of those in -άω, which is favoured particularly by northern *N* speech (855). As a matter of fact, this class (owing to the presence in it of the strongest sonant α, as: γελᾶς, γελᾷ, γελᾶτε; κοιμᾶσαι, κοιμᾶται, κοιμᾶσθε (146) has attracted, especially in recent times, numerous verbs from the -έω-class, so that the latter, though still largely represented, particularly in southern speech, is now losing ground before its formidable rival -άω. Compare:—

<i>A</i> -έω, <i>N</i> -άω:			<i>A</i> -έομαι, <i>N</i> -άομαι:			<i>A</i> -άω, <i>N</i> -έω (also -άω):	
μετρῶ	ᾤς	ᾤ δα(ο)λουθῶ	ᾤς	ᾤ	φοβούμαι	ᾤσαι ᾤται	μαδῶ εἰς εἰ
ζητῶ	"	βο(υ)θῶ	"	"	λυπούμαι	" "	κολλῶ εἰς εἰ
μισῶ	"	ῶ]φελῶ	"	"	ἐν]θυμούμαι	" "	μασῶ εἰς εἰ
πολεμῶ	"	κλῆ-, κλερονομῶ	"	"	παρπονοῦμαι	" "	
προσκυνῶ	"	τυραννῶ	"	"	ἀπο-, ἀπηλογοῦ-	" "	
ψοφῶ	"	ἔ]παινῶ	"	"	μαι	" "	
κατοικῶ	"	βλογῶ(εὐλογῶ)	"	"	ἄρνοῦμαι	" "	
ἁδικῶ	"	πεθυμῶ (ἐπιθυμῶ)	"	"	διακονοῦμαι	" "	

855. The proportion of *A*-*P* contracted verbs preserved in *N*, roughly speaking, is:

Of *A*-*P* -άω  $\frac{1}{2}$  survives in -άων, not counting many modern formations.  
 " -άω  $\frac{1}{2}$  " " -άω, " " " "  
 " -έω  $\frac{1}{2}$  " " -έω, but even this small fraction has been mostly  
 changed to -άω in northern *N* speech (854).

**856.** The rest (- $\acute{\omega}$  about  $\frac{2}{3}$ ; - $\acute{\alpha}\omega$   $\frac{1}{3}$ ; - $\acute{\epsilon}\omega$   $\frac{1}{2}$ ) have partly become extinct, and partly changed to barytones, particularly to such in - $\zeta\omega$  (- $\acute{\alpha}\zeta\omega$ , - $\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega$ ; 868).

**857.** With the change of contracted verbs in - $\acute{\omega}$  to barytones in - $\acute{\alpha}\omega$  (853), the ending - $\acute{\omega}$  naturally disappeared from the active voice and left the field to the other surviving endings. Among them only - $\epsilon$ , - $\alpha$ , and - $\epsilon\iota$  were now admissible in the 2nd person imperative and in the 3rd person singular of past tenses active ( $\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\epsilon$ ,  $\tau\acute{\iota}\mu\alpha$ ,  $\pi\acute{\alpha}\tau\epsilon\iota$ — $\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\gamma\epsilon$ ,  $\acute{\epsilon}\tau\acute{\iota}\mu\alpha$ ,  $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\acute{\alpha}\tau\epsilon\iota$ ). Now of these endings, - $\epsilon$  was by far the commonest and most familiar, and - $\alpha$  the strongest (146), so that neither could be dispensed with. On the other hand, as - $\epsilon\iota$  (=  $\iota$ ) was the weakest and uncommonest suffix in the places referred to, it gradually came to be felt odd and out of place, notably when other verbs of similar (contracted) conjugation were supplied with a regular - $\epsilon$ . A similarity of conjugation could not but call for a uniform treatment in the supply of terminal - $\epsilon$ . Hence—

{ κυλίω	κυλείς	(702) κυλεί—κύλειε	ἐκύλειε	i.e. - $\lambda\acute{\gamma}\epsilon$ like $\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\epsilon$ , $\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\gamma\epsilon$
{ λαλῶ	λαλείς	λαλεί—λάλειε	ἐλάλειε	
{ κλείω	κλείς	κλεί—κλείε	ἐκλείε	i.e. - $\lambda\acute{\gamma}\epsilon$ „ πνίγε, ἐπνίγε
{ παλῶ	παλείς	παλεί—πάλειε	ἐπάλειε	
{ χρίω	χρείς	χρεί—χρίε	ἐχρίε	i.e. - $\rho\acute{\gamma}\epsilon$ „ στέργε ἑστέργε
{ φορῶ	φορεῖς	φόρει—φόρειε	ἐφόρειε	
{ πτύω	πτύεις	πτύει—πτύε	ἐπτύε	i.e. - $\tau\acute{\chi}\epsilon$ „ ἔχε εἶχε
{ κρατῶ	κρατεῖς	κράτει—κράτειε	ἐκράτειε	
{ ζύω	ζεῖς	ζεῖ—ζύε	ἐζύε	i.e. - $\sigma\acute{\chi}\epsilon$ „ βρέχε ἔβρεχε
{ μασῶ	μασεῖς	μασεῖ—μάσειε	ἐμάσειε	„ „ „ μίσγε ἔμισγε
{ ζῶ	ζῆς	ζῆ—ζηε	ἐζηε	

So further λύω—φιλῶ, ἀρνύω—πατῶ, μεθύω—ἀνθῶ, etc.

**858** In the same way κυλίεσαι κυλιέται χρίεται ζύεται ἀρνύεται, πουλιέται, etc., have led to φιλεῖσαι φιλειέται βρειέται μασεῖται πατειέται, etc.

i. e. φιλιέσαι φιλιέται βρηέται μασήεται πατήεται.

Cp. Prodr. 3, 115 πουλιέται. Alex. Comm. 468 ὠφελιέσαι. Chron. Mor. 1177 ἀγαπῆσαι. IStaph. 273 φόρειε. Pul. 263 & 579 ἐκράτειεν. NSophianos 66 κρατοῦμαι, κρατειέσαι, κρατειέται, κρατούμεθα, κρατειέσθε, κρατοῦνται), etc.

**859.** That the development of the above semi-sonant  $\xi$  is a purely phonopathic result (155, a), furthered by the corresponding ending of guttural verbs (- $\acute{\gamma}\epsilon$ , - $\acute{\kappa}\epsilon$ , - $\acute{\chi}\epsilon$ ), is manifest. It remains only to add that the terminal  $\eta$  or - $\acute{\gamma}\epsilon$  thus developed was soon transferred to all other persons, and thus led to an equalization of the two formerly different classes of verbs in - $\acute{\iota}\omega$  and - $\acute{\epsilon}\omega$ . Though not yet universal, this phenomenon is widespread and occurs even in South Italian Greek.

{ κυλίω	κυλείς	κυλεί	κυλιόμην	κυλείτε	κυλιούν
{ φιλῶ	φιλείς	φιλεί	φιλούμην	φιλείτε	φιλοῦν
{ φιλεῖω	„	„	φιλειόμην	„	φιλειούν
{ ἐκυλιού*	ἐκύλιες	ἐκύλιε	ἐκυλιούσαμε*	ἐκυλείτε	ἐκυλιούσαν
{ ἐφίλιον*	ἐφίλειες	ἐφίλειε	ἐφιλούσαμε*	ἐφίλειτε	
{ ἐφίλειον*	„	„	ἐφίλειούσαμε*	(ἐφίλειούσατε)	ἐφίλειούσαν

Imperative κύλιε φίλειε, κυλείτε φιλείτε.

{ κυλιόμαι	κυλίσαι	κυλιέται	κυλιόμεστα	κυλίστε	κυλιούνται
{ φιλούμαι	φιλέσαι	φιλειέται	φιλούμεστα		φιλοῦνται
{ φιλειόμαι	„	„	φιλειόμεστα	(φιλειούσατε)	φιλειούνται
{ ἐκυλιόμην	ἐκυλιούσων	ἐκυλιέτο*	ἐκυλιόμεστα	ἐκυλίστε	ἐκυλιούνταν
{ ἐφιλούμην	ἐφιλούσων	ἐφίλειέτο*	ἐφιλούμεστα	ἐφίλειστε	ἐφιλούνταν
{ ἐφιλειόμην	ἐφιλειούσων	(ἐφιλειούντων)	ἐφιλειόμεστα	(ἐφιλειούσατε)	ἐφιλειούνταν

Imperative: κυλιού, φιλού φιλειού—κυλίστε, φιλείστε.



859<sup>b</sup>. In the *N* endings -ούμουν -ούσουν of the 1st and 2nd person singular of the imperfect medio-passive, the ultima -μουν, -σουν is apparently due to the influence of the accented preceding -ού. (assimilation 801<sup>c</sup>).

859<sup>c</sup>. Mark here by the way, that the above association of verbs in -(λ)ίω with verbs in -(λ)ω has led to their total equalization, though chiefly in northern *N* speech: just as φιλείς φίλειε φιλειούν φιλῶ, so κυλείς κύλειε κυλούν κηλῶ (κυλάω), ἀπολείς (ἀπολύεις) ἀπόλυε ἀπολυοῦν (ἀπολάω) ἀπολῶ, and φτεῖς (πτύεις) φτῖνέ φτοῦν (φτάω) φτῶ. (Cp. 148 & 702).

860. Somewhat different is the process of the development of intersonantic *j* (γ) in verbs ending in -έω and -ούω (as: πλέ'ω, κλαί'ω, φταί'ω, παλαί'ω—λού'ω, κρού'ω, ακού'ω, 155<sup>b</sup>) where, moreover, the reduction of ἐπλεε-πλέε, ἐκλαιε-κλαίε, ἐλουε-λούε, etc., to \*ἐπλε-\*πλε, \*ἐκλε (\*ἐκλαι)-\*κλε (\*κλαι), \*ἐλου-\*λου, was inadmissible. Hence ἐπλεγε-πλέγε, ἐκλαιγε-κλαίγε, ἐλουγε-λούγε, etc. (863.)

861. Once established in all sonantic verbs—not to speak of guttural stems where it had always been at home (865, 2)—the suffix -ie (i.e. -ειε) -γε (859) soon affected also the numerous class of verbs ending in -το (-αύω, -εύω, -ιβω) and changed them to -νγο (-αύγω, -εύγω, -ιβγω), on the pattern: ἐπαιε: παύε: παύεις: παύειε-παύω. This phenomenon, which is now rather common in southern *N*, can be traced back to the eighth century (if not earlier, Mart. Pauli 115, 7 πιστεύοντας P). It also appears in Bova of South Italy in the form -εγιο, though Otrantine Greek reduces it to -έω, as: πιστέω for πιστεύω<sup>[1]</sup>.

ἐπανγε	παύγε	παύγεις	παύγει	παύγω	etc.
ἐγευγε	γεύγε	γεύγεις	γεύγει	γεύγω	etc.
ἐσάλευγε	σάλευγε	σαλεύγεις	σαλεύγει	σαλεύγω	etc.
ἐβασίλευγε	βασίλευγε	βασιλεύγεις	βασιλεύγει	βασιλεύγω	etc.
ἐπαίδευγε	παίδευγε	παιδεύγεις	παιδεύγει	παιδεύγω	etc.
ἐγύρευγε	γύρευγε	γυρεύγεις	γυρεύγει	γυρεύγω	etc.
ἐτρίβγε	τρίβγε	τρίβγεις	τρίβγει	τρίβγω	etc.
ἐθλίβγε	θλίβγε	θλίβγεις	θλίβγει	θλίβγω	etc.
ἐκρύβγε	κρύβγε	κρύβγεις	κρύβγει	κρύβγω	etc.

CGL 124, 67-9 *anagoreugo* recito, *anagoreugis* recitas, *anagoreugi* recitat. 149, 26-8 *cycleugo* circito, *cycleugis* circitas, *cycleugi* circitat. *cladeugo* puto, *cladeugis* putas, *cladeugi* putat. 407, 76 *iubeo* celeugo, *iubes* celeugis.

861<sup>b</sup>. So further (according to 877) verbs in -πω, treated in 875.

862. With the change of contracted imperfects like ἐπάτει to ἐπάτειε (859), the ending -ε gained such absolute ascendancy and universal popularity, that any other incomplete suffix—and there was only -α in ἐτίμα still left—now appeared odd and incomplete. Hence, popular speech now began to affix this universal ending -ε also to contracted verbs in -άω, and thus completed the system of absolute uniformity. This last stage of equalization, however, cannot be traced further back than *M* (X<sup>tb</sup>), and is still limited chiefly to the northern group of *N* dialects<sup>[2]</sup>.

[1] To argue with GHatzidakis (125) that the one verb φεύγω served here as model and basis for the wholesale change, would be assuming too much. Nor would be more probable the assumption of a thematic -εύει (reckoning the ending -ει as a crystallized character of the stem), and the consequent formation of -εύγω on the pattern ἐ[χόρευει]-E ἐ[χόρευει]-E ἐ[χόρευει] χορεύεις χορεύει, etc., for the language has at all times felt and treated final εἰ as the *κατ' ἐξοχήν* singular ending—it has even transferred it to verbs in -άω (862 νικάω)—and could never mistake it for a thematic character, so as to superadd to it a second ending.

[2] For the explanation of this phenomenon GHatzidakis (126 f.) starts from the present indicative 3rd person singular and writes ἀγαπᾷ ἀγαπᾷς ἀγαπᾷ. But apart from the other advantages offered by our interpretation (857-862),

ἐνίκα-ε	νίκα-ε	νικάει	νικάω, ετο.
ἐπείνα-ε	πείνα-ε	πεινάει	πεινάω „
ἐφύσα-ε	φύσα-ε	φυσάει	φυσάω „
ἐζήτα-ε	ζήτα-ε	ζητάει	ζητάω „

863. The appearance of such novel uncontracted verbs in -άω inevitably led to the development of a -ι- or -γ- between the two sonants (155<sup>b</sup>. 860), and thus called forth a great number of new consonantal verbs in -άγω, current chiefly in northern *N* speech. A further consequence of this process was that verbs in -άγω (whether ancient or recent) and -άω are now often used side by side: φυλάγω and φυλάω, ὑπάγω and ὑπάω, φάγω and φάω—and, in association with the still surviving forms λού(γ)ω πλέ(γ)ω and the like (152): πάεις (πᾶς) for ὑπάγεις, τρώεις (τρῶς) for τρώγεις (τρώουν Pul. 201, also τρών), φᾶς (φᾶς) for φάγεις, ἔφας for ἔφα(γ)ες (Pul. 14, 323), φυλάεις φυλάς for φυλάγεις, καίεις καῖς, καίει καῖ (ABC 10, 8), λέεις (λῆς) for λέγεις<sup>[1]</sup>, λῆω & λῶ for λέγω (155<sup>c</sup>). ἔω for ἔχω, ἄμε for ἄωμε<sup>2</sup> i.e. ἄγωμεν (155<sup>c</sup>).—On a similar principle (cp. 187<sup>c</sup>) *M-N* θέλω, θέλεις & θές<sup>[1]</sup> θέλει & θέ, θέλωμε<sup>2</sup> & θέμε<sup>2</sup>, θέτε & θέτε, θέλου<sup>2</sup> & θέν<sup>2</sup> (996, 61).

## II. CONSONANTAL VERBS.

864. Consonantal verbs are either *mute* or *liquid*, according as their character is a *mute* or *liquid* consonant. In either case, they often show two parallel stems, one amplified or lengthened for the present and imperfect (756), and one shortened for the other tenses (891)—

τήκω 'melt'	stem τᾱκ	λείπω 'leave'	stem λῖπ
σήπω 'make putrid'	„ σᾱπ	φεύγω 'flee'	„ φύγ
φαίνω 'show'	„ φᾱν	τίκτω 'bear'	„ τεκ
βαλλω 'throw'	„ βαλ	σπείρω 'sow'	„ σπερ.

864<sup>b</sup>. This naturally holds good for *N* also. For the origin of the phenomenon compare 32<sup>d</sup> ff.

### A. MUTE VERBS.

865. According to their character, mute verbs can be :—

1. *Labial*, as: ἰβλέπω 'see,' ἰτρίβω 'rub,' ἰγράφω 'write';—So too in *N*, as: λείπω 'am absent,' βλέπω 'see,' λάμπω 'shine,' γράφω 'write,' στίφω 'squeeze,' θρίφω 'nourish,' στρίβω & -φω 'turn,' κόβω 'cut,' νίβω 'wash,' τρίβω 'rub,' σκύβω 'stoop,' κρύβω 'hide,' etc.—where moreover are classed verbs in -άω and -εύω (703. 861).

2. *Guttural*, as: ἰπλέκω 'plait,' \*ψέγω 'blame,' ἰβρέχω 'wet';—So too in *N*, as: βήχω 'cough,' τρέχω 'run,' ἔχω 'have,' ἀνοίγω 'open,' πνίγω 'suffocate,' σμίγω 'join,' φέγγω 'shine.'

3. *Dental*, as: \*ψεύδω 'deceive,' \*πείθω 'persuade,' ὀανύτω 'accomplish';—So too in *N*, though considerably reduced in number, as: πέφτω 'fall,' ῥάφτω 'sow,' ῥίχτω (996<sub>237</sub>) 'throw,' θέτω 'put,' δλέθω 'grind,' κλώθω 'spin,' πλάθω 'form,' γνῶθω 'understand,' ἀναγνῶθω 'read,' νοιῶθω 'comprehend,' etc.

which holds good for the whole system, it can hardly be admitted that the form ἀγαπᾶ (γελᾶ. φουσᾶ. τιμᾶ). accented (circumflected) as it is, should appear so faint and vague as to call for the superaddition of a new ending.

[1] Pachom. Mon. 98, 1352 B (IMigne) Κρήτες ἵντα θες ἀντί τοῦ τί θέλεις, καὶ τί λές ἕτεροι ἀντί τοῦ τί λέγεις, ἅπερ κατὰ ἀφαίρεσιν ἢ ἀποκοπὴν τε καὶ συγκοπὴν τῶν συλλαβῶν οὕτω φέρεται.

# 866-870]. CONSONANTAL CONJUGATION—VERBS IN-ζω.

866. Many mute verbs, however, show a *changed*, mostly *amplified*, present stem. Thus—

867. 1. Verbs in -ζω—which are very numerous—point to a *dental* character, as : φράζω ‘say,’ \*ἐλπίζω ‘hope,’ νομίζω ‘believe,’ παίζω ‘play,’ etc.

868. This last class of verbs is abundantly represented in *N*. The specimens are partly direct survivals, as : ἀγοράζω ‘buy,’ σκεπάζω ‘cover,’ πλαγιάζω ‘lie down,’ δανείζω ‘lend,’ σκορπίζω ‘scatter,’ σγίζω ‘tear,’ καπνίζω ‘smoke,’ καθίζω ‘sit,’ χωρίζω ‘separate,’ κτίζω ‘build,’ γογγύζω ‘grumble,’ γνωρίζω ‘know,’ στολίζω ‘dress,’ θερίζω ‘mow’ etc. etc.;—partly *P-N* formations, as : ἐλκύζω ‘draw,’ γεμίζω ‘fill,’ ὁμοιάζω ‘resemble,’ ζωγραφίζω ‘paint,’ ὀψωνίζω ‘buy,’ ναναρίζω ‘lull,’ ὀρίζω ‘rule over,’ σπουδάζω ‘hasten,’ ‘study,’ βραδυνίζει ‘it gets late or dark,’ θυμιάζω ‘incense,’ κοπιάζω ‘toil,’ ‘work,’ λογιάζω ‘deem,’ συννεφιάζει ‘it gets cloudy,’ χρειάζομαι ‘need,’ γυρίζω ‘turn,’ ἀρχίζω ‘begin,’ πασχίζω ‘endeavour,’ etc. etc. In either case, they substantially agree both in their meaning and usage. At the same time, *P-N* formations of this class have assumed a distinctly *intensive*, *iterative*, or *factitive* (*causative*) force (1460), and so have appropriated the office of ancient *inceptives* or *inchoatives* in -σκω (1098). Cp. *P-B* :

ἀκροδομαι	-άζομαι	ισθῶ	-άζω	ὀρθιάω	-άζω
ἀνδροδομαι	-ίζομαι	καινώω	-ίζω	ὀρμέω	-ίζω
ἀνεμώω	-ίζω	καρπώω (-εύω)	-ίζω	ὀχθέω	-ίζω
ἀνθέω	-ίζω	καυμαπτῶω	-ίζω	πειράω	-άζω
ἀρτύω	-ίζω	κεντρώω	-ίζω	πλουτέω	-ίζω
αὐγέω	-άζω	κνάω κνύω	-ύζω	σέβηομαι	-άζομαι
βλήω	-ύζω	κοιμάω	-ίζω	σιγάω	-άζω
βροντάω	-άζω <sup>[1]</sup>	κομπέω	-άζω	σιτέω	-ίζω
βύω	-ύζω	κοπιῶ	-ιζω	σπαργανῶω	-ίζω
γέμω	-ίζω	κυματίω	-ίζω	στέγω	-άζω
γενειάω	-άζω (= -άσκω)	κύπτω	-άζω	στένω	-άζω
δαιμονιάω	-ίζω	μοχθέω	-ίζω	τεχνάομαι	-άζομαι
δειπνέω	-ίζω	ξενόω	-ίζω	φλύω	-ύζω
ελκύω	-ύζω	ξυρέω	-ίζω	χλοάω	-άζω
ἐπιχειρέω	-ίζομαι	οἰκέω	-ίζω	φωνέω	-άζω
ἐρπῶ	-ύζω	ὁμοιόω	-ίζω	χνοάω	-άζω
εὐνιάω	-άζω	ὀπλέω	-ίζω	ὠθέω	-ίζω
θυμιάω	-άζω	ὀργιάω	-άζω		

869. This mode of forming inceptive, iterative, or intensive verbs, has become so popular since *M*, that almost every verb now can annex the inceptive ending -ζω, as : ἀγαπῶ -ίζω, μισῶ -ίζω, δακρύω -ύζω, διψῶ -άζω, πεινῶ -άζω, ἀνατριχίω -άζω, θέλω -ίζω, δύνομαι -αζομαι, βοῶ -ίζω or -ύζω, βόσκειν -ίζω, ἀκονῶ -ίζω, κεντῶ -ίζω, τυραννῶ -ίζω, κρατῶ -ίζω, ἀστοχῶ -ίζω, πᾶσχω (-σκειν) -ίζω, πονῶ -ίζω, φορῶ -ίζω, βο(ι)φῶ -ίζω, πεθνύω (ἐπιθ- 755) -ίζω, φορῶ -ίζω ‘put on,’—and a host of others.

869<sup>b</sup>. For another similar *N* suffix -νω see 853 ff.

870. An immediate consequence of the above process (868 f.) was that ordinary verbs in -ζω were now mistaken for inchoatives, factitives, or iteratives, and thus have been remodelled, by a retrogressive process, to verbs in -άω, as : βαστάζω -τῶ, ἀρπάζω -πῶ, ψηφίζω -φῶ, βαντίζω -τῶ, σκορπίζω

[<sup>1</sup>] Gr. Pap. Br. Mus. p. 92 (†III<sup>ed</sup>), 235 βροντάζων. ib. p. 119 (†IV<sup>th</sup>), 93 βροντάζοντα.

VERBS IN -ζω, -πτω, -ττω OR -σσω. [870-880.]

-πῶ. σχολάζω (σκο-) λῶ, λογίζομαι -γούμαι, ἀ]σφαλίζω -λῶ, κυτάζω -τῶ, μεθύζω γαιρετίζω -τῶ, etc. etc.

871. The three stages of the successive evolution alluded to may be illustrated by the few following examples:

1st	2nd	3rd	1st	2nd	3rd
κρεμάννυμι	κρεμάζω	κρεμάω	πετάννυμι	πετάζω	πετάω
μεθύνω	μεθύζω	μεθάω	ἀρτύω	ἀρτύζω	ἀρτάω
κυλίω	κυλίζω	κυλάω	δειπνέω	δειπνίζω	δειπνάω
τηρέω	τηράζω	τηράω	καμμύω	καμμύζω	καμμάω

872. But verbs in -ζω denoting a 'sound,' point to a *guttural* character, as: ἱκράζω 'shout,' ἱτριζω 'creak,' οἰμώζω 'lament,' αἰλαλάζω 'raise the war-cry';—so further ἱστάζω 'drop,' στίζω 'prick,' σστηρίζω 'prop.'—The two verbs κλάζω 'clang,' and σαλπίζω 'trumpet,' have γγ for character; hence fut. -γζω.

873. Also this class of verbs is still substantially represented in *N* and has even received considerable accessions, mostly from those in -σσω (880), as: κρίζω 'call,' ἐκρῶ, ἀναστενάζω 'sigh,' τρίζω 'creak,' στάζω 'drip,' σφάζω (even in *P*) 'kill,' ταραζω 'stir,' ἀλλάζω 'change,' φράζω 'close,' block up,' χαράζω 'incise,' πήζω 'curdle,' coagulate,' τινάζω 'shake off,' τρομάζω 'frighten,' ἐξετάζω 'examine,' inquire,' συνάζω 'gather,' etc.

874. 2. Verbs in -πτω point to a *labial* character; in particular to—

π as \*κλέπτω 'steal,' \*κόπτω 'cut';

β as \*βλάπτω 'injure,' \*καλύπτω 'cover';

φ as \*βάπτω 'dye,' \*θάπτω 'bury,' \*ρόπτω 'sew,' \*σκάπτω 'dig.'

875. This class of verbs still survives in *N*, naturally in the phonopathic modification -πτω (174), as: ἄπτω, ἀσπράπτω, βλάπτω, θάπτω, χάπτω (i. e. κάπτω), ράπτω, κόπτω, κρύπτω, νίπτω, σκάπτω, σκέπτομαι. Most of them, however, appear—sporadically as early as *G* times—also in the reduced form -βω, as: ράβω, κρύβω, νίβω, σκάβω, κύβω, ἄβω (if not αῖω) 'light.' This phenomenon which was suggested by the presence of verbs in -ίβω, -αῖω, -εῖω, (i. e. -ιτο, -ατο, -ετο) is now common, particularly in southern speech:

κρύβω (Sept. etc. frequent [!]), θρύβω (Anast. Sin. 209 A), νίβω (due to τρίβω, θλίβω, δμείβω), βλάβω, θάβω, ράβω, σκάβω (or -αῖω, due to πᾶν, θραῖν, ἀνάω, ἀπολαύω);—κλίβω due to γεύω, χορεύω, δουλεύω, etc.

876. So further γνάφω for γνάπτω (= κνάπτω) and βάφω [never βάβω! 126] for βάπτω which are due to γράφω.

877. All above (875) verbs in -βω (-ίβω, -αῖω, -εῖω) naturally appear also in the form -βγω (861).

878. 3. Verbs in -ττω or -σσω point to a *guttural* character; in particular to—

α. κ, as: φυλάττω or ἱ-σσω 'guard,' κηρύττω or -σσω 'proclaim,' φρίττω or -σσω 'shudder';

δ. ρ, as: τάττω or \*-σσω 'arrange,' πράττω or ἱ-σσω 'do,' ἀλλάττω or ἱ-σσω 'alter,' πλῆττω or -σσω 'strike';

ε. χ, as: ταραττω or ἱ-σσω 'disturb,' δρύττω or -σσω 'dig.'

879. Only a few verbs in -ττω (-σσω) point to a dental character, as: ὀδρύντω (H-N -έζω) 'fit,' ἐρίσσω 'row,' ἱπᾶσσω 'sprinkle,' ἱπλάσσω (in *N* also πλάθω) 'form.'

880. Verbs in -ττω or -σσω have, ever since *A* times, invariably appeared in the latter form -σσω, and so they still survive in *N*, especially in

[!] Phryn. 201 κρύβεται φεύγει διὰ τοῦ β λέγειν καὶ κρύβεσθαι, ἀλλὰ διὰ τοῦ πτ κρύπτεται καὶ κρύπτεσθαι φαβί.

# 880-886.] PECULIARITIES OF MUTE VERBS.

southern speech, as : ἀλλάσσω, μαλάσσω, πατάσσω, πράσσω, ταράσσω, τινάσσω, τυλίσσω, φράσσω, χαράσσω, τάσσω, πάσσω, etc. At the same time, as -σσω was identical in sound with -σω (92<sup>b</sup>), and this -σω happened to be the commonest and most familiar ending of the future (770), there could not but arise the feeling as if -(σ)σω was the characteristic sign of the future tense (cp. 900) and therefore inappropriate in any other place. Consequently as a present ending, -σσω had to make room for some analogical substitute and this was easily suggested by verbs in -ζω (867 ff.), which had a similar future ending, as well as a homogeneous character in their abtract nouns. Accordingly verbs like :

κράζω	κραυγή	κράζω	suggested	σφάζω	σφαγή	σφάζω	A
στενάζω	στεναγμός	στενάζω	„	σταλάζω	σταλαγμός	σταλάζω	G
στηρίζω	στήριγμα	στηρίζω	„	σ(φ)υρίζω	σ(φ)ύρι(γ)μα	σ(φ)υρίζω	N
στάζω	στάγμα	στάζω	„	μαλάζω	μάλα(γ)μα	μαλάζω	N
etc.	etc.	etc.	„	άλλάζω	άλλαγή	άλλάζω	„
				ταράζω	ταραχή	ταράζω	„

881. On this pattern are further formed in N :

χαράζω	χαραγή	χαράζω
φράζω	φραγή	φράζω
τυλίζω	τύλι(γ)μα	τυλίζω
τάζω	τά(γ)μα	τάζω
τινάζω	τίνα(γ)μα	τινάζω
etc.	etc.	etc.

882. In the conjugation of mute verbs the same formative elements come into play as those in sonantic verbs. The only noteworthy departure is that in mute verbs the blending of the stem character with the tense character (where there is any, 756) involves certain phonetic changes. Hence the following peculiarities must be remembered :

883. In the present and imperfect where there is no fixed tense character (756), mute verbs are inflected exactly like sonantic verbs (700-1).

884. In all other tenses the stem character coalesces with the tense character or, in the absence of the latter, with the succeeding terminal consonant and undergoes the appropriate phonopathic changes (169-217). Thus :

- π, β, φ + σ = ψ ; + θ = φθ ; + μ = μμ ; + τ = πτ ; + κ = φ
- κ, γ, χ + σ = ξ ; + θ = χθ ; + μ = γμ ; + τ = κτ ; + κ = χ
- τ, δ, θ + σ = σ ; + θ = σθ ; + μ = σμ ; + τ = στ ; + κ = σ.
- Interconsonantal σ is dropped (π + σθ, β + σθ, φ + σθ = φθ ; κ + σθ, γ + σθ, χ + σθ = χθ ; τ + σθ, δ + σθ, θ + σθ = σθ ; 204).

885. Of these resultants ψ ξ στ μμ σμ still hold good in N. On the other hand, present speech substitutes φτ for πτ ; χτ for both χθ and κτ ; and στ for σθ (174. 177).

886. As no consonant is compatible with a succeeding ντ (169. 202), all consonantal (mute and liquid) verbs form the 3rd person plural of the perfect and pluperfect medio-passive by way of periphrasis (for -νται, -ντο, 687. 764, 1864).

## 1. Inflection of Perfect Medio-passive.

γραφ  
γράφω 'write,'

ταγ  
τάττω 'arrange,'

ψευδ  
ψεύδομαι 'lie.'

## INDICATIVE

γέγραμ-μαι  
γέγραψαι  
γέγραπ-ται  
γέγραφ-θον  
"  
γεγράμ-μεθα  
γεγραφ-θε  
γεγραμμένοι εισί'

τέταγ-μαι  
τέταξαι  
τέτακ-ται  
τέταχ-θον  
"  
τετάγ-μεθα  
τέταχ-θε  
τεταγμένοι εισί'

ἔψευσ-μαι  
ἔψευ-σαι  
ἔψευσ-ται  
ἔψευσ-θον  
"  
ἐψεύσ-μεθα  
ἔψευσ-θε  
ἐψευσμένοι εισί'

## IMPERATIVE

γέγραφ-θω  
γεγράψ-θω  
γέγραφ-θων  
γεγράψ-θων  
γεγραφ-θε  
γεγράψ-θων (-θωσαν)

τέταξω  
τετάχ-θω  
τέταχ-θων  
τετάχ-θων  
τέταχ-θε  
τετάχ-θων (-θωσαν)

ἔψευ-σο  
ἐψεύσ-θω  
ἐψευσ-θων  
ἐψεύσ-θων  
ἔψευσ-θε  
ἐψεύσ-θων (-θωσαν)

## INFINITIVE

γεγράψ-θαι

τετάχ-θαι

ἐψεύσ-θαι

## PARTICIPLE

γεγραμ-μένος  
-νον  
-νη

τεταγ-μένος  
-νον  
-νη

ἐψευσ-μένος  
-νον  
-νη.

	κρύψ 'conceal'	πράγ 'do'	ἄρμω 'fit'	γυμνάδ 'exercise'	νομῶδ 'believe'
Pr.	κρύπτω	πράττω	ἀρμύττω	γυμνάζω	νομίζω
Fut.	κρύψω	πράξω	ἀρμόσω	γυμνάσω	νομῶ, G-N-ίσω
Aor.	ἔκρυψα	ἔπραξα	ἤρμωσα	ἐγύμνασα	ἐνόμωσα
Perf.	κέκρυφα	πέπραχα	ἤρμωκα	γεγύμνακα	νενόμωκα
" M.&P.	κέκρυμ-μαι	πέπραγ-μαι	ἤρμωσ-μαι	γεγύμνασ-μαι	νενόμισ-μαι
Aor. P.	ἐκρύψ-θην	ἐπράχ-θην	ἤρμώσ-θην	ἐγυμνάσ-θην	ἐνομίσ-θην.

## 2. Inflection of Pluperfect Medio-passive.

ἔγεγράμ-μην  
ἔγέγραψο  
ἔγέγραπ-το  
ἔτέγραφ-θον  
ἔτεγράφ-θην  
ἔγεγράμ-μεθα  
ἔτέγραφ-θε  
γεγραμμένοι ἦσαν

ἐτετάγ-μην  
ἐτέταξο  
ἐτέτακ-το  
ἐτέταχ-θον  
ἐτέταχ-θην  
ἐτετάγ-μεθα  
ἐτέταχ-θε  
τεταγμένοι ἦσαν

ἐψεύσ-μην  
ἔψευ-σο  
ἔψευσ-το  
ἔψευσ-θον  
ἔψευσ-θην  
ἐψεύσ-μεθα  
ἔψευσ-θε  
ἐψευσμένοι ἦσαν.

887. The three verbs στρέφω 'turn,' τρέπω 'turn,' τρέφω 'feed,' change their radical -ε- to -α- in the perfect, pluperfect, and aorist passive : ἔστραμμαι, ἔστράμμην, ἔστράφην (cp. 895. 921).

888. Verbs in -ίζω of more than two syllables drop the future

character -σ- in the future active and middle, and substitute for it an -ε- which is then contracted with the succeeding vowel to -ιῶ. This is called *Attic future*. (892.)

νομίζω 'consider' (νομίθω, νομείω) νομῶ, -εῖς, -εἶ, etc., like ποιῶ  
νομίζομαι (νομίθομαι νομείομαι) νομοῦμαι, -εἶ, -εῖται, etc., like ποιούμαι.

889. So too βιβάζω 'make go,' ἐξετάζω 'examine,' καλέω 'call' (but καλέσω in CIA since 160 B.C.), τελέω 'accomplish' (840), ἐλαύνω 'drive' (996<sub>76</sub>), and a few others, among which *P* σκευάζω (in CIA since 200 B.C.)

[Moeris 134 ἐλῶ Ἀττικῶς, ἐλάσω Ἑλληνικῶς. 198 καλῶ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ (μέλλοντος) καλέσω Ἀττικῶς· ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ ἐνεστώτος μόνων τῶν Ἑλλήνων τὸ λεγόμενον καλῶ. 231 λογιέται Ἀττικῶς, λογίσεται Ἑλληνικῶς. 253 ὁμοῦμαι, ὁμεῖ, ὁμεῖται, Ἀττικῶς· ὁμῶμαι, (ὁμύσεις), ὁμόσει, Ἑλληνικῶς.]

890. This Attic future is peculiar to *A* and to its *P* imitators (Atticists), but hardly familiar to *H-T* speech. In the NT writers the ordinary future is -ίσω, while the Attic form -ιῶ is rather rare and not above suspicion, seeing that, though occurring in about a dozen passages, it does not in any of them happen to stand in the 1st or 2nd person plural (-ιοῦμεν, -είετε), but invariably in the forms -ιω, -εἰς, -ει, or -ιουσι, that is in those forms where the insertion or absence of the one letter σ makes all the difference, and could have been easily dropped by scholastic transcribers (cp. 894).

#### LIQUID VERBS.

891. Liquid verbs generally show an amplified present stem (864). Their shorter stem shows itself by reducing -αι to -ᾶ-, -εἰ to -ι-, and -λλ- to -λ-. (See 29 ff. and App. ii. 9-14.)

892. Their *future* active and middle is formed from the shorter stem by affixing to it the ending (-εθω, -έω) -ῶ, -εἰς, -εἶ, etc. (888), after the manner of contracted verbs in -έω; and the *aorist* from the future by dropping the character -σ- before the ending and lengthening, by antectasis, the thematic vowel: α to η or (before ι or ρ, 269<sub>4</sub>) to ᾱ; ε to ει; ι, υ to ῖ, ῡ:

PRESENT	STEM	FUTURE	AORIST
ὁφαίνω 'show'	φᾶν	φανῶ, εἰς, εἶ, etc.	ἔφηναι, ας, ε, etc.
ἰφαίνομαι 'appear'	,,	φανοῦμαι, εἶ, εῖται, etc.	ἔφηνάμην, ω, ατο, etc.
*μοίαινω 'stain'	μᾶν	μανῶ, εἰς, εἶ, etc.	ἔμιᾶνα, ας, ε, etc.
*περαινώ 'effect'	περᾶν	περανῶ, εἰς, εἶ, etc.	ἐπέρᾶνα, ας, ε, etc.
*σπείρω 'sow'	σπερ	σπερῶ, εἰς, εἶ, etc.	ἔσπειρα, ας, ε, etc.
ἱμένω 'remain'	μεν	μενῶ, εἰς, εἶ, etc.	ἔμεινα, ας, ε, etc.
ἰκρίνω 'judge'	κρίν	κρινῶ, εἰς, εἶ, etc.	ἔκρινα, ας, ε, etc.
*νέμω 'distribute'	νεμ	νεμῶ, εἰς, εἶ, etc.	ἔνειμα, ας, ε, etc.
*νέμομαι 'pasture'	,,	νεμοῦμαι, εἶ, εῖται, etc.	ἔνειμάμην, ω, ατο, etc.
ἀγγέλλω 'announce'	ἀγγελ	ἀγγελῶ, εἰς, εἶ, etc.	ἤγγειλα, ας, ε, etc.

893. Several other verbs in -αίνω, besides those in -ραινώ and -ιαινώ, retain the thematic vowel in the aorist, as: ἱγλυκαίνω 'sweeten,' ἐγλύκανα, ἱκερδαίνω 'gain,' ἐκέρδανα; so ἰσχυραίνω 'make meagre,' κοιλαινώ 'hollow out,' λιπαίνω 'enrich,' ὀργαίνω 'irritate,' πεποινώ 'make ripe.' This is a step towards phonetic equalization of the future and aorist stems, suggested by the homophony already existing in verbs in -ίνω and -ύνω (κρινῶ ἔκρινα, πλυνῶ ἔπλυνα, 899). As expected, *P* Greek went further in this direction and soon brought about a complete uniformity:

ἰσημαίνω ἰσημανα, θερμαίνω ἐθέρμανα, καθαίρω ἐκάθαρα, etc.—Only verbs in -εῖρω have retained the lengthened stem -εῖρ-, but this apparent exception is due to other analogical influences (903).

894. How far *P* speech preserved the contracted future is a matter of speculation, since its practice, as shown in our texts, is mostly a point of mere accentuation, determined by intuition, or rather by the taste of modern editors. Indeed, when we bear in mind that the future indicative began as early as *H-G* times to retreat partly before the present indicative (1836) and partly before the future [aorist] subjunctive (1921); that contraction in verbs was identified with the present tense (824); that the difference of the indicative and subjunctive future in this particular case consists merely in the place of accent, and that systematic accentuation has been adopted only since *T-B* times (76<sup>c</sup>): we are faced by a complicated problem, seeing that forms like *μενῶ, ἔξηναω, κρινῶ, πλυνῶ, -εῖς, -εἰ, -ουσι*, may represent equally a circumflected (contracted) future or a prospective (futuristic) barytone present. They may even, with a slight modification (by adopting *ῥ* for the alternative and homophonous *εἰ* 26, 5) stand for the future [aorist] subjunctive, one of the popular alternatives resorted to since *G* times to express the future indicative (App. iv. 8). The only criterion in the circumstances would be the 1st and 2nd persons plural and the middle voice, where there is a phonetic difference (-οῦμεν, -εῖτε, -οῦμαι, -οῦμεθα, -οῦνται,—though even here cp. 779). Unfortunately our evidence of this nature is too meagre and fluctuating in unscholastic compositions like the NT writings, to serve as a safe indication.<sup>[1]</sup> (Cp. 888.)

895. The remaining tenses are formed from the pure stem with the only difference that monosyllabic stems with *-ε* change this stem vowel to *-α*, as:—

ἰγγέλλω	ἰγγέλκα	ἰγγέλμαι	ἰγγελλήσομαι	ἰγγέλθην
ἰαίρω	ἰήρκα	ἰήρμαι	ἰάρθήσομαι	ἰήρθην
ἰφαίνω	πέφαγκα	πέφασμαι	φανθήσομαι	ἐφάνθην
*σπείρω	ἔσπαρκα	ἔσπαρμαι	σπαρήσομαι	ἐσπάρην

896. The four verbs ἰκλίνω 'bend,' ἰκρίνω 'judge,' ἰπλύνω 'wash,' and τείνω 'tend,' drop their character *ν* in the perfect, pluperfect, and in the passive future and aorist:

κλίνω	κλινῶ	κέκλικα	κέκλιμαι	κλιθήσομαι	ἐκλίθην
κρινώ	κρινῶ	κέκρικα	κέκριμαι	κριθήσομαι	ἐκρίθην
τείνω	τενῶ	τέτακα	τέταμαι	ταθήσομαι	ἐτάθην

[1] No conclusive evidence is afforded by forms like the following: John 16, 13; 14; 15 ἀναγγελεῖ. Id. 16, 25 ἀναγγελω. Matt. 13, 42 & 50 βαλουσιν. Mark 16, 17 ἐκβαλουσιν. Luke 21, 12 ἐπιβαλουσιν. Luke 19, 43 περιβαλουσιν. Matt. 13, 41; 24, 31. Mark 13, 27 ἀποστελεῖ. Luke 11, 49 and Acts 7, 34 (Ex. 3, 10) ἀποστελω. Sept. Ps. 17 (18), 50; Rom. 15, 9; 1 Cor. 14, 15 ψαλω. Sept. Ps. 90 (91), 12; Matt. 4, 6; Mark 16, 18 ἀρουσι. Luke 12, 18 καθελω. John 3, 36; 14, 17; 1 John 3, 17 μενεῖ. Phil. 1, 25 μενω καὶ συμπαραμενω. Rev. 10, 9 πικρανέω. Matt. 2, 6; Rev. 2, 27; 7, 17; 19, 15 ποιμανεῖ. 2 Cor. 9, 10 πληθυνεῖ. Nor from the very frequent κρινω and κατακρινω, -εἰ, -ουσι" (see Bruder's *Concordance*); nor also from ἀποκτενέω(ν)ω, -εἰ, -ουσιν, -εῖτε, in face of a present ἀποκτενῶ.—On the other hand forms like 1 Cor. 6, 8 κρινοῦμεν; 1 Cor. 3, 17 φθερεῖ; John 2, 19 ἐγερῶ; John 2, 20 ἐγερεῖς; Jas. 5, 15 ἐγερεῖ—and others would be conclusive had they no important variants against them. Nevertheless cp. 1 Cor. 6, 3 κρινοῦμεν, and Matt. 23, 34 ἀποκτενεῖτε; Rev. 3, 5 περιβαλεῖται (though again the homophonous ἀποκτείνετε, περιβάλλεται are equally admissible). For ἐγερῶ, ἐγερεῖς, ἐγερεῖ in John 2, 19; Jas. 5, 15 [ἐξεγερεῖ 1 Cor. 6, 14], and φθερεῖ in 1 Cor. 3, 17, compare 40. 121 & App. iv. As a matter of course such accentuation as: Protev. Jacobi 19, 3 ἐν μὴ Βαλῶ τὸν δακτυλὸν μου οὐ μὴ(ν) πιστεύσω, is absolutely indefensible.



897. In conjugating the perfect and pluperfect medio-passive, it must be remembered that interconsonantal  $\sigma$  is dropped (204. cp. 884, d), and  $\nu$  before  $\mu$  changed to  $\sigma$ , as: ( $\eta\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda-\phi\theta\epsilon$ )  $\eta\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda-\theta\epsilon$ , ( $\pi\acute{\epsilon}\phi\alpha\nu-\phi\theta\epsilon$ )  $\pi\acute{\epsilon}\phi\alpha\nu-\theta\epsilon$ , ( $\pi\epsilon\phi\alpha\nu-\mu\alpha\iota$ )  $\pi\acute{\epsilon}\phi\alpha\sigma\mu\alpha\iota$  (196).

898. For the P-N history of liquid verbs one peculiarity common to the whole class has had a determining influence. It is the circumstance that they retained the liquid character in the future (and aorist) stem, and thus dispensed with the ordinary  $-\sigma\omega$  ( $-\sigma\alpha$ ).

899. Considering each class in particular, we find that in the P future of verbs in  $-\nu\omega$  (as  $\xi\eta\rho\alpha\iota\nu\omega$ ,  $\upsilon\gamma\alpha\iota\nu\omega$ ,  $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omega$ ,  $\kappa\rho\acute{\iota}\nu\omega$ ,  $\pi\lambda\acute{\upsilon}\nu\omega$ ), the sonant immediately preceding  $\nu$  is almost invariably  $\alpha$  or  $i$  ( $\nu$ , sometimes  $\epsilon$ , rarely  $\epsilon\iota$ ). In other words the various forms of the P future and present show the following relative proportion:

Future				Present			
			1 per cent.				2 per cent.
$-\mu\omega$				$-\mu\omega$			
$-\sigma\omega$			3	$-\acute{\alpha}\nu\omega$			15
$-\acute{\iota}\nu\omega$ i.e. $-\acute{\upsilon}\nu\omega$	30	}	35	$-\acute{\iota}\nu\omega$ i.e. $-\acute{\upsilon}\nu\omega$	29	}	38
" " $-(\epsilon)\acute{\iota}\nu\omega$	5			" " $-(\epsilon)\acute{\iota}\nu\omega$	9		
$-\alpha\nu\omega$			45	$\acute{\alpha}\iota\nu\omega$			45

900. This approximative table shows that the future ends almost always either in  $-\alpha\nu\omega$  or  $-\acute{\iota}\nu\omega$  ( $-\nu\omega$ ), while the present generally ends in  $-\acute{\alpha}\nu\omega$  or  $-\acute{\iota}\nu\omega$ , less commonly in  $-\acute{\alpha}\nu\omega$ . Accordingly the characteristic ending of the present is  $-\acute{\alpha}\iota\nu\omega$ . This peculiarity could not but gradually lead to the notion that the other endings  $-\alpha\nu\omega$  and  $-\acute{\iota}\nu\omega$  were proper to the future (cp. the case of  $-\sigma\sigma\omega$ , 880), and so had either to retreat from the present or to undergo such modifications as to render clear their distinction from the homophonous present. The latter alternative was resorted to, and the modification was easily obtained by simply assimilating the endings  $-\alpha\nu\omega$  and  $-\acute{\iota}\nu\omega$  ( $-\nu\omega$ ) to their prevailing associates in  $-\acute{\alpha}\iota\nu\omega$ . Accordingly  $\delta\lambda\iota\sigma\theta\acute{\alpha}\nu\omega$  and  $\iota\sigma\tau\acute{\alpha}\nu\omega$ ,  $\gamma\lambda\upsilon\kappa\acute{\iota}\nu\omega$  and  $\delta\pi\alpha\lambda\acute{\alpha}\nu\omega$  were changed to  $\delta\lambda\iota\sigma\theta\acute{\alpha}\iota\nu\omega$  and  $\iota\sigma\tau\acute{\alpha}\iota\nu\omega$ ,  $\gamma\lambda\upsilon\kappa\acute{\alpha}\iota\nu\omega$  and  $\delta\pi\alpha\lambda\acute{\alpha}\iota\nu\omega$  respectively. This levelling tendency signalized itself in  $H$  (cp.  $\delta\lambda\iota\sigma\theta\acute{\alpha}\iota\nu\omega$ ,  $\kappa\upsilon\rho\tau\acute{\alpha}\iota\nu\omega$ ,  $\pi\alpha\theta\acute{\alpha}\iota\nu\omega$ ,  $\delta\lambda\theta\acute{\alpha}\iota\nu\omega$ ,  $\sigma\iota\gamma\acute{\alpha}\iota\nu\omega$ ; cp.  $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omega$ ,  $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omega$ , etc.), but the full development of the process escapes our observation owing to the Atticistic spirit of the time. However, with the first appearance in  $M$  of the popular productions, it appears already altogether complete.

901. In the same way, all verbs in  $-\acute{\alpha}\nu\omega$  with  $-\nu$ -inserted in the stem like  $\mu\alpha\nu\theta\acute{\alpha}\nu\omega$ ,  $\lambda\alpha\mu\beta\acute{\alpha}\nu\omega$ ,  $\tau\upsilon\chi\acute{\alpha}\nu\omega$ , have become first  $\mu\alpha\theta\acute{\alpha}\nu\omega$  (ABC 88, 4),  $\lambda\alpha\beta\acute{\alpha}\nu\omega$ ,  $\tau\upsilon\chi\acute{\alpha}\nu\omega$ ,  $\lambda\alpha\chi\acute{\alpha}\nu\omega$  (190-194), even  $\pi\alpha\nu\theta\acute{\alpha}\nu\omega$  (Sachl. 49 P),  $\pi\alpha\theta\acute{\alpha}\nu\omega$  (ABC 83, 7),—then  $\mu\alpha\theta\acute{\alpha}\iota\nu\omega$ ,  $\lambda\alpha\beta\acute{\alpha}\iota\nu\omega$ ,  $\tau\upsilon\chi\acute{\alpha}\iota\nu\omega$ ,  $\lambda\alpha\chi\acute{\alpha}\iota\nu\omega$ ,  $\pi\alpha\theta\acute{\alpha}\iota\nu\omega$ .

902. There is, however, a small group of verbs in  $-\acute{\alpha}\nu\omega$  and  $-\acute{\iota}\nu\omega$ , nearly all of monosyllabic stems, which (together with their compounds) have hitherto resisted the process of equalization, as:  $\phi\tau\acute{\alpha}\nu\omega$  ( $\phi\theta\acute{\alpha}\nu\omega$ ),  $\beta\acute{\alpha}\nu\omega$ ,  $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\nu\omega$ ,  $\sigma\phi\acute{\alpha}\nu\omega$ ,  $\kappa\rho\acute{\iota}\nu\omega$ ,  $\mu\lambda\acute{\iota}\nu\omega$ ,  $\pi\lambda\acute{\iota}\nu\omega$ ,  $\nu\tau\acute{\iota}\nu\omega$  (i. e.  $\epsilon\acute{\nu}\delta\acute{\upsilon}\nu\omega$ ),  $\psi\acute{\eta}\nu\omega$ —and have even attracted specimens from other classes, as: ( $\pi\acute{\alpha}\zeta\omega$ )  $\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\omega$  'catch',  $\delta\alpha\gamma\kappa\acute{\alpha}\nu\omega$  'bite',  $\beta\upsilon\zeta\acute{\alpha}\nu\omega$  'nurse',  $\chi\acute{\upsilon}\nu(\nu)\omega$  (even in Hero 217 & Cleemans III [+II-III<sup>rd</sup>], 26  $\epsilon\pi\acute{\iota}\chi\upsilon\nu\nu\epsilon$ ),  $\xi\acute{\upsilon}\nu\omega$ ,  $\acute{\alpha}\rho\tau\acute{\upsilon}\nu\omega$ ,  $\acute{\alpha}\phi\acute{\iota}\nu\omega$  (cp. 906. 960). Nevertheless even this small class has been, and is still being (at least in northern  $N$ ), assimilated to the rest in  $-\epsilon\nu\omega$  or  $-\acute{\alpha}\iota\nu\omega$  (900), as:  $\pi\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omega$ ,  $\sigma\beta\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omega$ ,  $\psi\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omega$ ,  $\kappa\rho\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omega$ ,  $\gamma\delta\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omega$ ,  $\xi\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omega$ , (or  $\pi\lambda\acute{\alpha}\iota\nu\omega$ ,  $\sigma\beta\acute{\alpha}\iota\nu\omega$ ,  $\psi\acute{\alpha}\iota\nu\omega$ , etc.),  $\pi\rho\omicron\phi\tau\acute{\alpha}\iota\nu\omega$  (for the southern and commoner  $\pi\lambda\acute{\upsilon}\nu\omega$ ,  $\sigma\beta\acute{\upsilon}\nu\omega$ ,  $\psi\acute{\eta}\nu\omega$ ,  $\kappa\rho\acute{\iota}\nu\omega$ ,  $\xi\acute{\upsilon}\nu\omega$ ,  $\pi\rho\omicron\phi\theta\acute{\alpha}\nu\omega$ ). (Cp. 906.)

903. The same principle has operated on verbs in  $-\rho\omega$ . The homophony of the present with the future in the great majority of cases (about 70 per cent.) led to the popular notion that  $-\rho\omega$  was the normal

ending of the future<sup>[1]</sup>, and thus called for a new representative in the present. This was the familiar ending *-νω* (cp. *-ανω*, *-ίνω*, *-άνω*, *-ώνω*, etc.), which was now borrowed from the familiar class in *-νω* or rather *-αίνω* (900) and so led to a modified present in *-ρνω*, *-αίρνω*, *-έρνω*. Accordingly *φέρω*, *δέρω*, *ἐπαίρω*, *σπείρω*, *σύρω*, etc., have changed to *φέρνω*, *δέρνω*, *ἐπαίρνω*, *σπείρνω*, *σύρνω*, etc. This process set in apparently in *B* times (Theoph. 224, 21 *ἐπαίρνω*), but, owing to the general passion for Atticism, remained latent down to *M*, when it at once reasserted itself as an old-established form, as : *φέρνω*, *ἐγφέρνω* (for *ἐγείρω*), *δέρνω*, *ἀναφέρνω* (for *ἀναφύρω*), etc.,—though always *χαίρομαι*. As a matter of course, it has ever since remained in universal popularity, save in a few idioms (as Epiros, Calymna) where the ancient present form appears to be still preserved; as *φέρω*, *ἐπαίρω*, *σπείρω*, *σύρω*.

904. Likewise in the small group of verbs in *-λλω* the need of dissociating the present from its homophonous future (*βάλλω* *βάλω*, *σφάλλω* *σφάλω*, cp. 880 & 92<sup>b</sup>) brought the former into association with verbs in *-νω*, notably *-ενω* (893. 900 ff.), and thus led to the modified forms *σφάλνω* *σφάνω*, then (903) *σφαίνω*, *σφαίλω*, *σφαίρνω* (187 f.); (\**βάλνω*), *βάνω* (even in Alchem. 328, 19; 332, 11, etc.), *βαίνω*; *προβάλλω* (*προβαίλω*), *προβαίρνω*, *προβαίνω*; *παραγγέλλω* *-έλω*, *-έρνω*, *-ένω*; *στέλλω*, *στέλω*, *στέρνω*; *ψάλλω* 'chant,' *ψάλνω*, *ψαίρνω* (though mostly *ψάλλω* out of deference to the Church) —(*ἀπολλώ*) *ἀπολῶ* (859<sup>b</sup>) *ἀπολῶ*, *χαλῶ* *χαλῶ*, *σφαλῶ* *σφαλῶ*, *καλῶ* *καλῶ*.

905. Nevertheless, some insular idioms (as Rhodes, Icaros, Syme, Cypros), which are alleged to distinguish between *λ* and *λλ* by gemination (GHatzidakis 409), still preserve the ancient present form in *-λλω*, as: *σφάλλω*, *βάλλω*, ostensibly distinct from the future (6d) *σφάλω*, *βάλω*, etc.

906. Mark finally that owing to its great frequency in liquid verbs, the present ending *-νω* became so familiar and general — it corresponds in popularity and force to the suffix *-ίω* and *-ώνω* (868-873. 853)—that it was ultimately transferred also to sonantic and particularly contracted verbs in *-άω*, but above all to those with a liquid character, as: *κερνάω* (Achmet. 196), *περνῶ* (Apophth. 440 a; Epiph. Mon. 265 c), (*γηράω*) *γερνῶ*, (*ἐξεράω*) *ξερνῶ*, *ἐχχνῶ* (dialectally also *χαλάω* *χαλῶ*, *σχολάω* *σκολῶ*, *γυρίζω* *γυρνῶ*, *ἀσφαλίζω* *σφαλῶ*, *ἀπολύω* *ἀπολῶ* *ἀπολῶ*)—*κλάνω*, *σπάνω*, *ψήνω*, *στήνω* (dialectally also *χρίνω*, *λύνω*, *κλείνω*, *ξύνω*, *φτύνω* i.e. *πτύνω*, cp. *ἀφίνω* 960), though these by-forms may also be due to other influences. (902.)

#### FORMATION OF SECOND TENSES.

907. A number of mute and liquid verbs have usually no first aorist or perfect, but a *second* aorist or perfect. These second tenses are formed from the short verbal stem (found as in 865. 866 ff.), and so have no tense character (756).

908. As the aorist stem supplies the future subjunctive and imperative (678), it follows that whenever the 2nd aorist replaces the first, it also supplies the stem to the future subjunctive and imperative, and thus gives rise to a 2nd future.

#### SECOND AORIST ACTIVE AND MIDDLE.

909. The 2nd aorist active and middle has in the indicative and subjunctive the endings of the imperfect active and middle

[1] Moeris 261 οἷσε Ἀττικῶς φέρε Ἑλληνικῶς καὶ κοινῶς. (Cp. 996<sub>201</sub>.)

respectively. In the infinitive and participle, it follows the present.

910. The future subjunctive and imperative have the endings of the present indicative. (771. 806 ff.)

911. As regards accentuation, however, the 2nd aorist (and 2nd future) varies from the imperfect (and present) indicative, in that it accents the *thematic sonant* in the following two cases:—

a. In the infinitive and participle aorist active and middle : βαλεῖν, βαλέσθαι — βαλὼν, βαλόμενος.

b. In the imperative future middle : βαλοῦ, ἀποβαλοῦ.

912. Five verbs accent the 2nd person singular of the future imperative on the ultima : (λαμβάνω 'receive') λαβέ 'here you are!' (εὐρίσκω 'find') εὐρέ; (ἔρχομαι 'come') ἐλθέ, (ἰδεῖν 'to see') ἰδέ, (εἰπεῖν 'to say') εἰπέ.

913. These oxytone forms are due either to dissociation from the homophonous εἶδε (ἰδε), εἴπε, εὔπε (121), called forth by the commonly initial position of the imperative in the sentence—or, which is more probable, to the analogy of ἰδοῦ 'lo' 'behold,' (cp. προσθοῦ, ἀφοῦ, 953, c) and thus contain a sort of emphatic (epideictic) suffix -έ possibly suggested by ᾤδε, ὕδε (cp. *here you are!* and German *hier!* for λαβέ, cp. CGöttling 44).—The assumption that we have here a relic of Indo-European accentuation is absolutely improbable.

914. Of these five cases, λαβέ and ἐλθέ are extinct in *N*, ἐλθέ having made room for ἐλα (as ABC 3, 2. 17, 4. 31, 4. 87, 3. cp. 996<sub>75</sub> & 90). The rest survive and preserve the ancient accentuation also. On the other hand, owing to their initial sonant, εὐρέ ἰδέ and εἰπέ are commonly shortened to βρέ 'δέ and πέ (135. 723).

915. From ἰδέ εὐρέ and εἰπέ, *N* has evolved a future subjunctive ἰδῶ (sometimes transformed to διῶ i.e. διῶ, 155, a) εὐρώ and εἰπῶ, often shortened to δῶ βρῶ and πῶ (cp. 971), beside ἰδέ or εἶδε (from ἰδε, cp. ABC 63, 7), often crystallised to an emphatic prefix ἰδε- (573).

### 916. Inflection of the 2nd aorist and 2nd future.

#### a. 2nd AORIST.

	INDICATIVE	SUBJUNCTIVE	INFINITIVE	PARTICIPLE
Active	ἔλιπ-ον, ες, ε, etc.	λίπ-οιμ, οἰς, οἰ etc.	λίπ-εῖν	λίπ-ών, όν, ούσα
Middle	ἐλίπ-όμην, ου, ετο, etc.	λιπ-όμην, οιο, οίτο, etc.	λιπ-έσθαι	λιπ-όμενος, ον, η

#### b. 2nd FUTURE.

	SUBJUNCTIVE	IMPERATIVE
Active	λίπ-ω, ης, η, etc.	λίπ-ε, έτω, etc.
Middle	λίπ-ομαι, ης, ηται, etc.	λίπ-ού, έσθω, etc.

917. Verbs with a 2nd aorist (and 2nd future) belong mostly to the irregular class (996). Of those regularly conjugated, the following are the principal:

ἵλειπ-ω 'abandon'	ἔλιπον ( <i>N</i> ἔλειψα)	ἐλιπόμην
ἵφειγ-ω 'flee'	ἔφυγον ( <i>N</i> ἔφυγα 786 ff.)	—
ᾠγ-ω 'lead'	ἤγαγον	ἡγαγόμην
ᾠτικ-ω 'beget'	ἔτεκον	—
*ἀνα-κράζ-ω <i>P</i> 'cry out'	ἀν-έκραγον ( <i>N</i> ἔκραφα)	—
ἵβάλλ-ω 'throw'	ἔβαλον ( <i>N</i> ἔβαλα 786 ff.)	ἔβαλόμην
*κατα-κτείν-ω 'kill'	κατ-έκτανον	—
ᾠεγείρομαι 'awake'	—	ἡγρόμην.

## 2ND AORIST AND 2ND FUTURE PASSIVE. [918-921.]

918. The verb *τρέπω* 'turn,' beside its regular 1st aorist *ἔτρεψα* 'turned' *ἔτρεψάμην* 'put to flight,' has also a poetical 2nd aorist *ἐτραπον* (= *ἔτρεψα*) and an intransitive *ἐτραπόμην* 'took to flight.' (Cp. 887.)

## SECOND AORIST AND SECOND FUTURE PASSIVE.

919. The 2nd aorist and 2nd future passive have the endings, as well as the inflection, of the 1st aorist and 1st future passive respectively. The only difference is that they annex to the verbal stem not the tense character *-θη-*, but only *-η-*, which before the consonants *-ντ-* is changed to *-ε-*.

920. In the 2nd person singular of the imperative future the ending *-θι* remains unchanged (182, b. 808).

	INDIC.	SUBJ.	INFIN.	PART.
2nd aor. pass.	<i>ἐβλάβην</i> <i>ἐβλάβης</i> <i>ἐβλάβῃ, etc.</i>	<i>βλαβεῖην</i> <i>βλαβεῖης</i> <i>βλαβεῖη, etc.</i>	<i>βλαβῆναι</i>	<i>βλαβεῖς</i> <i>βλαβέν</i> <i>βλαβεῖσα</i>
2nd fut. pass.	<i>βλαβήσομαι</i> <i>βλαβῇσσι οἱ-η</i> <i>βλαβήσεται, etc.</i>	<i>βλαβῶ</i> <i>βλαβῇς</i> <i>βλαβῶν, etc.</i>	<i>βλαβήσεσθαι</i>	<i>βλαβησόμενος</i> <i>βλαβησόμενον</i> <i>βλαβησομένην.</i>

921. A 2nd aorist and 2nd future passive is found in the subjoined list of verbs. It will be observed that, with the exception of *συλλέγω*, all stems with *-ε-* change this vowel to *-α-*. (887. 895.)

### LITERARY A GREEK.

### N SPEECH (cp. 801).

	LITERARY A GREEK.		N SPEECH (cp. 801).	
1	γράφω 'write'	ἐγράφ-ην	γράφω	ἐγράφτηκα
2	τρέπω 'turn'	ἐτράπ-ην	ἐντρέπομαι	ἐντράπηκα
3	τρέφω 'feed'	ἐτράφ-ην	θρέφω	ἐθράφηκα
4	στρέφω 'turn'	ἐστράφ-ην	στρέφω	ἐστράφηκα
5	σῆπομαι 'rot'	ἐσάπ-ην	σαπίζω	ἐσαπήθηκα
6	τρίβω 'rub'	ἐτρίβ-ην	τρίβ(γ)ω (861)	ἐτρίφτηκα
7	βλάπτω 'damage'	ἐβλάβ-ην	βλάπτω, βλάβω	ἐβλάβητηκα
8	κόπτω 'knock'	έκόπ-ην	κόπτω, κόβ(γ)ω 'cut'	έκόπηκα
9	κλέπτω 'steal'	έκλάπ-ην	κλέπτω, κλέβ(γ)ω	(έκλέφτηκα)
10	θάπτω 'bury'	έτάφ-ην	θάπτω	έθάφτηκα
11	σκάπτω 'dig'	έσκάφ-ην	σκάπτω, σκάβ(γ)ω	έσκάφτηκα
12	πλέκω 'twine'	έπλάκ-ην	πλέκω	έπλέχτηκα
13	συλλέγω 'gather'	συνελέγ-ην	—	—
14	τήκομαι 'melt'	έτάκ-ην	τήκομαι	—
15	πνίγω 'suffocate'	έπνιγ-ην	πνίγομαι	έπνίγηκα
16	πλήσσω 'beat'	έπληγ-ην	—	—
	ἐκ-πλήσσω 'frighten'	έξ-επλάγ-ην	—	—
17	ἀπ-αλλάσσω 'release'	ἀπ-ηλλάγ-ην	ἀλλάσσω 'change'	ἀλλάχτηκα
18	σφάττω 'kill'	έσφάγ-ην	σφάζω	έσφάγηκα
19	δέρω 'flay'	έδάρ-ην	γδέρνω (i.e. εκδέρνω)	έγδάρηκα
20	σπείρω 'sow'	έσπαρ-ην	(σπειρώ) σπέρνω	έσπαρθηκα
21	φθείρω 'spoil'	έφθάρ-ην	—	—
22	στέλλω 'send'	έστάλ-ην	—	—
23	σφάλλω 'make stumble'	έσφάλ-ην	σφάλλω 'fail'	έσφαλα
24	μαίνομαι 'rage'	έμάν-ην	—	—
25	φαίνομαι 'appear'	έφάν-ην	φαίνομαι	έφάνηκα

922-927.] 2ND PERFECT AND PLPF.—VERBS IN -μι.

922. In the following three verbs, *A* uses both the 1st and 2nd aorist passive without difference of meaning:

ἰβλάπτω 'injure'	1st aor. ἐβλάφθην ( <i>N-φθηκα</i> )	2nd aor. ἐβλάβην
ἰρίπτω 'hurl'	ἰρίφθην ( <i>N-φθηκα</i> )	ἰρίφην
ἰλλάσσω 'change'	ἠλλάχθην ( <i>N-χθηκα</i> )	ἠλλάγην

923. In the two following verbs, *A* distinguishes between the 1st and 2nd tenses:

1st aor. ἐφάνθην 'was shown'	from φαίνω 'show'
2nd „ ἐφάνην 'appeared'	φαίνομαι 'appear'
1st „ ἐτρέφθην 'was turned'	τρέπω 'turn'
2nd „ ἐτρέπην 'turned (myself)'	τρέπομαι 'turn.'

SECOND PERFECT AND PLUPERFECT ACTIVE.

924. The 2nd perfect and 2nd pluperfect active are formed from the verbal stem without tense character, and follow the inflection of the 1st perfect and 1st pluperfect respectively. At the same time the stem vowel is either retained, as:

ἰφρίσσω 'shiver' ( <i>φριγ</i> )	πέ-φρικα	ἔπε-φρίκειν
ἰπράσσω 'do' ( <i>πραγ</i> )	πέ-πραγα	ἔπε-πράγειν
ἰκράω 'cry' ( <i>κραγ</i> )	κέ-κραγα	ἔκε-κράγειν
ἰφεύγω 'flee' ( <i>φευγ</i> )	πέ-φευγα	ἔπε-φεύγειν;—

924<sup>b</sup>. Or it changes by way of metaphony (dissimilation?), viz.—

α to η: σήπομαι 'rot' ( <i>σαν</i> )	σέ-σηπα	ἔσεσήμεν
τήκομαι 'melt' ( <i>τακ</i> )	τέ-τηκα	ἔτετήκειν
φαίνομαι 'appear' ( <i>φαν</i> )	πέ-φηνα	ἔπεφήνειν
ε to ο: τίκτω 'beget' ( <i>τεκ</i> )	τέ-τοκα	ἔτετόκειν
ἀπο-κτείνω 'kill' ( <i>κτεν</i> )	ἀπ-έ-κτονα	ἀπ-εκτόνειν
φθείρω 'corrupt' ( <i>φθερ</i> )	ἔ-φθορα	ἔφθόρειν
ἐγείρω 'awake' ( <i>ἐγερ</i> )	ἐγρ-ήγορα	ἐγρηγόρειν
α to οι: λείπω 'leave' ( <i>λειπ</i> )	λέ-λοιπα	ἔλελοίπειν
πειθω 'persuade' ( <i>πειθ</i> )	πέ-ποιθα	ἔπεποιθείν

925. In some cases there is a 1st and 2nd perfect and pluperfect with a difference of meaning:

	1st pf.	2nd pf.
πειθω 'persuade'	πέπεικα 'have persuaded'	πέποιθα 'trust'
πράσσω 'do'	πέπραχα 'have done'	πέπραγα 'have acted'
φαίνω 'show'	πέφαγκα 'have shown'	πέφηνα 'have appeared'

926. The only verb which does not distinguish between the 1st and 2nd perfect and pluperfect is δια-φθείρω: διέφθαγκα or διέφθορα 'have corrupted.'

II. VERBS IN -μι.

927. Verbs in -μι differ from verbs in -ω only in the inflection of those tenses which are formed from the present and 2nd aorist stem. In these cases the thematic sonant is dispensed with—hence they are sometimes termed *athematic verbs* (cp. 980)—and the primitive endings (760) are directly annexed to the stem. This conjugation, however, appears fully developed only in the four verbs τίθημι, ἵημι, δίδωμι, ἵστημι (945-966). In all other verbs,

it is restricted either to the present stem, or to the 2nd aorist stem; in some verbs, too, it appears only in a few sporadic forms.

**928.** Another feature of verbs in -μ is that they show an amplified present stem. This amplification consists either in an infixal -νν-, also (after a vowel) -ννν-, inserted between the stem and the ending, as δείκ-**νν**-μ, ῥώ-**ννν**-μ (938); or in a prefixal -ι- with the initial consonant in the sense of reduplication (*present reduplication*), as τί-θημι, δι-δωμι, ἵ-στημι. The former class occurs only in the present and imperfect, whereas the latter has also a 2nd aorist.

**929.** Other inflectional peculiarities of the verbs in -μ are the following:

1. The singular of the indicative active lengthens the thematic vowel: ε to η, ο to ω, α to η, υ to ῡ.

**930.** 2. In some cases, the primitive endings (760) are resorted to:

a. 1st person sing. -μ: δεικνυ-μ, τίθη-μ;  
2nd " " -ς: δεικνυ-ς, τίθη-ς, διδω-ς;  
3rd " " pl.-ασι: δεικνύ-ασι, τιθέ-ασι, διδώ-ασι. (776. 936, b.)

b. " " " -σαν, in the imperfect and 2nd aorist indicative, as: ἐδεικνυ-σαν, ἔθε-σαν, ἔστη-σαν.

**931.** 3. The subjunctive has the usual thematic sonant and endings, but contracts, as far as possible, the concurring sonantic elements, that is to say—

ε as in ποιέω regularly: (τιθέω) τιθῶ, ἦς, ἦ—θῶ, θῆς, θῆ etc.

ο to ω throughout: (διδώω) διδῶ, ῶς, -ῶ—δῶ, δῶς, δῶ, etc.

α as in ζάω: (ιστάω) ιστῶ, ιστῆς, ιστῇ—στῶ, στῆς στῇ, etc., but δεικνύω, -ης, -η, etc.

**932.** The present imperative active contracts the ending ε of the 2nd person singular with the thematic vowel (cp. 163 ff. App. ii. 9-14), as: (δείκνυε) δεικνῦ, (τίθειε) τίθει, (δίδοε) δίδου, (ἵσταε) ἵστη.

**933.** The participle active annexes the terminal character -ντ- and forms a sigmatic nominative masculine (820. 163 ff.):

δεικνυτ + s produces δεικνύς	τιθεντ + s produces τιθείς
διδουτ + s " διδούς	θεντ + s " θείς
ισταντ + s " ιστάς	σταντ + s " στάς.

**934.** The medio-passive ending -σαι is retained throughout; so is -σο in the indicative and imperative of the present stem; but in the 2nd aorist stem, -σ- is dropped and this gives rise to contraction (762. 782):

δείκνυ-σαι,	τίθε-σαι	δίδο-σαι	ἵστα-σαι
ἐδείκνυ-σο,	ἐτίθε-σο	ἐδίδο-σο	ἕστα-σο

but (ἔθεο, ἔθεο) ἔθει, (ἔδοο, ἔδοο) ἔδου—imperative (θέεο, θέεο) θεοῦ, (δοέο, δόο) δοῦ.

935. Verbs in -μΙ are accented like verbs in -ω. Mark how-ever that—

a. The infinitive active accents the penult: δεικνύναι, τιθέναι, θείναι;

b. The participle active accents the ultima: δεικνύς, τιθείς.

### P-N history of Verbs in -μΙ.

936. Verbs in -μΙ are peculiar to A and Atticistic Greek. As a matter of fact, they belong rather to pre-Attic than A times, since classical prose writers, like Herodotos, Xenophon, Plato, and the orators already show signs of the retreat of this class of verbs before their successors in -ω. (JLa Roche 152-160.)

a. Compare A: δμνύω, ἐγ-κεραννύω, —δεικνύεις, ὀλλύεις, σβεννύεις—δεικνύει, ἀπολλύει, καταγνύει, κεραννύει, ὀμνύει, σβεννύει—δεικνύουσι\*, κεραννύουσι\*, κρεμαννύουσι\*, ἀπολλύουσι\*, ὀμνύουσιν etc. etc.—δείκνυε, ἀπόλλυε, ὀμνυε, ὀμνύετω, ὀμνύετε—δεικνύειν; δεικνύσας, ὀμνύων, ἀπολλύων, ὀμνύοντες, etc.—ἰδείκνυον, ἀπώλλυον, ὤμνουν, ὤμνες, ἰζώννυες, ἰδείκνυε\*; προσεμίγνυον, ἀπεκτίννυον, ὤμνον, etc. etc. (Cp. Kühner-Blass ii. 194 f.)

[b. Moeris 10 ἀπολλύς Ἀττικῶς, ἀπολλύων Ἑλληνικῶς; & 23 ἀπολλύσας Ἀττικῶς, ἀπολλύουσιν Ἑλληνικῶς. 117 δεικνύσι προπερισπωμένως Ἀττικῶς, δεικνύουσιν Ἑλληνικῶς, δεικνύσαι δὲ οἱ δεῦτεροι Ἀττικοί [930, a]. 258 ὀλλύσας, ὀμνύσας, Ἀττικῶς. ὀλλύουσιν, ὀμνύουσιν Ἑλληνες. 307 ῥηγνύσαι διὰ τοῦ α' Ἀττικῶς, ῥηγνύουσιν ἡ ῥήσσοισιν Ἑλληνικῶς. 338 ὤμνον Ἑλληνικῶς.]

937. This was also to be expected in view of the disadvantages under which the conjugation in -μΙ laboured: for first, it was neither complete nor systematic, not even within the narrow scope of one tense throughout, but borrowed the subjunctive from the regular ω-class (941). Then verbs in -μΙ were too few in number (about 50 in all) to assert themselves against the overwhelming multitudes of their rivals in -ω. The influence of analogy, therefore, so dominant everywhere in the evolution of P-N, could not but tell on this part of grammar also and thus transform verbs in -μΙ to verbs in -ω. The first class to be affected by this process were verbs in -(ν)νυμι, in particular those in -νυμι, beginning with the 3rd person plural of the present indicative, which in its μΙ-form (-άσι\*) appeared to be quite out of place. The intermixture of forms in -μΙ and -ω spreads then rapidly during H-G, as may be testified by the Septuagint, by Polybios, Diodoros, Plutarch, Aelian, Lucian, and the rest, where forms in -νύω and -νυμι hold the balance (cp. FKaehler 23 f.). As time went on, the remaining forms of μΙ-verbs followed, yielding one after another to the influence of the initiated process, and so either were changed to verbs in -ω or altogether retreated before some synonym of this normal class. In this way:—(774-5)

Ἰστέμι yielded to ἰστάω or ἰστάνω, later ἐ]στήκω, Ν στέκω; πῖμπλημι to πῖμπλάω, πῖμπλέω, πῖμπλω, πῖπλῃω, & γεμίω; πῖμπρημι to πῖμπράω, πρήθω & principally καίω; τίθημι to τιθῶ or τίθω, Ν θέτω; ἀφ- & συν-ίημι to ἀφ- & συν-ίω; δίδωμι to δίδω; κεράννυμι to κεράω, κινράω, later κερνάω (40); κρεμάννυμι to κρεμ(ν)άω<sup>[1]</sup>; σκεδάννυμι to σκεδάω & σκεδῶ; κορέννυμι to κορέω & χορτάζω; ἀμφιέννυμι to ἀμφιέζω or ἀμφιάω & ἐνδύ(ν)ω; πετάννυμι to πετάω; πῆγνυμι to πηγνύω & πῆσσω; ζεύγνυμι to ζευγίζω; ῥηγνυμι to ῥηγνύω & ῥήσσω (936, b); ὀνίγημι to ὀνέω & ὠφελῶ; ἀπόλλυμι to ἀπολλύω & ἀπόλλω (δύλλωμι to ὀλέσσω as Proch. 85, 5); μίγνυμι to μίσγω (later συμμίγω, σμίγω [136, δ]); σβέννυμι to σβεν-

[<sup>1</sup>] Moeris 134 ἐκρεμάννυν Ἀττικῶς, ἐκρέμα Ἑλληνικῶς. Aproc. Mar. 119, 33 ἐκρεμνύοντο.

## INFLECTION OF VERBS IN $-(\nu)\nu\mu$ . [937-942.]

$\nu\omega$ ,  $N$   $\sigma\beta\upsilon\nu(\nu)\omega$ ;  $\epsilon\iota\mu\iota$  to  $\epsilon\iota\mu\alpha\iota$  &  $\upsilon\pi\acute{\alpha}\rho\chi\omega$  (985. 1845);  $\phi\eta\mu\iota$  to  $\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\omega$ ;  $\delta\upsilon\lambda\alpha\mu\alpha\iota$  to  $\delta\upsilon\lambda\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ ,  $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\theta\eta\mu\alpha\iota$  to  $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\theta\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ ;  $\epsilon\dot{\iota}\delta\omicron\sigma\alpha\nu$  to  $\epsilon\dot{\iota}\delta\omega\kappa\alpha\nu$ ;  $\epsilon\dot{\iota}\delta\upsilon\nu$  to  $\epsilon\dot{\iota}\delta\upsilon\nu\alpha$  &  $\epsilon\dot{\iota}\delta\upsilon\sigma\alpha$ ;  $\epsilon\dot{\gamma}\gamma\omega\nu$  to  $\epsilon\dot{\gamma}\gamma\omega\sigma\alpha$ ;—and so on. How this process operated in each case will be explained in the respective sections dealing with these verbs.

### A. VERBS IN $-(N)\nu\mu$ .

**938.** Verbs in  $-(\nu)\nu\mu$  are formed with the infix  $-\nu\upsilon-$  or  $-\nu\nu-$ , according as the stem character to which it is affixed is a consonant or a vowel, as:  $\delta\epsilon\dot{\iota}\kappa-\nu\upsilon-\mu$  'show,'  $\sigma\kappa\epsilon\delta\acute{\alpha}-\nu\nu-\mu$  'scatter,'  $\sigma\beta\acute{\epsilon}-\nu\nu-\mu$  'extinguish.'

**939.** Consonantal stems are *mute* or *liquid*, according as their stem character is a mute or liquid (864), as:  $\rho\acute{\eta}\gamma-\nu\upsilon\mu$  'break,'  $\omicron\mu-\nu\upsilon\mu$  'swear.'

**940.** Vocalic stems have as character—

- $\alpha$ :  $\sigma\kappa\epsilon\delta\acute{\alpha}-\nu\nu\mu$  'scatter'
- $\epsilon$ :  $\sigma\beta\acute{\epsilon}-\nu\nu\mu$  'extinguish'
- $\omega$ :  $\sigma\tau\acute{\rho}\omega-\nu\nu\mu$  'spread.'

**941.** Verbs in  $-(\nu)\nu\mu$  follow the  $M\iota$ -conjugation only in the present and imperfect, and that not throughout, since in the primary subjunctive, sometimes also in other forms, they are conjugated like regular barytone verbs in  $-(\nu)\acute{\iota}\omega$  (937. 954); thus—

$\delta\epsilon\iota\kappa\upsilon\acute{\nu}\epsilon\iota$  beside  $\delta\epsilon\iota\kappa\nu\sigma\iota'$        $\delta\epsilon\iota\kappa\nu\acute{\nu}\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota'$  beside  $\delta\epsilon\iota\kappa\nu\acute{\nu}\alpha\sigma\iota'$  (930,  $\alpha$ )  
 $\delta\epsilon\iota\kappa\upsilon\omega\nu$     „     $\delta\upsilon\kappa\nu\acute{\nu}\varsigma$        $\epsilon\delta\epsilon\iota\kappa\nu\epsilon$     „     $\epsilon\delta\epsilon\iota\kappa\nu$ .

**941<sup>b</sup>.** The infix  $-\nu\upsilon-$  or  $-\nu\nu-$  counts short except in the singular indicative, where it counts long by analogy (929, 1).

### 942. THE VERB $\delta\epsilon\dot{\iota}\kappa\nu\mu$ 'show.'

#### A. Active.

	INDICATIVE	SUBJUNCTIVE	IMPERATIVE
<i>Present</i>	$\delta\epsilon\dot{\iota}\kappa\nu\acute{\nu}-\mu$	$\delta\epsilon\dot{\iota}\kappa\nu\acute{\nu}-\omega$	
	$\delta\epsilon\dot{\iota}\kappa\nu\acute{\nu}-\varsigma$	$\delta\epsilon\dot{\iota}\kappa\nu\acute{\nu}-\eta\varsigma$	$\delta\epsilon\dot{\iota}\kappa\nu\acute{\nu}$
	$\delta\epsilon\dot{\iota}\kappa\nu\acute{\nu}-\sigma\iota'$	$\delta\epsilon\dot{\iota}\kappa\nu\acute{\nu}-\eta$ , etc.	$\delta\epsilon\dot{\iota}\kappa\nu\acute{\nu}-\tau\omega$
	$\delta\epsilon\dot{\iota}\kappa\nu\acute{\nu}-\tau\omicron\nu$		$\delta\epsilon\dot{\iota}\kappa\nu\acute{\nu}-\tau\omicron\nu$
	$\delta\epsilon\dot{\iota}\kappa\nu\acute{\nu}-\mu\epsilon\nu$		
	$\delta\epsilon\dot{\iota}\kappa\nu\acute{\nu}-\tau\epsilon$		$\delta\epsilon\dot{\iota}\kappa\nu\upsilon-\tau\epsilon$
	$\delta\epsilon\dot{\iota}\kappa\nu\acute{\nu}-\acute{\alpha}\sigma\iota'$		$\delta\epsilon\dot{\iota}\kappa\nu\acute{\nu}-\nu\tau\omega\nu$
			$\omicron\Gamma -\tau\omega\sigma\sigma\iota\nu$
<i>Imperfect</i>	$\epsilon\delta\epsilon\dot{\iota}\kappa\nu\acute{\nu}-\nu$	$\delta\epsilon\dot{\iota}\kappa\nu\acute{\nu}-\omicron\iota\mu$	INFINITIVE
	$\epsilon\delta\epsilon\dot{\iota}\kappa\nu\acute{\nu}-\varsigma$	$\delta\epsilon\dot{\iota}\kappa\nu\acute{\nu}-\omicron\iota\varsigma$	$\delta\epsilon\dot{\iota}\kappa\nu\acute{\nu}-\nu\alpha\iota$
	$\epsilon\delta\epsilon\dot{\iota}\kappa\nu\acute{\nu}$	$\delta\epsilon\dot{\iota}\kappa\nu\acute{\nu}-\omicron\iota$ , etc.	PARTICIPLE
	$\epsilon\delta\epsilon\dot{\iota}\kappa\nu\acute{\nu}-\tau\omicron\nu$		$\delta\epsilon\dot{\iota}\kappa\nu\acute{\nu}\varsigma$ , $\acute{\upsilon}\nu\tau\omicron\varsigma$
	$\epsilon\delta\epsilon\dot{\iota}\kappa\nu\acute{\nu}-\tau\eta\nu$		$\delta\epsilon\dot{\iota}\kappa\nu\acute{\nu}$ , „
	$\epsilon\delta\epsilon\dot{\iota}\kappa\nu\acute{\nu}-\mu\epsilon\nu$		$\delta\epsilon\dot{\iota}\kappa\nu\acute{\nu}\sigma\alpha$ , $\eta\varsigma$
	$\epsilon\delta\epsilon\dot{\iota}\kappa\nu\acute{\nu}-\tau\epsilon$		
	$\epsilon\delta\epsilon\dot{\iota}\kappa\nu\acute{\nu}-\sigma\alpha\nu$		
<i>Fut.</i>	$\delta\epsilon\dot{\iota}\xi\omega$ , $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ , etc.	Subjunctive, Imperative, Infinitive and Participle as in barytone verbs (700 <sup>b</sup> ).	
<i>Aor.</i>	$\epsilon\dot{\delta}\epsilon\dot{\iota}\xi\alpha$ , $\alpha\varsigma$ , etc.		
<i>Perf.</i>	$\delta\acute{\epsilon}\delta\epsilon\dot{\iota}\chi\alpha$ , $\alpha\varsigma$ , etc.		
<i>Plpf.</i>	$\epsilon\dot{\delta}\epsilon\dot{\delta}\epsilon\dot{\iota}\chi\epsilon\upsilon$ , $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ , etc.		



942, 943.] INFLECTION OF VERBS IN -(ν)νυμι.

B. Medio-passive.

	INDICATIVE	SUBJUNCTIVE	IMPERATIVE
Present	δείκνυ-μαι	δείκνυ-ωμαι	δείκνυ-σο
	δείκνυ-σαι	δείκνυ-ῃ	δείκνυ-σθω
	δείκνυ-ται	δείκνυ-ηται, etc.	δείκνυ-σθον
	δείκνυ-σθον		δείκνυ-σθων
	δείκνυ-μεθα		δείκνυ-σθε
Imperfect	δείκνυ-σθε		δείκνυ-σθων
	δείκνυ-νται		οἱ -σθωσαν
	ἔδεικνυ-μην	δείκνυ-οίμην	INFINITIVE
	ἔδεικνυ-σο	δείκνυ-οιο	δείκνυ-σθαι
	ἔδεικνυ-το	δείκνυ-οιτο, etc.	PARTICIPLE
	ἔδεικνυ-σθον		δείκνυ-μενος
	ἔδεικνυ-σθην		-ον
	ἔδεικνυ-μεθα		-η
	ἔδεικνυ-σθε		
	ἔδεικνυ-ντο		

Fut. Mid. δείξομαι, η, etc.  
 Aor. Mid. ἔδειξάμην, ω, etc.  
 Fut. Pass. δεიχθήσομαι, η, etc.  
 Aor. Pass. ἔδειχθην, ης, etc.  
 Perf. δέδειγμαι, ξαι, etc.  
 Plpf. ἐδέδειγμην, ξο, etc.

Subjunctive, Imperative, Infinitive and Participle as in barytone verbs (700c).

943. OTHER EXAMPLES IN -(ν)νυμι.

I. CONSONANTAL STEMS: -νυμι.

a. Mute Stems (γ).

1 ὀάγ-νυμι 'break'

—Pass.

2 ζεύγ-νυμι 'yoke'

—Pass.

3 ὀπο-κτιν-νυμι 'kill'

4 μ(ε)ίγ-νυμι 'mix'

—Pass.

5 ἀν-οίγ-νυμι 'open'

—Pass.

6 πήγ-νυμι 'fix'

—Pass.

7 ῥήγ-νυμι 'tear'

—Pass.

b. Liquid Stems.

8 ἀπ-όλ-λ-νυμι 'ruin'

—Pass.

9 ὀμ-νυμι 'swear'

—Pass.

1<sup>b</sup> A mostly κατ-άγ-νυμι, G κατ-άσσω, also

κατ-έάσσω, N σπάω & σπάνω.

2<sup>b</sup> N ζεύγω (Nomoc. 412).

ἄξω

ἀγθήσομαι

ζεύξω

δια-ζευχθήσεται P

ἀπο-κτενῶ

μίξω

μυχθήσομαι

ἀν-οίξω

ἀν-οιχθήσομαι

πήξω

παγθήσομαι

ῥήξω

ῥαγήσομαι

ἔᾱξα

ἔᾱγην

ἔξεξα

ἔζευχθην

ἔζυγην

ἀπ-έκτεινα

ἔμιξα

ἔμιχθην

ἔμυγην

ἀν-έφξα

ἀν-εφχθην

ἔπηξα

ἔπαγην

ἔρρηξα

ἔρραγην

ἔᾱγα 'am broken'

ἔζευγαί

ἀπ-έκτονα

μέμιχα

ἀν-έφχα

ἀν-έφγαί (-γα)

πέπηγα 'am firm'

ἔρραγα 'am torn'

ἀπ-ώλεσα

ἀπ-ώλομαι

ὠμωσα

ὠμ(σ)οιθην

ἀπ-ολάλεκα

ἀπ-όλωλα 'am lost'

ὀμώμοκα

ὀμώμο(σ)μαι

3<sup>b</sup> A ἀπο-κτείνω, A-N φονεύω, N σκοτώνω.

4<sup>b</sup> A μίσγω; μίγω (Stud. 1229 B & C);

σμίγω from συμμί(σ)γω (937).

VERBS IN -(ν)νυμι—REDUPLICATED VERBS IN -μι. [943-948.

<sup>5b</sup> In *A* mostly and in *N* only ἀν-όγω.

<sup>6b</sup> *G-N* πῆσσω.

<sup>7b</sup> *G* ῥήσσω, *N* σπᾶω & σπᾶνω, but βαγίζω 'spring.'

<sup>8b</sup> *H* ἀπολλύω, *N* χαλῶ, χάνω.

<sup>9b</sup> *N* ὀμᾶνω (-όνω), *M* also ὀμᾶνέω (*Belis.* 455).

944. II. VOCALIC STEMS: -ννυμι.

a. Stem Vowel α:

10 κερᾶ-ννυμι 'mix'  
—Pass.

κερῶ, ῥς

ἐκέρᾱσα  
ἐκέρᾱσθην  
*P* ἐκεράσθην

κέρᾱμαι (136)

11 κρεμά-ννυμι 'hang'

κρεμῶ, ῥς

ἐκρεμάσα

κρέμαμαι 'hang'

κρεμήσομαι

ἐκρεμάσθην

12 πετά-ννυμι 'spread,' 'open'

πετῶ, ῥς

ἐπέτᾱσα

—Pass.

ἐπετάσθην

πέπταμαι (136)

13 σκεδά-ννυμι 'scatter'

σκεδῶ, ῥς

ἐσκεδάσα

—Pass.

ἐσκεδάσθην

ἐσκεδάσμαι

b. Stem Vowel ε:

14 ἄμφι-έννυμι 'clothe'

ἀμφιῶ, εῖς

ἡμφίεσα

—Middle

ἀμφιέσομαι

ἡμφιέσάμην

ἡμφίεσμαι 'have on'

15 κορέ-ννυμι 'satisfy'

κορέσω & κορῶ, εῖς

ἐκόρεσα

—Pass.

ἐκορέσθην

κεκόρεσμαι

16 σβέ-ννυμι 'extinguish'

σβέσω

ἐσβεσα

—Pass.

σβήσομαι

ἐσβέσθην

ἐσβεσμαι

c. Stem Vowel ω:

17 ζῶ-ννυμι 'gird'

ζῶσω

ἐζῶσα

ἐζω(σ)μαι

18 ῥῶ-ννυμι 'strengthen'

ῥῶσω

ἐρῶσα

—Pass.

ἐρῶσθην

ἐρρωμαι

19 στρώ-ννυμι 'spread'

στρώσω

ἐστρώσα

—Pass.

ἐστρώσθην

ἐστρωμαι

10<sup>b</sup> *H* κιννάω, *B-N* κερνάω (40. 116).

11<sup>b</sup> κρεμάζω (Sept. Job 26, 7), *N* κρεμᾶνω.  
*N* κρέμομαι.

12<sup>b</sup> *G* πετάω\*, πετάζω (Aquil. Ex. 9, 9).

13<sup>b</sup> *H* σκεδάω, *A* σκεδάζω, *A-N* σκορπίζω (937).

14<sup>b</sup> *H* ἀμφιάζω, *G* ἀμφιέζω, *A* ἐνδύω, ἐνδύνω  
(*N* ντύνω 723).

15<sup>b</sup> *H* κορέω (Sept. Deut. 31, 20 κορήσουσι),

*A* χορτάζω, *N* χορταίνω (937).

16<sup>b</sup> *H* σβεννάω, *N* σβύνω (or σβήνω).

17<sup>b</sup> *H* ζωννάω, *N* ζών(ν)ω.

18<sup>b</sup> ῥωννάω.

19<sup>b</sup> *H* στρωννύω, *N* στράν(ν)ω.

B. REDUPLICATED VERBS IN -μι.

945. The conjugation of the four verbs τίθημι 'put,' ἵημι 'send,' δίδωμι 'give,' ἵστημι 'set up' (927) shows the following peculiarities:

946. The imperfect and 2nd aorist subjunctive [optative] contract the modal vowel -ι- with the endings to -ει -οι -αι respectively, and moreover accent the contracted syllable, as:

τιθεῖην, τιθεῖτε, θεῖην, θεῖτε, δεδοίην, διδοῖτε, etc.

947. A similar contraction takes place in the following forms of the imperfect:

ἐτίθεις, ἐτίθει; ἐδίδουν, ἐδίδους, ἐδίδου; ἀφίην (ἡφίειν), ἀφίεις, ἀφίει.

948. In the future imperative, the 2nd person singular shows the ending -ς: θές, ἐς, δός. But ἵστημι in the imprt. has στήθι.

949. When in the course of *P* times the future indicative and subjunctive of the above verbs assumed the regular form *θήσω* (or *θέσω*), *ἀφ-ήσω*, *δώσω* (964, 996<sub>1</sub>), it was inevitable that their imperative should also become *θέσε*, *ἀφ-ησε*, *δώσε*. It is true that the *A* form *θές*, *ἀφ-ες*, *δός*, is the one practised by all *P-B* scribes and that even present speech often admits of *θές* and *δός* (though only *ἀφης*!), so that philologists imagine that they have discovered in these forms classical relics, but all morphological and phonopathic considerations combine against this assumption. First the scholastic practice of all scribes is in itself no proof of such anomalous and solitary forms having actually been current also in popular speech through all times. Then their occurrence in present parlance rests on a mere fallacy. For though in connected speech uneducated people now say, *δός του*, *θές το*, *δός τὸ μαχαίρι*, *θές ἐκεῖ τὸ καλαμάρι*, and so on, they equally say *πιάσ' το*, *χῶσ' το*, *ἄσ' το*, *ἀφῆσ' το*, and so on. On the other hand before a stop, no one says *δός*, *θές*, *πιάσ'*, *χῶσ'*, *ἄσ'*, but invariably *δώσε*, *θέσε* <sup>(1)</sup>, *πιάσε*, *χῶσε*, *ἄσε*, *ἀφῆσε* <sup>(ε)</sup>. In other words, the actual existence in *B-N* popular speech of forms like *δός* and *θές* and above all *ἀφες*, is illusory (180<sup>b</sup>. 1915 f.), their true popular and actual form, in case of apocope or rather syncope, being *δῶσ'*, *θές'*, *ἄσ'*, *ἀφῆσ'*. That an actual syncope of *-ε* has taken place in these cases, is sufficiently shown also by the otherwise unaccountable presence of *σ* in the plural: *δῶστε* *θέστε* (never *δότε*, *θέτε*), *πιάστε*, *χῶστε*, *ἄστε*, *ἀφῆστε*, further *ὀρίστε*, *κοπιάστε*, *πάρτε* *φέρτε* (but more commonly *φέρετε*). See also 1915 f. & 136, 2.

950. The infinitive active attaches the ending *-ναι*, in the present, to the short stem; in the 2nd aorist to the lengthened stem: *τιθί-ναι*, *διδό-ναι*, *ιστά-ναι*—*θεί-ναι*, *δοῦ-ναι*, *στή-ναι*.

951. The lengthened 2nd aorist stem *στη-* of *ἵστημι* is retained through the indicative and infinitive. So too in the future imperative (except before *ντ*) where it retains the ending *-θι*: *στήθι* (808).

952. The verbs *τίθημι*, *ἵημι*, *δίδωμι*, form the singular of the 1st aorist indicative in *-κα* (963, c): *έθηκα*, *ήκα*, *έδωκα*, from which stem also plural forms are derived, beside those of the 2nd aorist: *έθήκαμεν*, *έθηκαν*, *έδώκαμεν*, *παρ-έδώκατε*, *έδωκαν*.

952<sup>b</sup>. Compare Moeris το *ἀπέδομεν*, *ἀπέδοτε*, *ἀπέδοσαν* 'Αττικῶν: *ἀπεδώκαμεν*, *ἀπεδώκατε*, *ἀπέδωκαν* 'Ελληνικῶς.

953. In their conjugation, the verbs *τίθημι*, *ἵημι*, *δίδωμι*, *ἵστημι* are accented like those in *-ω*. Mark however that—

a. In the subjunctive they accent the contracted ending: *τιθῶ*, *ἰῶ*, *διδῶ*, *ιστῆς*, *ἱῆς*, *διδῶς*, *ιστῆς*, *τιθῆ*, etc.

b. The compound forms follow the accentuation of the simple forms. It is only in the indicative and imperative that the accent is thrown as far back as possible, though even here not beyond the syllable immediately preceding the stem, as:

*ἀνάστηθι*, *περίθες* (not *πέριθες*), *σύνθετε*, *περίθετε*, *περίθου*, *περίθεσθε*.

c. Nevertheless the imperative of the future middle, when compounded with monosyllabic prepositions, retains the accent on the verb: *προσθού*, *ἀφού*. (Cp. 913.)

954. The primary subjunctive of these verbs always, and the secondary subjunctive sometimes, follows the conjugation of barytones in *-ω*, as: *τίθηται* for *τιθῆται*, *τίθονται* for *τιθοῖτο*—*ἵηται*, *πρόηται*, *ἐπί-θεται*, *πρό-οιτο*, *προσ-οῖντο*. (931. 937. 941.)

<sup>(1)</sup> Compare Alchem. 384, 17 *θέσον εἰς ἀμβικον καὶ ἕασον ἡμέρας ἧ' ἡ ζ'.*

THE VERBS τίθημι, ἵημι, δίδωμι, ἵστημι. [955.]

955. Conjugation table of the four verbs τίθημι 'put,' ἵημι 'send,' δίδωμι 'give,' ἵστημι 'set up.'

I. ACTIVE.

PRESENT

INDICATIVE

τίθη-μι	ἵη-μι	δίδω-μι	ἵστη-μι
τίθη-ς	ἵη-ς	δίδω-ς	ἵστη-ς
τίθη-σι"	ἵη-σι"	δίδω-σι"	ἵστη-σι"
τίθε-τον	ἱε-τον	δίδο-τον	ἵστα-τον
"	"	"	"
τίθε-μεν	ἱε-μεν	δίδο-μεν	ἵστα-μεν
τίθε-τε	ἱε-τε	δίδο-τε	ἵστα-τε
τιθέ-ᾱσι"	ἱᾱ-σι"	διδό-ᾱσι"	ἱστά-σι"

SUBJUNCTIVE

τιθῶ	ἰῶ	διδῶ	ἱστώ
τιθῇ-ς	ἰῇ-ς	διδῶ-ς	ἱστῇ-ς
τιθῇ	ἰῇ	διδῶ	ἱστῇ
τιθῇ-τον	ἰῇ-τον	διδῶ-τον	ἱστῇ-τον
"	"	"	"
τιθῶ-μεν	ἰῶ-μεν	διδῶ-μεν	ἱστῶ-μεν
τιθῇ-τε	ἰῇ-τε	διδῶ-τε	ἱστῇ-τε
τιθῶ-σι"	ἰῶ-σι"	διδῶ-σι"	ἱστῶ-σι"

IMPERATIVE

τίθει	ἱεῖ	δίδου	ἵστη
τιθέ-τω	ἱε-τω	διδό-τω	ἱστά-τω
τίθε-τον	ἱε-τον	δίδο-τον	ἵστα-τον
τιθέ-των	ἱε-των	διδό-των	ἵστά-των
τίθε-τε	ἱε-τε	δίδο-τε	ἵστα-τε
τιθέ-ντων	ἱε-ντων	διδό-ντων	ἵστά-ντων

INFINITIVE

τιθέ-ναι	ἱε-ναι	διδό-ναι	ἱστά-ναι
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PARTICIPLE

τιθείς, έντος	ἱεῖς, έντος	διδούς, όντος	ἱστάς, άντος
τιθέν, "	ἱέν, "	διδούν, "	ἱστάν, "
τιθείσα, ης	ἱείσα, ης	διδούσα, ης	ἱστάσα, ης

IMPERFECT

INDICATIVE

ἐτίθη-ν	ἐῖη-ν	ἐδίδου-ν	ἐστή-ν
ἐτίθει-ς	ἱεῖ-ς	ἐδίδου-ς	ἱστί-ς
ἐτίθει	ἱεῖ	ἐδίδου	ἱστί
ἐτίθε-τον	ἱε-τον	ἐδίδο-τον	ἵστα-τον
ἐτίθε-την	ἱε-την	ἐδίδό-την	ἱστά-την
ἐτίθε-μεν	ἱε-μεν	ἐδίδο-μεν	ἵστα-μεν
ἐτίθε-τε	ἱε-τε	ἐδίδο-τε	ἵστα-τε
ἐτίθε-σαν	ἱε-σαν	ἐδίδο-σαν	ἵστα-σαν

SUBJUNCTIVE [OPTATIVE]

τιθείη-ν	ἱεῖη-ν	διδοίη-ν	ἱσταίη-ν
τιθείη-ς	ἱεῖη-ς	διδοίη-ς	ἱσταίη-ς
τιθείη	ἱεῖη	διδοίη	ἱσταίη
τιθεί-τον	ἱεῖ-τον	διδοί-τον	ἱσταί-τον
τιθεί-την	ἱεῖ-την	διδοί-την	ἱσταί-την
τιθεί-μεν	ἱεῖ-μεν	διδοί-μεν	ἱσταί-μεν
τιθεί-τε	ἱεῖ-τε	διδοί-τε	ἱσταί-τε
τιθεί-εν	ἱεῖ-εν	διδοί-εν	ἱσταί-εν

955.] THE VERBS *τίθῃμι*, *ἵθῃμι*, *δίδωμι*, *ἵσταιμι*.

SECOND AORIST

INDICATIVE

(ἐθήκα 952)	(ἦκα 952)	(ἔδωκα 952)	ἔστη-ν
(ἐθήκα-ς)	(ἦκα-ς)	(ἔδωκα-ς)	ἔστη-ς
(ἐθήκε')	(ἦκε')	(ἔδωκε')	ἔστη
ἔθε-τον	εἶ-τον	ἔδο-τον	ἔστη-τον
ἔθε-την	εἶ-την	ἔδο-την	ἔστη-την
ἔθε-μεν	εἶ-μεν	ἔδο-μεν	ἔστη-μεν
ἔθε-τε	εἶ-τε	ἔδο-τε	ἔστη-τε
ἔθε-σαν	εἶ-σαν	ἔδο-σαν	ἔστη-σαν

SUBJUNCTIVE [OPTATIVE]

θείη-ν	εἶη-ν	δοίη-ν	σταίη-ν
θείη-ς	εἶη-ς	δοίη-ς	σταίη-ς
θείη etc.	εἶη etc.	δοίη etc.	σταίη etc.

INFINITIVE

θεῖ-ναι	εἶ-ναι	δοῦ-ναι	σταῖ-ναι
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PARTICIPLE

θεῖς, ἔντος	εἷς, ἔντος	δούς, ὄντος	στάς, ἄντος
θέν, "	ἔν, "	δούν, "	σάν, "
θείσα, ἡς	είσα, ἡς	δούσα, ἡς	στάσα, ἡς

SECOND FUTURE (908).

SUBJUNCTIVE

θῶ	ῶ	δῶ	στῶ
θῇ-ς	ῇ-ς	δῶ-ς	στῇ-ς
θῇ etc.	ῇ etc.	δῶ etc.	στῇ etc.

IMPERATIVE

θές	ἔς	δός	στή-θι
θέ-τω	ἔ-τω	δύ-τω	στή-τω
θέ-τον	ἔ-τον	δύ-τον	στή-τον
θέ-των	ἔ-των	δύ-των	στή-των
θέ-τε	ἔ-τε	δύ-τε	στή-τε
θέ-ντων	ἔ-ντων	δύ-ντων	στά-ντων

2. MEDIO-PASSIVE.

PRESENT

INDICATIVE

τίθε-μαι	ἵε-μαι	δίδο-μαι	ἵστα-μαι
τίθε-σαι	ἵε-σαι	δίδο-σαι	ἵστα-σαι
τίθε-ται	ἵε-ται	δίδο-ται	ἵστα-ται
τίθε-σθον	ἵε-σθον	δίδο-σθον	ἵστα-σθον
"	"	"	"
τιθέ-μεθα	ἵε-μεθα	διδό-μεθα	ἱστά-μεθα
τίθε-σθε	ἵε-σθε	δίδο-σθε	ἵστα-σθε
τίθε-νται	ἵε-νται	δίδο-νται	ἵστα-νται

## SUBJUNCTIVE

τιθῶ-μαι	ἰῶ-μαι	διδῶ-μαι	ἵστω-μαι
τιθῇ	ἰῇ	διδῷ	ἵστῃ
τιθῇ-ται	ἰῇ-ται	διδῶ-ται	ἵστῃ-ται
τιθῇ-σθον	ἰῇ-σθον	διδῶ-σθον	ἵστῇ-σθον
"	"	"	"
τιθῶ-μεθα	ἰῶ-μεθα	διδῶ-μεθα	ἵστώ-μεθα
τιθῇ-σθε	ἰῇ-σθε	διδῶ-σθε	ἵστῇ-σθε
τιθῶ-νται	ἰῶ-νται	διδῶ-νται	ἵστώ-νται

## IMPERATIVE

τίθε-σο	ἱε-σο	δίδο-σο	ἵστα-σο
τίθε-σθω	ἱέ-σθω	διδό-σθω	ἱστά-σθω
τίθε-σθον	ἱε-σθον	διδό-σθον	ἱστα-σθον
τίθε-σθων	ἱέ-σθων	διδό-σθων	ἱστά-σθων
τίθε-σθε	ἱε-σθε	δίδο-σθε	ἵστα-σθε
τίθε-σθων	ἱέ-σθων	διδό-σθων	ἱστά-σθων

## INFINITIVE

τίθε-σθαι	ἱε-σθαι	δίδο-σθαι	ἵστα-σθαι
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## PARTICIPLE

τιθέ-μενος, ον, η	ἱέ-μενος, ον, η	διδό-μενος, ὄν, η	ἱστά-μενος, ον, η
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## IMPERFECT

## INDICATIVE

ἐτιθέ-μην	ἰέ-μην	ἐδιδό-μην	ἱστά-μην
ἐτίθε-σο	ἱε-σο	ἐδίδο-σο	ἱστα-σο
ἐτίθε-το	ἱε-το	ἐδίδο-το	ἱστα-το
ἐτιθε-σθον	ἱε-σθον	ἐδιδό-σθον	ἱστα-σθον
ἐτιθε-σθην	ἱε-σθην	ἐδιδό-σθην	ἱστά-σθην
ἐτιθέ-μεθα	ἱέ-μεθα	ἐδιδό-μεθα	ἱστά-μεθα
ἐτίθε-σθε	ἱε-σθε	ἐδίδο-σθε	ἱστα-σθε
ἐτίθε-ντο	ἱε-ντο	ἐδίδο-ντο	ἱστα-ντο

## SUBJUNCTIVE [OPTATIVE]

τιθεῖ-μην	ἰεῖ-μην	διδοί-μην	ἱσταί-μην
τιθεῖ-ο	ἰεῖ-ο	διδοί-ο	ἱσταί-ο
τιθεῖ-το	ἰεῖ-το	διδοί-το	ἱσταί-το
τιθεῖ-σθον	ἰεῖ-σθον	διδοί-σθον	ἱσταί-σθον
τιθεῖ-σθην	ἰεῖ-σθην	διδοί-σθην	ἱσταί-σθην
τιθεῖ-μεθα	ἰεῖ-μεθα	διδοί-μεθα	ἱσταί-μεθα
τιθεῖ-σθε	ἰεῖ-σθε	διδοί-σθε	ἱσταί-σθε
τιθεῖ-ντο	ἰεῖ-ντο	διδοί-ντο	ἱσταί-ντο

## SECOND AORIST

## INDICATIVE

ἐθε-μην	εἶ-μην	ἐδό-μην	wanting
ἐθου	εἶ-σο	ἔδου	"
ἐθε-το	εἶ-το	ἔδο-το	"
ἐθε-σθον	εἶ-σθον	ἔδο-σθον	
ἐθε-σθην	εἶ-σθην	ἔδο-σθην	
ἐθέ-μεθα	εἶ-μεθα	ἔδο-μεθα	
ἐθε-σθε	εἶ-σθε	ἔδο-σθε	
ἐθε-ντο	εἶ-ντο	ἔδο-ντο	

955-959.] Τίθημι, ἵημι, δίδωμι, ἵστημι, AND COMPOUNDS.

SUBJUNCTIVE [OPTATIVE]

θεῖ-μην	εῖ-μην	δοί-μην	wanting
θεῖ-ο	εῖ-ο	δοί-ο	
θεῖ-το, etc.	εῖ-το, etc.	δοί-το, etc.	

INFINITIVE

θεῖ-σθαι	εῖ-σθαι	δό-σθαι	wanting
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PARTICIPLE

θεῖ-μενος, ον, η	εῖ-μενος, ον, η	δό-μενος, ον, η	wanting
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SECOND FUTURE (908).

SUBJUNCTIVE

θῶ-μαι	ῶ-μαι	δῶ-μαι	wanting
θῇ	ῇ	δῷ	
θῇ-ται, etc.	ῇ-ται, etc.	δῷ-ται, etc.	

IMPERATIVE

θοῦ	οῦ	δοῦ	wanting
θεῖ-σθω	εῖ-σθω	δό-σθω	
θεῖ-σθον	εῖ-σθον	δό-σθον	
θεῖ-σθων	εῖ-σθων	δό-σθων	
θεῖ-σθε	εῖ-σθε	δό-σθε	
θεῖ-σθων	εῖ-σθων	δό-σθων	

956. Mark the usual compounds of--

- a. τίθημι: ἀνα-, ἀπο-, δια-, ἐν-, ἐπι-, κατα-, μετα-, παρα-, προ-, προσ-, συν-, ὑπο-.
- b. ἵημι: ἀν-, ἀφ-, δι-, ἐξ-, ἐφ-, καθ-, μεθ-, παρ-, προ-, προσ-, συν-, ὑφ-.
- c. δίδωμι: ἀνα-, ἀπο-, δια-, ἐκ-, ἐν-, ἐπι-, μετα-, παρα-, προ-.
- d. ἵστημι: ἀν-, ἀνθ-, ἀφ-, δι-, ἐξ-, ἐφ-, καθ-, μεθ-, παρ-, περι-, προ-, συν-, ὑφ-.

957. The P-N morphology of the verbs τίθημι ἵημι δίδωμι ἵστημι and their compounds has been determined by the general agencies and influences indicated in 936-7 and 774-5. Now dealing here with the reduplicated class of μ-verbs in particular, it must be noted that the tendency for a uniform thematic sonant (758. 775), and the presence here of a contracted subjunctive (τιθῶ, θῶ, ἰῶ, ῶ, τιθῆς, θῆς, ἰῆς, etc.), as well as imperfect indicative (ἐτίθουν, -εις; ἐδίδουν, -ου), called forth a systematically contracted conjugation. Accordingly—

958. The above verbs, ever since H times, appear now in a contracted, now in a barytone form:

τίθημι: G-B τιθῶ, -εῖς, -εῖ, etc.—or τίθω, -εις, -ει, etc. (N θέτω 959).  
 ἀφ-ίημι: G-B ἀφίῶ, -εῖς, -εῖ, etc.—or ἀφίω, -εις, -ει, etc. (whence N ἀφίων 902, 960), ἀφεῶ (ἀφέω? 960) ἀφῶ (960).—Felt throughout as simple verb (720).  
 δίδωμι: G-B διδῶ, -οῖς, -οῖ (-εῖς, -εῖ 251) etc.—or δίδω, -εις, -ει, etc. (80 N).  
 ἵστημι: G-B ἱσῶ, -ᾱς, -ᾱ, etc.—or ἱσάνω and ἐ]στήκω, -εις, -ει, etc. (N σταίνω 900 f.).

959. ΤΙΘΗΜΙ—ΤΙΘῶ—ΤΙΘΩ—N ΘΕΤΩ.—Owing to its hard pronunciation in popular speech, the form τίθω has been changed by dissimilation and metathesis to \*θίτω (126. 143), and then modified to θέρω through the influence of such forms as θέτε, τίθετε, ἔθετε, ἐτίθετε, τίθεται,

## Τίθημι, ἵημι, δίδωμι, ἵστημι, AND COMPOUNDS. [959-963.

έρθετο, ἔθετο, and particularly θετός, θέτης, θετικός with their numerous and popular compounds<sup>[1]</sup>.

α. GKaibel 1096 (= CIG 2722) ἀνατίθω. Great Louvre Pap. 333 παρὰτίθω. Hermas Vis. i, 1, 3 & 2, 1, 2 τίθω (or τιθῶ). Acta Tho. 93, 10 προσετίθοντο. Acta Thad. 277, 20 ἐπιτίθων. Acta Andr. 9 προστίθων, ἐπιτίθειν. Leont. Neap. V. J. 45, 46 παρὰτίθειν. Theoph. 423, 23 ἐπιτίθειν. Stud. 1713 c παραθήσαι. (Cp. Andr. C. Method. 1332 c προστίθημι.)

960. Ἀφ-ιημι—ἀφιῶ—ἀφίω (N ἀφίω 902)—ἀφεῶ—ἀφῶ.—The last form is a contraction of the preceding ἀφεῶ (152) [incorrectly accented ἀφῶ, as in Luke 5, 20; 23. 7, 47; 48. John 20, 23. 1 John 2, 12] which again is a contaminatory product of ἀφίω × (ἐῶ)ῶ (116), the latter having been, since *G* times, a very popular substitute for its synonymous but irregular ἀφίημι.

α. Sept. 2 Par. 26, 5 δ συνιών; so Iren. 468; Matt. 6, 12 & Luke 11, 4 ἀφίωμεν; Mark 1, 34 & 11, 16 ἤφιε; Matt. 9, 2 & 5 (D) ἀφίονται. Rev. 2, 20 ἀφεῶ. CLeemans Pap. Gr. ii. 109, 4 παραφίαν; 231, 4 ἀνέλων. Sext. 32, 32 ἀφεῶ. Socr. 404 ἤφειν; Apophth. 280 Ἀ ἀφίει; 97 c ἤφιε; Eus. Alex. 400 B ἀφίειν; Doroth. 1632 Ἀ ἀφούμεν. 1633 Ἀ ἀφῆ (write ἀφεί); Leont. Neap. V. J. 78, 5 ἀφίωμεν; 30, 12 (E F) & 78, 2 (E) ἀφίωμεν; 73, 6 ἀφίωσαι; 78, 7 (E) ἀφίω;—Matt. 13, 13 συνίονσι. Mark 4, 12 συνίωσι; Hermas Mand. 6, 2 & 6; συνίε. Apophth. 280 c ἀφίει.

961. Δίδωμι—διδῶ—δίδω (so N, 996<sub>ss</sub>).—Sept. Ex. 2, 21 & 5, 13; NT 1 Cor. 11, 23 παρεδίδοτο; Acts 4, 35 διεδίδοτο; Apophth. 340 c προδίδω; Acta Tho. 42, 28 ἀποδίδετε; 39, 19 ἀπεδίδοτο; Acta Joan. 47, 16 ἐδίδοτο [Mark] Liturg. 307 μεταδίδω. [Greg. Naz.] ii. 712 Ἀ παρεδίδης (write -δεις); Apophth. 340 c παρεδίδει. Gregent. 600 B παρεδίδοτο? Callin. 78, 30 δίδω (ubi δίδω). Leont. Neap. V. J. 62, 23 & 76, 15 δίδω; also V. S. 1725 Ἀ; 1733 c; V. J. 73, 15 ἐνδίδεις; V. S. 1733 Ἀ (Vind.) δίδεις; V. J. 80, 3 & 11 παραδίδει. 23, 11 etc. δίδει; 41, 7 δίδετε; V. S. 17, 29 B ἐνδίδουσιν; V. J. 77, 4 & 9 δίδης; 62, 17; 72, 5; 77, 7 & 14 δίδειν; 49, 7 δίδων; or 7 διαδίδων, etc. So xii. Patr. 1137 Ἀ; Martyr. Areth. 34; Jejun. 1912 D;—so finally Theoph. Porph. and N passim.—See 996<sub>ss</sub>.

962. Ἰστημι—ιστάνω (from ἵσταναι, N σταίνω (723. 900)—ἐ)στήκω (from ἔστηκα 723), N στέκω (965)—δυστάνω (P-B), ἐξιστάνω (Sept., NT, etc.), παριστάνω (Philo, NT, etc.). CIA iv. 6306 (32 B. C.), 26 ἱστανόμενος. Ἐφημ. ἀρχ. 1884 p. 167-8, 13 (B.C. 48-†117) παριστάνοντος. Mitth. xix. 252 (III<sup>rd</sup> A.D., Athens), 75 παραστανέντω! also Acts 1, 6 (Beza) ἀποκαταστάνεις. Great Louvre Pap. 257 στάμενος (for ἵστ-). ib. 1711 παραστώς δαιμόνιον.—ἱστώ [from ἱστώ, -ης etc.] (Diosc. etc.), ἀφιστώ (Luc., Test. Patr., etc.), δυστώ (Dion. Thr.), ἐξιστώ (NT), ἐφιστώ (Diosc. etc.), μεφιστώ (Diod. etc.), παριστώ (Dion. Thr., Sext., etc.).—See also 965 f. & 996<sub>ss</sub>.

963. The remaining *A* tense forms follow the conjugation of sonantic barytone verbs, with the following deviations:

α. The stem vowel remains short in several cases, as: δέδομαι, δοθήσομαι, ἐδόθη.

β. The stem vowel is irregularly lengthened in the forms εἴκα, εἶμαι, τέθηκα (*P* τέθεικα after εἴκα), and τέθειμαι.

[1] A different but too elaborate and improbable theory is propounded by GHatzidakis in KZ xiii 105-117. Cp 993.



963 c-967.] Τίθημι, ἵημι, δίδωμι, ἵστημι—τέθνηκα.

963 c. The singular of the 1st aorist active of τίθημι, ἵημι, δίδωμι has -κ- for tense character : ἔθηκα, ἦκα, ἔδωκα (952).

964.	ΤΙΘΗΜΙ (stem θε)	ΪΗΜΙ (stem ἔ)	ΔΙΔΩΜΙ (stem δο)	ΪΣΤΗΜΙ (stem στα)
Future	θήσω	ἥσω	δώσω	στήσω
1st Aor.	έθηκα (only sing.)	ἦκα (only sing.)	έδωκα (only sing.)	έστησα 'set up'
Perf.	τέθηκα (P τέθεικα)	εἶκα	δέδωκα	έστηκα 'stand'
Perf. pass.	(τέθειμαι 963, δ)	εἵμαι	δέδομαι	Plup. εἰσθήκειν 'stood'
Aor. pass.	έτέθην	εἶθην	έδύθην	(P-B έσταμαι)
Fut. pass.	τεθήσομαι	έθήσομαι	δοθήσομαι	εἰστάθην
				σταθήσομαι.

964<sup>b</sup>. Instead of τέθειμαι, A writers commonly use κείμαι (992).

965. The intransitive perfect ἕστηκα (subj. έστήκω) has given birth to a new present έστηκω (found even in Sept. and NT etc.<sup>[1]</sup>), and in association with ἵστημι (ἵστημι x έστήκω) to M ἱσθήκω. Again this contaminatory form, taken in association with σταίνω (or, σταίνομαι), has led to the further N form (σταίνω x στήκω) σταίκω or rather στέκω; mark further (ἵσταμαι x στέκω) ἱστέκω (Belth. 391. 395; 785. 845. 561 ἱστάθην), and finally recent N (στήκω x σταίνω) στήνω. Cp. 996<sub>118</sub>.

966. Several forms of the intransitive ἕστηκα and εἰσθήκειν are derived from the stem έστα, without tense character :

Perf. Indic.	έστᾱτον,	έστάμεν,	έστᾱτε,	έστᾱσι"
Subj.	έστώμεν	έστώσι"	Imperat.	έσταθι
Infín.	έσάναι	Part.	ό έστώς, ώτος	
			τό "	
			ή έστώσα, " ης	

Plpf. Indic. έσάτην έσασαν  
Subj. έσταίην.

967. The conjugation of the perfect ἕστηκα is followed also by τέθνηκα 'am dead' (perfect of θνήσκω or θνήσκω 'die'), δέδοικα 'fear' (with no present).

a. Τέθνηκα.

INDICATIVE			SUBJUNCTIVE		IMPERATIVE
Perf.	τέθνηκα	-κας -κε"	τεθνήκω,	-κης, -κη	τέθναθι 'die'
		τέθνάτον τέθνάτον	etc.		INFINITIVE
	τέθναμεν	τέθνατε	τεθνάσι"		τεθνάαι
Plup.	έτεθνήκειν,	-κεις, -κει	τεθναίην,	-ης, -η	PARTICIPLE
	etc.		etc.		τεθνεώς, -ώτος
	έτέθνασαν				τεθνεός, -ότος
					τεθνεώσα, -ης.

For the P-N conjugation of τέθνηκα see 736-9 and 996<sub>112</sub>.

[1] Sept. Ex. 14, 13 (v. l.). 3 Reg. 8, 11. NT Mark 3, 31; Bcm 14, 4. Chrys. i. 35 D (στήκεσθαι). Nil. 252 A. Stud. 1736 A.

## b. Δέδοικα (δέδια).

	INDICATIVE	SUBJUNCTIVE	IMPERATIVE
Perfect	δέδοικα & δέδια	δεδίω (δεδοίω)	δεδιθι
	δέδοικας & δέδιας	etc.	δεδίτω
	δέδοικε* & δέδιε*		etc.
	δέδοικον		
	δέδοικαμεν & δέδιμεν		
Pluperfect	δέδοικατε & δέδιτε		
	δέδοικησι* & δέδιασι*		
	ἐδέδοικεν or -κη	& ἐδέδειεν	
	ἐδέδοικεις „ -κης	& ἐδέδειεις	
	ἐδέδοικε*	& ἐδέδειε	
	ἐδέδιτον		INFINITIVE
	ἐδέδιγην		δεδίεναι & δεδοικέναι
	ἐδέδιμεν		
	ἐδέδιτε		PARTICIPLE
	ἐδέδισαν		δεδιώς & δεδοικώς, ότος
	(or ἐδέδιεσα		δεδιός & δεδοικός „
			δεδιυία & δεδοικυία, ας

968. In *P* popular speech this verb retreated before φοβοῦμαι (cp. 937). It does not occur in Biblical compositions and is extinct in *N*, while *A* φοβοῦμαι is still the universal term in colloquial *N*.

969. Here is to be classed also the defective οἶδα 'know,' which is used as a present and borrows its aorist from γινώσκω 'get to know.'

	INDICATIVE	SUBJUNCTIVE	IMPERATIVE
Perfect	οἶδα	εἰδῶ	ἴσθι ἴστω
	οἶσθα	εἰδῆς	ἴστω
	οἶδε*	etc.	ἴστε ἴστω(σα)ν
Pluperfect	ἴσμεν		
	ἴστε		
	ἴσασι*		
Pluperfect	ᾔδειν & ᾔδη		INFINITIVE
	ᾔδεις or ᾔδειςθα & ᾔδεις or ᾔδειςθα	εἰδείην, εἰδείης, εἰδείη	εἰδέναι
	ᾔδει	etc.	PARTICIPLE
	ᾔδειτον & ᾔστον		εἰδώς, ότος
	ᾔδειγην & ᾔστην		εἰδός, „
	ᾔδειμεν & ᾔσμεν		εἰδυία, ας
	ᾔδειτε & ᾔστε		
	ᾔδισαν		

Future εἴσομαι 'shall know or learn,'—Aorist ἔγνων 'got to know.'

970. In *P-B* Greek οἶδα is conjugated regularly: οἶδα, οἶδας (also οἶδες due to εἰδ-ς, as Gr. Urk. Berlin 261 [+23]; Great Louvre Pap. etc.), οἶδε, οἶδαμεν, οἶδατε, οἶδασι\*; ᾔδειν, ᾔδεις, etc.; future εἰδήσω, aorist εἰδήσα;—the syncopated forms having disappeared during *G* times. Hence in NT we only once read ἴσασι\* (Acts 26, 14), and once ἴστε (Heb. 12, 17; perhaps also in Jas. 1, 19), whereas the regular *P* form is common. Cp. Sept. Deut. 4, 35 εἰδήσαι. Philostr. 388 εἰδέτωσαν. Chrys. iii. 595 c εἰδέτω.

970<sup>b</sup>. In *N* οἶδα is extinct, except perhaps in the standing phrase τίς οἶδε; 'who knows?' Κύριος οἶδε 'Heaven knows.'

971-973. See p. 247.

974. Other verbs following the conjugation of *ἵστημι*.

STEM	FUTURE	AORIST	PERFECT	REMARKS (937)
1 <i>ὀνίνη-μι</i> 'benefit'	<i>ὀνήσω</i>	<i>ὤνησα</i> <i>ὤνισθην</i> (Pass.)	—	<i>Γ</i> ὀνίω— <i>A</i> ὠφέλειω, <i>N</i> φελάω
2 <i>ὀνίνα-μαι</i> (middle) <i>ὀτί-μ-πλη-μι</i> 'fill'	<i>ὀνήσομαι</i> <i>πλήσω</i>	<i>ὤνησάμην</i> <i>ἔπλησα</i>	<i>πέπληκα</i> <i>πέπληγμαι</i>	<i>A</i> aor. subj. <i>ὀναίμην</i> , <i>ᾶναι</i> ; Infin. <i>ὀνισσάθαι</i> <i>H</i> <i>πιμπλήω</i> , <i>A</i> <i>πλήρω</i> , <i>πληρώω</i> , <i>A-N</i> <i>γεμίζω</i>
3 <i>πί-μ-πρη-μι</i> 'burn'	<i>πρήσω</i> <i>πρησθήσομαι</i>	<i>ἔπρησα</i> <i>ἔπρησθην</i>	<i>πέπρηκα</i> <i>πέπρηγμαι</i>	<i>H</i> <i>πιμπράω</i> , <i>B-N</i> <i>πρήσκω</i> , <i>A</i> <i>κίω</i> & <i>κίωω</i> , <i>N</i> <i>καίω</i>
4 <i>ἀγα-μαι</i> 'admire'	<i>ἀγάσομαι</i>	<i>ἔγασθην</i>	<i>δέδύνημαι</i>	} <i>A</i> In the pres. and imperf. subj. the verbs <i>δύναμαι</i> , <i>ἐπίσταμαι</i> , <i>κρέμαμαι</i> , have recessive accent: <i>δύνωμαι</i> , <i>ἐπίστωμαι</i> , <i>κρέμωμαι</i> , <i>δύνωω</i> , <i>ἐπίστωω</i> , <i>κρέμωω</i> ; and drop the <i>σ</i> of the ending <i>σο</i> , with contraction (762. 782. 934): <i>ἐπίστω</i> , <i>ἰδύνω</i> , <i>ἠρίστω</i> .— <i>H-N</i> <i>δύνωμαι</i> , <i>G-N</i> <i>κρέμωμαι</i> (774. 996 <sub>u</sub> ).
5 <i>δύνα-μαι</i> 'can'	<i>δυνήσομαι</i>	<i>ἔ-οι-ῆ-δυνήθην</i>	—	
6 <i>ἐπίσταμαι</i> 'know'	<i>ἐπιστήσομαι</i>	<i>ἠπιστήθην</i>	—	
7 <i>κρέμα-μαι</i> 'hang'	<i>κρεμήσομαι</i>			
8 <i>φημί</i> 'say'; see 975	<i>φῶ, φη</i>			

975. CONJUGATION OF THE VERB *φημί*.

	INDICATIVE	SUBJUNCTIVE		IMPERATIVE
		φῶ	φῶ	
<i>Present</i>	<i>φῆμι</i> <i>φᾶμέν</i>	<i>φῆς</i> (φῆς) <i>φᾶτε</i>	<i>φῆς</i> <i>φῆτε</i>	<i>φάθι</i> (!) <i>φάτω</i> <i>φάτων</i> <i>φάτε</i> <i>φάντων</i>
<i>Imperfect</i>	<i>ἔφην</i> <i>ἔφμεν</i>	<i>ἔφῃ</i> <i>ἔφᾶτε</i>	<i>φαίης</i> <i>φαίην</i> <i>φαίτε</i>	<i>φάναι</i> <i>φάστων</i> (996 <sub>u</sub> ).

(1) *Μωυσις* 356 *ἔαθι* 'Ἀττικῶς εἰπὲς Ἑλληνικῶς.

(2) *Εὐρυπ.* *ἔφης* *ἔστι* *μὲν* *παρὰ* *ταῖς* *ἀρχαῖαις*, *ἀλλ'* *ὁλίγον* *τὸ* *δὲ* *πλείστον* *ἔφησθα*.

# Ἰστημι AND φημί. AORIST AFTER ἔστην. [971-979.

Continuation from p. 245.

971. In *T-B* compositions the subjunctive εἰδῶ, εἰδῆς, etc. appears occasionally in our texts, but in unscholarly productions it seems to be a mere misspelling of ἰδῶ, ἰδῆς, etc. (in *N* ἰδῶ, ἰδῆς) from ἰδεῖν (cp. 717 [1] & 913 ff.).

972. As regards its meaning, the verb ἵστημι is *transitive* in the present, imperfect, future, and 1st aorist active; *intransitive* in the 2nd aorist, also in the perfect and pluperfect active and in the future perfect (997, 1).

	'set up.'	'get up,' 'stand.'	'set up for myself.'	'am set up.'
Present	ἵστημι	ἵσταμαι	ἵσταμαι	ἵσταμαι
Fut.	στήσω	στήσομαι	στήσομαι	σταθήσομαι
Aor.	ἔστησα	ἔστην	ἔστησάμην	ἔστάθην
Perf.	—	ἵστηκα 'am standing'	—	(ἔστηκα)
Fut. pf.	—	ἵσθήξω 'shall stand'	—	(ἑσθήξω)

973. But *P* καθέστακα (active) Sept. Jer. 1, 10; 1 Macc. 10, 20; παρέστακα Polyb. 3, 94, 7; Sext. 756, 6; συνέστακα Sext. 485, 5; ἐφείστακα Polyb. 10, 20, 5; ἀνίστακεν Sept. 1 Reg. 15, 12; καθέσταμαι Sept. Num. 3, 32; συνίσταμαι Polyb. 8, 3, 2; Sext. 212, 23; 216, 20; Mitth. xix. 249, 2 (†III<sup>d</sup> Athens) Ἐλαφροβολίωνος ἡ ἵσταμένου (= ἱσταμένου); ἀφειστάθη IMoschos 2008c.

974, 975. See opposite page.

975<sup>b</sup>. When not emphatic, the entire present indicative of φημί is enclitic save in the 2nd person φῆς. (102, d. Cp. 982.)

976. Though very common in *A*, the verb φημί retreats before λέγω in *P* times, owing to its irregular μι- inflection (936-7). Even the NT writers make but a limited use of it, and that principally in the standing and parenthetical forms ἔφη and φησὶ, less frequently φασί. (φημί only in 1 Cor. 7, 29. 10, 15; 19; 50.)

976<sup>b</sup>. As a matter of course, *N* preserves no trace of φημί.

977. Preceded by the negation οὐ, the verb φημί means *deny*, *refuse*.—The imperfect form ἔφην has the force of an aorist: *said*; hence the real imperfect of φημί is ἔφασκον from φάσκω (996, 32).—The normal future φήσω and aorist ἔφησα are used in the sense of *assert*, *acknowledge*.

978. 9. The verb ἡμί 'say' is found only in the following forms: ἡμί 'say,' ἦν δ' ἐγὼ 'quoth I,' ἡ δ' ἐς 'quoth he,' ἡ δ' ἡ 'quoth she.' It occurs chiefly in Plato's dialogues, but is foreign to *P-N*. (Cp. 605.)

979. Conjugation of 2nd aorist after ἔστην.

## INDICATIVE

ἔβην	ἀπ-έδραν	ἀπ-έσβην	ἔγνων	ἔδυν
ἔβης	ἔδρας	ἔσβης	ἔγnows	ἔδους
ἔβη	ἔδρα	ἔσβη	ἔγνω	ἔδῦ
ἔβητον	ἔδρατον	ἔσβητον	ἔγνωτον	ἔδῶτον
ἔβήτην	ἔδράτην	ἔσβήτην	ἔγνώτην	ἔδῶτην
ἔβημεν	ἔδραμεν	ἔσβημεν	ἔγnowμεν	ἔδῶμεν
ἔβητε	ἔδρατε	ἔσβητε	ἔγnowτε	ἔδῶτε
ἔβησαν	ἔδρασαν	ἔσβησαν	ἔγnowσαν	ἔδῶσαν

SUBJUNCTIVE

βαίην	ἀπο-δραίην	ἀπο-σβαίην	γνοίην	(δύην)
βαίης	δραίης	σβαίης	γνοίης	
βαίῃ	δραίῃ	σβαίῃ	γνοίῃ	
βαίτον	δραίτον	σβαίτον	γνοίτον	
βαίτην	δραίτην	σβαίτην	γνοίτην	
βαίμεν†	δραίμεν†	σβαίμεν†	γνοίμεν†	†Also βαίμεν, ἀπο- δραίμεν, ἀποσβαί- μεν, γνοίμεν etc.
βαίτε	δραίτε	σβαίτε	γνοίτε	
βαίεν	δραίεν	σβαίεν	γνοίεν	

INFINITIVE

βῆναι	ἀπο-δρᾶναι	ἀπο-σβῆναι	γνῶναι	δύναι
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PARTICIPLE

βάς, ἄντος	ἀπο-δράς, ἄντος	ἀπο-σβείς, ἔντος	γνούς, ὄντος	δύς, ἔντος
βάν, "	-δράν, "	-σβέν, "	γνόν, "	δύν, "
βάσα, ἡς	-δράσα, ἡς	-σβείσα, ἡς	γνούσα, ἡς	δύσα, ἡς

Future

SUBJUNCTIVE

βῶ	ἀπο-δρῶ	ἀπο-σβῶ	γνῶ	δύω
βῆς	δρᾶς	σβῆς	γνῶς	δύης
βῇ	δρᾷ	σβῇ	γνῶ	δύῃ
βῆτον	δρᾶτον	σβῆτον	γνῶτον	δύητον
"	"	"	"	"
βῶμεν	δρῶμεν	σβῶμεν	γνῶμεν	δύωμεν
βῆτε	δρᾶτε	σβῆτε	γνῶτε	δύητε
βῶσι"	δρῶσιν	σβῶσι"	γνῶσι"	δύωσι"

IMPERATIVE

βῆθι	ἀπό-δραθι	ἀπό-σβηθι	γνῶθι	δύθι
βῆτω	-δράτω	-σβήτω	γνώτω	δύτω
βήτον	-δρατον	-σβητον	γνώτον	δύτον
βήτων	-δράτων	-σβήτων	γνώτων	δύτων
βῆτε	-δρατε	-σβητε	γνώτε	δύτε
βάντων	-δράντων	-σβέντων	γνώντων	δύντων
or βήτωσαν	or -δράτωσαν	or -σβήτωσαν	or γνῶτωσαν	or δύτωσαν

980. See opposite page.

OTHER SOLITARY VERBS IN -μι.

981. 1. εἰμί 'am' (stem ἐσ, es-).

	INDICATIVE			SUBJUNCTIVE			IMPERATIVE	
Present	εἰμί	εἶ	ἐστί"	ᾧ	ῆς	ῆ	ἔσθι	ἔστω
	ἔσμεν	ἔστέ	εἰσί"	ᾧμεν	ῆτε	ᾧσι"	ἔσθε	ἔστων & ἔστωσαν or ὄντων
Imperfect	ἦν	ἦσθα	ἦν	εἶην	εἶης	εἶη	INFINITIVE εἶναι	
	ἦμεν	ἦστον	ἦσαν	εἶημεν	εἶητον	εἶησαν		
		ἦτε		εἶητε	εἶητε	εἶησαν	PARTICIPLE ὄν, ὄντος ὄν, " οὖσα, οὖσης.	
		(ἦστε)		εἶμεν	εἶμεν	εἶεν		

Continued on p. 250.

## OTHER 2ND AORISTS FORMED AFTER ἔστην.

980. Some verbs with the stem vowel *a*, *e*, *o*, *u*, though ending mostly in *-ω*, follow the analogy of verbs in *-μ* in that they form a 2nd aorist active without thematic vowel (*athematic aorist*, 927). This 2nd aorist, which is sometimes called the *syncopated aorist*, follows the conjugation of ἔστην throughout (979), thus showing a lengthened stem vowel.

a. Stem Vowel <i>a</i> :	STEM	FUTURE	2nd AORIST	PERFECT	
1 *βαίω 'go'	βα	βή-σ-μαι	ἔ-βην	βί-βηκα	N aor. ἀν-, κατ-έβηκα (801)
2 ἔφθάνω 'anticipate'	φθα	φθῆ-σ-μαι (P-N φθίσω)	ἔ-φθην (P-N ἔφθασα)	ἔ-φθηκα	N aor. ἔφθασα & ἔφθαξα
3 ἀπο-διδράσκω 'run away'	δρα	ἀπο-δράσ-μαι	ἀπ-έ-δραν, αs, a (P ἀπ-έδρασα)	ἀπο-δέ-δρακα	
4 — 'endure'	τλα	τλή-σ-μαι	ἔ-τλην	τέ-τληκα	P-N Βαστάζω, N Βαστώ (870)
b. Stem Vowel <i>e</i> :	ρue	ρή-σ-μαι (P ρέσω)	ἔ-ρήην (P ἔρμευσα)	ἔ-ρρήη-κα	
5 ῥέω 'run', 'flow'	χαρε	χαίρη-σ-μαι (P χαίρισμαι)	ἔ-χάρην	κε-χάρη-κα	G-N χαίρομαι, χαρῶ, N χαρού- μενος & χαυράμενος (= χαίρων) N σβύνω or -ῖνω, σβύσω, σβυμένος (σβη-)
6 *χαίρω 'rejoice'	σβε	ἀπο-σβησ-μαι	ἀπ-έ-σβην	ἀπ-έ-σβη-κα	N γνώδω, γνώσω ; ἔγνωρίζω
7 *σβέννυμαι 'extinguish'	γνω	γνώ-σ-μαι (G-N γνώσω)	ἔ-γνων	ἔ-γνω-κα	
c. Stem Vowel <i>o</i> :	βιο	βιώ-σ-μαι	ἔ-βίων	βε-βίω-κα	
8 *γι-γνώσκω 'know'	ἄλω	ἄλώ-σ-μαι	ἔ-ἄλων	ἔ-ἄλω-κα	
9 βιάω P 'live'	δν	δύ-σ-μαι	ἔ-δύν	δέ-δύ-κα	
10 ἄλίσκομαι 'am taken'	φν	φύ-σ-μαι	ἔ-φύν	πέ-φύκα	N φυτρῶνω
d. Stem Vowel <i>u</i> :					
11 ὀύομαι 'go into'					
12 ὀύ-ομαι 'grow'					

981-985 c.] PECULIARITIES AND P-N HISTORY OF *εἶμι*.

Continuation from p. 248.

Future: *ἔσομαι*, *ἔσῃ* (ἔσει 763), *ἔσται* (136, 1)—*ἔσεσθον*, *ἔσεσθον*—*ἔσόμεθα*, *ἔσεσθε*, *ἔσονται*. Aor. Subj. [Optat.] *ἔσοίμην*. Inf. *ἔσεσθαι*. Part. *ἔσόμενος*.

982. With the exception of the one form *εἶ* 'thou art,' the entire present indicative of *εἶμι* is *enditic* (102, d), when it serves as copula 'am' (1249), but it is orthotone when it carries emphasis and means *exist*.

983. The 3rd person singular is paroxytone, *ἔστι*—

a. when it begins a clause.

b. when it means *there exists*, *there is*.

c. when it stands for *ἔξεστι* it is *permitted*.

d. when it comes after *ὥς*, *οὐκ*, *εἰ*, *καί*—also after elided *ἀλλ'* and *τοῦτ'*, as: *ὥς ἔστι*, *τοῦτ' ἔστι* *id est*, *ἀλλ' ἔστι*.

984. In composition, *εἶμι* draws back the accent in the indicative and imperative, as: *πάριμι*, *πάρει*, *παρέστι*, etc. *παρίσθι*—but *παρῶ*, *παρῆς*, etc. *παρεῖναι*, *παρών*; *παρῆν*, *παρῆς*, etc. *παρέσται* (from *παρίσεται* 136, 1).

985. Notable P-N forms of *εἶμι* (cp. Winer-Schmiedel 117 f.):

B-N <i>εἶμι</i>	B-N <i>εἶμεθα</i> (N <i>εἶμεστα</i> )	Imperative
<i>εἶσαι</i> (773)	„ <i>εἶσθε</i> ( <i>εἶστε</i> )	P- <i>βέσθω</i> , N- <i>ήσθω</i> ;
P-N <i>ἐνι</i> , M-N <i>ἐνε</i> ( <i>ἐναι</i> ), N <i>εἶνε</i> ( <i>εἶναι</i> ) <sup>[1]</sup>	„ <i>ἐνε</i> ( <i>ἐναι</i> ), N <i>εἶνε</i> ( <i>εἶναι</i> ) <sup>[1]</sup>	<i>ἦτω</i> <i>ἦστω</i> ; <i>ἦστε</i> ;
		<i>ἦτωσαν</i> <sup>[2]</sup> ).
P-N <i>ἤμην</i> <sup>[2]</sup> , B-N <i>ἤμου</i> <sup>α</sup>	P-N <i>ἤμεθα</i> (N <i>ἤμεστα</i> , also <i>ἤμασταν</i> 801 <sup>α</sup> )	
„ <i>ἦς</i> <sup>[1]</sup> „ <i>ἦσου</i> <sup>α</sup> ([Nil.] 545 B)	„ <i>ἦτε</i> , N <i>ἦστε</i> (also <i>ἦσασταν</i> 801 <sup>α</sup> )	
„ <i>ἦτο</i> „ <i>ἦτο</i> <sup>α</sup>	„ <i>ἦσαν</i> <sup>α</sup> , N also <i>ἦταν</i> <sup>α</sup> .	

985<sup>b</sup>. In M-N compositions, chiefly those of South Italian Greek, a curious infinitive *εἶσθαι* (*εἶσται*) is often met with, probably coined by B scribes after the ancient medio-passive infinitive, as: Chron. Mor. Prol. 168 & 483i *θέλει εἶσται*. This form, however, is foreign to popular speech in Greek countries.—Mark further that in G-B *εἶμι* serves also for *ῶ*, and *ἡμεν* for *ῶμεν* (as Acta Xanth. 60, 35).

985<sup>c</sup>. In G-B diction, *εἶμι* being felt too irregular is very often replaced by *ὑπάρχω*, especially in the subj. part. and fut. (937. 1845, 2107). Moreover the subj. *ῶ*, *ῆς*, *ῆ*, etc., often assumes the form of the indicative (cp. 779).

[<sup>1</sup>] The spelling *ἵνε*, started by some N scribes who claim to see a metathesis from *ἐνι*, is nugatory. Equally untenable is the spelling *εἶναι* adopted by the Greek public at large (owing to its formal coincidence with the A infinitive *εἶναι*) and now accepted by GHatzidakis (207) who pleads that the terminal -e (i.e. -αι) is due to the two other endings *εἶμι-αι* and *εἶσθαι-αι*. But it will be remembered that Greek, whether A or N, knows of no such verbal endings; it is merely aware of the full termination -μαι -σαι -ται. Now if these endings had played a part in the above process of change from *ἐνι* to *ene*, it would have led to \**εἶται* & \**εἶται*, not to *εἶναι* & *εἶναι*. Hence it is more rational to assume an assimilation of terminal *e* to the preceding thematic *ε*- (accented as it is), thus producing the M form *ἐνε*, still current in some dialects (Crete, Cyprus, South Italy, etc.). As to the ultimate form *εἶνε* (*εἶναι*), it has been obtained by regressive assimilation of the stem *ε*- to that of all the rest *εἰ-* (*εἰ-μαι*, *εἰ-σαι*, *εἰ-μεθα* *εἰ-σθε*).

[<sup>2</sup>] The form *ἔσο* is due to *κάθησο*, *ἴστασο*, etc.—*ἦσου* after *φυλάσσοι*, *στάσσοι*, *τυλίσσοι*.—For *ἦτω* and *ἦστω* see 116.—*ἦστε* from *ἦστω*.—*ἦτωσαν* from *ἦτω*. On the frequent use in G-B of *ἦτω* for *ἔστω*, cp. Clem. B. ad Cor. 48, 5 *ἦτω τῆς πιστός*, *ἦτω δυνατός* *γνώσιν* *ἐξεπεῖν*, *ἦτω σοφός* *ἐν διακρίσει λόγων*, *ἦτω γοργός* *ἐν ἔργοις*, *ἦτω ἀγρός*.

[<sup>3</sup>] Phryg. 130 *ἡμην εἰ καὶ εὐρίσκεται παρὰ τοῖς ἀρχαίοις, οὐκ ἐρεῖς, ἀλλ' ἡν ἐγώ*. Moeris 158 *ἦν Ἀττικῶς. ἡμην Ἑλληνικῶς*.

[<sup>4</sup>] Phryg. 124 *ἦς ἐν ἀγορῇ σόλοικον*. λέγε οὖν *ἦσθα*. ὁρβότερον δὲ *χρῆτο* *δὲ λέγων* *ἐάν ἦς ἐν ἀγορῇ*. Moeris 161 *ἦσθα Ἀττικῶς, ἦς Ἑλληνικῶς*.

# THE VERBS *χρή*, *εἶμι*, *κεῖμαι*. [985<sup>a</sup>-990.

as: CGL 230, 9 f. *ἄν σοι ἡδύ ἐστι* 'si tibi suaue est.' 650, 7 *ἄν σοι ἡδύ ἐστιν* 'si tibi suaue est.'

986. 2. *Χρή* (sc. *ἔστι*) 'it behoves,' is an indeclinable substantive (*χρέα*? 20<sup>e</sup>), but coalesces with *εἶμι* and produces the following forms:

INDICATIVE	SUBJUNCTIVE	INFINITIVE	PARTICIPLE
<i>χρή</i> (sc. <i>ἔστι</i> )	<i>χρή</i> (i.e. <i>χρέα ἦ</i> )	<i>χρήναι</i> (i.e. <i>χρέα εἶναι</i> )	τὸ <i>χρεών</i> (indecl.)
<i>χρήν</i> (i.e. <i>χρέα ἦν</i> )	<i>χρεῖη</i> (i.e. <i>χρέα εἴη</i> )		
& <i>ἐχρήν</i>			

987. The verb *χρή* appears to be foreign to *P-B* speech. It occurs only once in the NT (Jas. 3, 10), its place having been taken by *χρέα ἔστιν* or *χρεῖαν ἔχειν*, a substitute still common in *N*.

987<sup>b</sup>. The form *ἀποχρή* (not *ἀπόχρη*) etc. belongs to *ἀποχράω* (996<sub>III</sub>).

° 988. 3. *εἶμι* 'shall go.' Stems *ει-* (cp. 929) & *ι-* (cp. Latin *i-re*).

	INDICATIVE			SUBJUNCTIVE			IMPERATIVE	
Present	<i>εἶμι</i>	<i>εἶ</i>	<i>εἶσι</i> <sup>a</sup>	<i>ἴω</i>	<i>ἴης</i>	<i>ἴη</i>	<i>ἴθι</i>	<i>ἴτω</i>
	<i>ἴμεν</i>	<i>ἴτε</i>	<i>ἴασι</i> <sup>a</sup>	<i>ἴωμεν</i>	<i>ἴητε</i>	<i>ἴωσι</i> <sup>a</sup>	<i>ἴτε</i>	<i>ἴόντων</i>
Imperfect	<i>ἦα</i>	<i>ἦεις</i>	<i>ἦει</i>	<i>ἴοιμι</i>	<i>ἴοις</i>	<i>ἴοι</i>	<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px;"> <p>INFINITIVE <i>ἰέναι</i></p> <p>PARTICIPLE <i>ἰών ἰόντος</i> <i>ἰόν</i>       " <i>ἰούσα -ης</i></p> </div>	
	<i>ἦμεν</i>	<i>ἦτον</i>	<i>ἦτην</i>	<i>ἴοιμεν</i>	<i>ἴοιτον</i>	<i>ἴοίτην</i>		
	<i>ἦτε</i>	<i>ἦσαν</i>		<i>ἴοιτε</i>	<i>ἴοιτε</i>	<i>ἴοιεν</i> .		

989. The present indicative of *εἶμι* has always a future meaning (*shall go*, cp. App. iv. 4), but the subjunctive, infinitive, and participle may refer either to the present or the future.

a. Cp. *Plat.* 26 *ἀπελεύσομαι παντάπασι φυλάττων· οὔτε γὰρ οἱ δόκιμοι ῥήτορες οὔτε ἡ ἀρχαία κωμῳδία οὔτε Πλάτων κέχρηται τῇ φωνῇ· ἀντὶ δὲ αὐτοῦ τῷ ἀπειμῶ χρῶ καὶ τοῖς ὁμοειδέσιν ὡσαύτως.* id. 27 'ἐπεφελυσσόμενος ἄλλος οὗτος 'Ἡρόκλητος.' τοῦτ' οὖν ἔστανεν ἐκ τριῶν φαβαρίνων· *χρή* [*χρήν*?] γὰρ ἐπεζιῶν εἰπεῖν. καὶ γὰρ ἐπέφειμι λέγεται, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐπεφελύσσομαι. Μᾶλλον ἰς ἀπεισιν Ἀττικῶς ἀπελεύσεται Ἑλληνικῶς.

989<sup>b</sup>. In *P-B* literary productions the verb *εἶμι* occurs only sporadically, and that merely in composition (chiefly *ἀπ-*, *ἐξ-*, *εισ-*, *συν-*), while *N* shows no trace of it.

° 990. 4. *κεῖμαι* 'lie,' 'am laid.'

	INDICATIVE			SUBJUNCTIVE		IMPERATIVE	
Present	<i>κεῖ-μαι</i>	<i>κεῖ-σαι</i>	<i>κεῖ-ται</i>	(κεῖω-μαι κέη)		<i>κέη-ται</i>	<i>κεῖ-σο</i> <i>κεῖ-σθω</i>
	<i>κεῖ-μεθα</i>	<i>κεῖ-σθε</i>	<i>κεῖ-νται</i>			<i>κεῖω-νται</i>	etc.
Imperfect	<i>ἔ-κει-μην</i>	<i>ἔ-κει-σο</i>	<i>ἔ-κει-το</i>	<i>κέοι-το</i> <i>κέοι-ντο</i>		<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px;"> <p>INFINITIVE <i>κεῖ-σθαι</i></p> <p>PARTICIPLE <i>κεῖ-μενος</i>.</p> </div>	
	<i>ἔ-κει-μεθα</i>	<i>ἔ-κει-σθε</i>	<i>ἔ-κει-ντο</i>				

Future: *κεῖ-σο-μαι*.



## 991-996.] Κάθημαι—VERBS IRREGULAR IN FORM.

991. *a.* Compounds: ἀνά-, ἀπό-, διά-, ἐγ-, ἐπί-, κατά-, παρά-, πρό-, πρὶς-, σύγ-, ὑπό-κείμαι. In all these forms the infinitive κείσθαι retains the accent on the penult, contrary to rule 704.

992. *b.* Κείμαι supplies the passive of τίθημι (964<sup>b</sup>). Hence οἱ ἄρχοντες τιθείασιν νόμους—οἱ νόμοι κείνται. θέσθαι τὰ ὄπλα—τὰ ὄπλα κείται.

993. Though common in *P-B* compositions, κείμαι does not survive in *N*, either simple or compound. It is true that some recent scholars (GHatzidakis in *KZ* xiii 105-117) see a direct survival in its present *N* substitute κοίτομαι 'lie down,' and so write κείτομαι, but the arguments adduced fail to carry conviction. There is but little doubt that κοίτομαι is directly associated with κοίτη (still common in *N*) 'berth,' 'roost,' κοιτῶν 'bedchamber' (cp. παρά-κοιτις, παρα-κοίτης, παρά-κοιτος, *N* κοιτάζω and -σσω 'go to roost,' etc.).

### 994. 5. Ἰκάθημαι 'sit.'

	INDICATIVE			SUBJUNCTIVE			IMPERATIVE
Present	κάθη-μαι	κάθη-σαι <sup>[1]</sup>	κάθη-ται	κάθω-μαι	κάθη	κάθη-ται	κάθη-σο (& κάθου <sup>[2]</sup> καθῆ-σθω
	καθῆ-μεθα	καθῆ-σθε	κάθη-νται	καθῶ-μεθα	κάθη-σθε	κάθω-νται	κάθη-σθε καθῆ-σθωτ
Imperfect	{ ἐκάθη-μην οἱ καθῆ-μην	{ ἐκάθη-σο καθῆ-σο	{ ἐκάθη-το καθῆ-(σ)το	{ καθῆ-μην καθοί-μην	{ καθῆ-ο κάθοι-ο	{ καθῆ-το κάθοι-ο	<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px;"> <b>INFINITIVE</b> καθῆ-σθαι   <b>PARTICIPLE</b> καθῆ-μενος         </div>
	{ ἐκάθη-μεθα οἱ καθῆ-μεθα	{ ἐκάθη-σθε καθῆ-σθε	{ ἐκάθη-ντο καθῆ-ντο	etc.			

995. In *P-N* speech κάθημαι is naturally felt as simple and, like other similar verbs (936), has adopted the normal ending -ομαι, viz. κάθομαι.—fut. καθήσω or καθίσω (also κάτσω, from κάθισε καθ'σε 136, 2).—καθησόμενος or καθισόμενος 'seated,' & καθούμενος 'sitting.'

## IRREGULAR VERBS.

### I. ANOMALY IN THE CONJUGATION.

#### General Remarks.

996. *a.* The casual absence of a verbal form in *A* does not necessarily exclude its actual existence from that dialect; in a great many cases it is a mere matter of chance that it does not occur in that portion of *A* literature which has come down to us.

*b.* A great many, if not most, of the verbal forms marked here as *P* (post-classical) do actually occur also in pre-Attic or dialectal (chiefly Ionic) Greek, and thus are not *P* novelties but forms already current in previous literature, possibly also in *A* (cp. *a*).

*c.* In order to save room in the following list of irregular verbs—which does not profess to be exhaustive—the names of tenses and moods have been omitted whenever they seemed self-evident. Nevertheless, for the sake of absolute clearness, the following order has generally been followed, assuming that the respective verb exhibits a complete series of tenses: Present—Imperfect—Future—Aorist—Perfect—Pluperfect.

*d.* In *N* the imperfect and aorist are not marked as being regularly formed from the present and future respectively (693), as:

μαρῖνω 'wither' imprf. ἐμάρινα—fut. (θδ) μαρίνω, aor. ἐμάρινα.  
mid. & pass. μαρῖνομαι 'fade away,' imprf. ἐμαρίνουμι—fut. (θδ) μαρῶ, aor. ἐμαρήκα—pf. part. pass. μαρῖμενος.

[1] Antatt. 100, 32 κάθη ἀντὶ τοῦ κάθησαι. Τρεπίδης ὑπὲρ Κρατίου.

[2] Moeris 215 κάθησο Ἀττικῶς, κάθου κοινῶς. Antatt. 100, 31 κάθου Ἀλεξὶς Ταραντίου, Δίφιλος Εἰνόςχη.

e. For the formation of the future with or without θα see 686 and App. iv. 14.

f. In all the cases where no authority is given, the reader is referred once for all to WVeitch, or to Kühner-Blass ii. 334-577.

1. ἄγαμαι 'admire'—ἡγάμην—ἀγάσομαι—ἡγάσθην (974. 1004).

In P-B rare, its place being taken by θαυμάζω (937), now θαμάζω (179) or commoner θαμάζομαι (MD, 674).

2. ὀάγνυμι ὀκατάγνυμι & -νύω 'break'—κατάξω—κατέαξα—κατέαγα—'am broken,' (P -είαγμα)—κατεάγην (P -εάχθην).

Abnormal but hardly questionable G-B forms: κατεάξαντες, κατεαγῆ, κατεαγείς, ξεαγείσα, κατεάξει, found in Hippocr. (cp. also Pl. Gorg. 469 D κατεαγῆναι), Ap. Rh., Epict., Ael., NT (Mart. Petri 82, 25 & 32 κατεάξῃ, κατεάξαντα), etc. These forms again have led to a new G-B present κατεάσσω (Artem. 391; Athan. i. 732 A; 708 C), phonopathically contracted to κατάσσω (Cels. in Orib. i. 1497 B; Artem. 181; Mart. Petri 84, 1). (150, C.)

3. ἄγω 'lead'—ἤγον—ἄξω, subj. ἀγάγω—(P ἤξα) ἤγαγον, ἀγάγοιμι, ἀγαγών, ἀγαγών—ἤχα (P ἀγόχοα);—ἄξομαι (durat.), ἀχθήσομαι (effect.)—ἤγμαι.

[Phryn. 97 ἀγόχων εἰ τις εἴπω, ὅτι ἐν τῷ συνθέτῳ λυσίας κέχρηται, μὴ πάντων πεῖθεν. ἤχε μὲν γὰρ λέγουσι, καὶ Δημοσθένης ἤχασι λέγει, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀγνόχασι. Moeris 136 εἰσήχεν Ἀττικῶς, εἰσαγόχων Ἑλληνικῶς. Phryn. 252 ἵνα ἀξάσιν οὐ χρὴ λέγειν, ἀλλ' ἵνα ἀγάγωσιν. 328 ἀγαγον· καὶ τοῦτο εἰ μὲν τὴν μετοχὴν εἶχεν ὁ ἀγάγας ἐν λόγῳ ἂν τιμὴ ᾖν· λεκτέον οὖν ἀγαγε· καὶ γὰρ ἡ μετοχὴ ἀγαγών, ὡς ἀνελε ἀνελάν.]

In N replaced by φέρ(ν)ω, otherwise surviving in ἀγωμε (now δμε) and ἀγετε δ'ετε, 155, ἄντε 'go,' then in [ὕ]πά(γ)ω 'go'—fut. [ὕ]πά(γ)ω (from ὑπαγάγω) [cp. 126, whence a new present παγαίνω], aor. ἐπήγα, part. pf. πηγαμένος (from which another present πηγαίνω, often contracted to πηαίνω or πχαίνω 136) and παγαμένος,—then in (Crete) διά(γ)ω 'dwell.'

4. αἰρέω 'take'—ἤρουν—αἰρήσω—εἶλον—ἤρκα—Mid. αἰρούμαι 'choose'—ἤροῦμαι—αἰρήσομαι—εἰλόμην—ἤρημαι—Pass. αἰρεθήσομαι—ἤρέθην.

P-B forms: fut. ἐλῶ (ἐλω? 894; cp. αἶρω).—ἐλείται (Sext. 577, 21), ἐξ-ελοῦμενος (Polyb. 15, 22, 4), παρ-ελεῖσθαι (Diod. 18, 62), αἰρήσαι (Dion. H. i. 305, 6), ἀναιρήση (Plut. ii. 560 D).—aor. εἶλα—εἰλάμην (Polyb. 2, 61, 10 προεἶλαντο. 4, 51, 6 & 37, 1, 10 παρῆλαντο. 8, 14, 2 ἐπανεἶλαντο. 38, 4, 4 εἶλαντο. εἰλάμεθα Gr. Urk. Berlin 362 [†215], 6)—εἶληται for ἤρηται (Clem. A. i. 221 A).

[Phryn. 116 ἀφείλατο ὅσοι διὰ τοῦ λα λέγουσιν ἀσχημονοῦσι δέον διὰ τοῦ λα λέγειν, ἀφείλετο. καὶ ἀφειλόμην δεῖ λέγειν διὰ τοῦ ο, ἀλλὰ μὴ διὰ τοῦ α.]

5. αἶρω 'raise,' 'lift'—ἤρον—ἀρῶ (G-B ἄρω, cp. 894)—ἤρα—ἤράμην—ἀπ-ἤρκα.

In N preserved only in [ἐ]παίρων 'take away' (903)—πάρω—ἐπῆρα—παρ-μένος.

6. αἰσθάνομαι 'feel'—ἤσθανόμην—αἰσθήσομαι—ἤσθόμην—ἤσθημαι.

P-B forms: αἰσθανθήσομαι (also αἰσθηθήσομαι Sept. Esai. 53, 11)—ἤσθάνθην (also ἤσθῆθην Sept. Job 40, 18; Manich. 1433 B); αἰσθηθέντες (Vita Nil. Jun. 145 A-B); αἰσθανεῖς (αἰσθανθεῖς? Acta Xanth. 64, 35).—T-B pr. αἰσθομαι (App. iv. 3; Leont. Neap. V. I. 65, 1 ἤσθετο=ἤσθάνετο?).

N: ἤστάνομαι (132<sup>b</sup>. 176)—ἤστάνουμην—no more.

7. αἰσχύνω 'shame'—αἰσχυνῶ—ἤσχυνα.—Mid. αἰσχύνομαι—αἰσχυνούμαι (durat.), αἰσχυνθήσομαι (effect.).

P-B forms: ἤσχυνκα, ἤσχυμμαι.

8. Ἰακούω 'hear'—ἤκουον—ἀκούσομαι (998)—ἤκουσα—ἀκήκοα.—Pass. ἀκουσθήσομαι—ἠκούσθην.

P-B forms: fut. ἀκούσω—aor. ἤκουσάμην—pass. pl. ἤκουσμαι, plpf. ἠκούσμην. (ἀκήκοαν for ἀπηκούασιν Anast. Sin. 188 c.)

N: ἀκούω (ἀκούς for ἀκούεις 153), ἀκούει, ἀκούμε', ἀκούτε, ἀκούσι & ἀκούν for ἀκούουν 148 f.)—ἀκούσω—ἀκουσμένους.

9. ὁδίσκομαι 'am taken'—ἠλίσκόμην—ἀλώσομαι (ἀλῶ, ἀλῶς, ἀλῶ etc.)—ἑάλων (ἀλοίην, ἀλῶναι, ἀλούς)—ἑάλωκα & ἤλωκα 'am seized.'

10. ὄλλομαι 'leap'—ἠλλόμην—ἀλουμαι—ἠλάμην (ἠλόμην).

In P-N speech replaced by πηδάω (cp. 937).

11. ὁμαρτάνω 'miss'—ἠμίρτανον—ἠμαρτήσομαι—ἤμαρτον—ἠμάρτηκα.—Pass. ἠμαρτήθην—ἠμάρτηται—ἠμάρτητο.

P-B forms: ἠμαρτήσω—ἠμάρτησα.

In N preserved only in the Biblical expression ἤμαρτο θέ μου (i.e. ἤμαρτον θεέ μου 148) 'I have sinned.'

12. ἀναλίσκω & ἀναλῶ 'spend'—ἀνήλίσκον—ἀναλώσω—ἀνίλωσα—ἀνίλωκα.—Pass. ἀνηλούντο—ἀναλωθήσομαι—ἀνηλώθην.

13. ἀνοίγω see οἴζυνμι.

14. ὀν-ορθόω 'erect'—ἐπ-ηνόρθουν (745)—ἀνορθώσω—ἀνώρθωσα & ἐπ-ηνόρθωσα.—Pass. ἐπ-ηνωρθώθην—ἐπ-ηνώρθωμαι.

P forms: ἠνορθώκειν—ἐπ-ανωρθούμην (CALobbeck Phryn. 154).

N: see ὀρθόω.

15. (ἀντάω) συν-, ἀπ- 'meet'—ἀπ-αντήσομαι—συν-, συν-ἦντησα—ἀπ-ἦντηκα.

P forms: ἀπ-αντήσω.—Pass. ἀπ-, συν-αντῶμαι—συν-αντήσομαι—ἀπ-ἠντήθην—ἀπ-, συν-ἦντημαι.

N: ἀπαντῶ & -ήχνω—fut. -ήσω & ἔξω.

16. ἀντιόδομαι see ἐναντιόδομαι.

17. ἀρέσκειν 'please'—ἤρεσκον—ἀρέσω—ἤρεσα—(P ἀρήρεκα).—M ἀρίσκομαι—ἀρέσομαι.

N: ἀρέσσω & -έζω, -έσω—ἄρεσα.

18. ἱαρπάζω 'snatch,' 'seize'—ἤρπαζον—ἀρπάσομαι (& -άσω)—ἤρπασα—ἤρπακα.—Pass. ἀρπασθήσομαι—ἤρπασθην—ἤρπασμαι.

P-N forms: ἀρπάζω & ἀρπῶ (Sept. Lev. 19, 13 ἀρπᾶ. Hos. 5, 14 ἀρπῶμαι)—fut. ἀρπάξω, aor. ἤρπαξα.

N: ἀρπάζω & ἀρπῶ, fut. -άξω.

19. αὐξάνω & αὐξω 'increase'—ἠῤῥαυον & ἠῤῥον—αὐξήσω—ἠῤῥησα—ἠῤῥηκα. Pass. -ομαι—αὐξήσομαι (durat.), αὐξηθήσομαι (effect.)—ἠῤῥηθην—ἠῤῥημαι. [G aor. εὔξησεν CIA iv. 630 b [34 B. C.], 18.]

20. ἀφίημι see 955 ff. & 960.

21. ὀχθόμαι 'am vexed'—ἀχθέσομαι (durat.), ὀχθεσθήσομαι (effect.)—ἠχθέσθην—(P κατηχθημένος).

22. βαδίζω 'step,' 'stride'—εἰβάδιζον—βαδιοῦμαι.

P forms: βαδίσομαι, -ίσω & -ῶ—βεβάδικα.

23. \*βαίνω 'walk,' 'go'—ἀπο-, ἀνα-, δια-, παρα-, προ-, ἐκ-βήσομαι—ἀπ-, ἀν-, κατ-, συν-έβην—βέβηκα (βεβηκώς & βεβώς).—fut. -βήσω 'shall make go'—aor. -έβησα.

N: δια-, ἀνε-, κατε-βαίνω, also μ-παίνω (from ἐμ-βαίνω)—fut. -βῶ (imprt. -βάστε from -βιάσαστε)—aor. -έβηκα—pf. -βασμένος (cp. βιάζω).

24. ἱβάλλω 'throw'—βαλῶ—ἔβαλον—βέβληκα.—Mid. -βαλοῦμαι—ἐβαλόμην—βέβλημαι.

P-B forms : βληθήσομαι, βεβλήσομαι, active βάλλω (imprt. βάλλον Alchem. 322, 13 ff. five times, et passim ubi male βάλλον & βάλλον; 333, 27 ἐκβαλον (imprt.), etc. etc.).—Alchem. 311, 16 ἐκ-βάλας.

N: βάλλω, commoner βάνω (so even Alchem. 328, 19 & 332, 11 βάνε imprt.)—fut. βάλλω (imprt. βάλε)—έβαλα (Ant. Mon. 1516 c ἐκ-βάλαι for ἐκβαλεῖν from ἐξ-έβαλα)—βαλμένος (187<sup>b</sup>) & βαρμένος.

25. \*βιβάζω 'make go,' 'bring'—-βιβάσω & βιβῶ—-εἰβίβασα.—Mid. ἀνα-βιβάσομαι & ἀνα-βιβῶμαι—ἀν-εβιβασάμην.

P forms : ἀνα-βιβασθήσομαι—εἰβιβάσθην—βεβίβασται.

N: βια-, ἀνε-, κατε-βάζω, also βάζω, from ἐμ-βιβάζω (737)—fut. -βάσω (Leo Gram. 354, 22 ἀς καταβάσωμεν; imprt. -βάστε 136<sub>2</sub>; cp. βαίνω supra 23), also βάλλω (from ἐμ-βάλλω)—aor. -έβασα (also -έβαλα)—βασμένος.

26. (βίωω 'live' P)—βιώσομαι—εἰβίωσα & εἰβίω—βεβίωκα (pass. βεβιώται μοι). See ζάω infra 100.

P forms : βιώσω—ἀνα-βιωθεῖς.

27. ἱβλάπτω 'harm'—ἔβλαπτον—βλάβω—ἔβλαψα—βέβλαφα & ἔβλαφα.—Pass. βλαβήσομαι & βλάβομαι—εἰβλάβθην & εἰβλάβην—βέβλαμμαι & ἔβλαμμαι.

N: βλάβω (& βλάβω 875)—βλάβω—βλαμμένος.

28. βλαστάνω 'bud,' 'sprout'—εἰβλάστανον—ἔβλαστον—βεβλάστηκα.

P forms : βλαστῶ—βλαστήσω (trans.) & -ήσομαι (intr.).

29. ἱβλέπω 'see'—βλέψομαι—ἔβλεψα.

P forms : βλέψω—βέβλεφα.—Pass. βέβλεμμαι—προσ-εβλέφθην. Mid. περι-βλεψάμενος.

N: βλέπω (also γλέπω) 'see,' imprf. έβλεπα—the rest from ειδον; see infra 64.

30. \*βοάω 'shout'—εἰβόων—βοήσομαι—εἰβόησα.—Pass. βοῶμαι.

P forms : βοήσω—βεβόηκα—εἰβοήθην—βεβόημαι.

N: βοῶ & βοῶ—fut. βοήσω & βοήξω—aor. έβούξα & εἰβούξα from the inceptive βοῦζω or βοῦζω (868-71).

31. ἱβόσκω 'pasture'—βοσκήσω.—Mid. & Pass. βόσκομαι.

P forms : βοσκήσομαι & -ηθήσομαι—εἰβόκησα. Mid. έβοσκησάμην.

N: βόσκω—βοσκήσω.—Mid. βόσκομαι—βοσκηθῶ—βοσκημένος. Causative & inceptive βοσκίζω (868-71).

32. ἱβούλομαι 'wish' (βούλει [763], βούλεται, etc.)—εἰ- & ἡ-βουλόμεν (722)—βουλήσομαι—εἰ- & ἡ-βουλήσθην—βεβούλημαι.

P-B: βουληθήσομαι. [CWessely N. Zaub. p. 31, 342 & Alchem. 351, 24 ἐὰν βούλῃς after θέλῃς, cp. FTrinch. 16 [+1015] ὃν ἂν θέλῃς καὶ βούλῃς.]

N: βούλομαι—βουληθῶ.

33. ἱβρέχω 'wet' (P-N 'rain')—ἔβρεχον—βρέξω—ἔβρεξα—βέβρεχα.—Pass. έβρίχθην.

P έβράχην.—N βρέχω 'wet,' 'rain'—βρέξω—εἰβρέχηκα—βρε(γ)μένος.

34. \*γαμέω 'marry (said of the man)'—fut. γαμῶ—ἔγλημα—γεγάμηκα.—Mid. fut. γαμοῦμαι (892)—γεγάμημαι.

P-B forms : γαμήσω—ἐγάμησα.—Mid. (said of the wife) γαμήσομαι—ἐγγάμημην.—Pass. γαμηθήσομαι—ἐγαμήθην.

N : γαμῶ (= βινέω, *fuluo*)—γαμήσω—γαμημένος.

35. ἱγέλω 'laugh'—γέλασομαι—ἐγέλασα.—Pass. aor. ἐγέλασθην.

P-B forms : γελάσω—κατα-γελασθήσομαι—κατα-γεγέλασται.

N : γελῶ (also ἀνα-, κατα-, περι-)—γελάσω—γελασμένος.

36. γηράσκω (also γηράω) 'grow old'—γηράσομαι & -άσω—ἐγήρασα—γεγήρακα.

P-B forms : γηράσκομαι & -όμαι, also γηράω (as Clement. 20, 7 τοῦ γηρῶν-τος καὶ ἀποθανεῖν ἔχοντος)—ὑπερ-γηραθεῖς.

N : γερνάω (40. 906)—γεράσω—γερασμένος.

37. \*γίγνομαι 'become'—γενήσομαι (imprt. γενοῦ)—ἐγενόμην—γεγέννημαι & γέγονα.

P-B forms : γίνομαι—γενηθήσομαι—ἐγενήθην & ἐγενάμην, γενάμενος (dissociation from ἐγενόμην and γενόμενος, which were felt as imperfect and present respectively; cp. App. iv. 3).

N : γίνομαι (also γένομαι, see P-B) 'become'—γενῶ & γένω (so even in Acta Xanth. 62, 32 & 71, 37) also γ(ε)ίνω—ἐγ(ε)ίνηκα, ἐγ(ε)ίνα & ἐγενα [inf. καταγεῖναι Acta Xanth. 71, 37]—γ(ε)ινωμένος & γενωμένος, also γενάμενος & γεν(ν)ούμενος.

38. \*γινώσκω 'know'—γνώσομαι (subj. γνῶ, γνῶς, etc. 979; imprt. γνώθι)—ἐγνων (subj. γνωῖν; γνῶναι; γνούς)—ἐγνώκα. See 979.

P-B forms : γινώσκω—γνώσω—ἐγνώσα (subj. γνώην).

N : γνώθω (also γνῶνω)—γνώσω—γnowsμένος.

39. ἱγράφω 'write'—ἱγραφον—γράψω—ἱγραψα—γέγραφα.—Pass. γραφήσομαι; γεγράφομαι—ἐγράψην (P ἐγράφθην)—γέγραμμαι.

N γράφω—γράψω—γραμμένος. [B καταγεγραφεῖναι 1875.]

40. δάκνω 'bite'—δήξομαι—ἔδαικον.—Pass. δαχθήσομαι—ἐδήχθην—δέδηγμαι.

P-B forms : δαγκάνω—δήξω—ἔδηξα & pass. ἔδαικην (δαχθέντας Callin. 116, 21)—δεδηχώς.

N : δαγκάνω & δακάνω, 'bite'—δα(γ)κίσω—δα(γ)καμένος (also δα(γ)κασμένος).—By-form δαγκάνω and δακάνω (cp. 900) (so even in CLeemans 115 [II-III<sup>rd</sup> t], 28 δακόνοντα)—-ώσω, —-ωμένος.

41. °(δαρθάνω) κατα- 'sleep'—(no fut.)—aor. κατέδαρθον—κατα-δεδαρθηκώς.

42. δέδια & δέδοικα 'fear,' see 967, δ.

43. \*δέρω 'flay,' 'skin'—δερώ—ἔδειρα.—Pass. ἐδάρην—δεδάρθαι.

N : γδέρνω 'beat' (from ἐκ-δέρω, 135. 723. 903)—γδάρω—γδαρμένος—But δέρνω 'beat'—δείρω—δαρμένος.

44. ἱδέχομαι 'accept,' 'receive'—δέξομαι—ἐδέξαμην—δέδεγμαι.—Pass. -δεχθήσομαι, -δεχθεῖς.

N : δέχομαι—δεχτῶ (174)—δέχτηκα.

45. δέω 'bind' (834<sup>b</sup>. 844)—δήσω—ἔδησα—δέδεκα.—Mid. -δέομαι—-δήσομαι; -δεδήσομαι—-εδησάμην. Pass. δεθήσομαι—ἐδέθην—δέδεμαι—εδέμην.

N : δένω (so since T, as : Steph. Dia. 1092 D; πρὸς δέναν Acta Andr. et Matt. 3; ἐπι-δένω Const. Apost. 2, 20; Porph. Cer. 328, 21)—δέσω—δεμένος.

46. \*δέω 'want,' 'need' (cp. 835)—δέησω—ἐδέησα—δεδέηκα.—Impers. δέι (δέη, δειν, δέον)—έδει (subj. δέοι)—δέησει—ἐδέησε.—Pass. δέομαι 'need' (δέη or δέει, δέεται, etc.)—δέησομαι (P δεηθήσομαι)—ἐδέηθην—δεδέημαι.

47. \*δαιτώ 'arbitrate,' 'feed'—κατ-εδιῆτα—δαιτήσω—διήτησα—δεδιήτηκα.—Pass. δεδιήτημαι.—Mid. κατ-εδιτησάμην.—Mid. δαιτώμαι 'lead a life,' 'dwell'—διητώμην—δαιτήσομαι—διητήθην—δεδιήτημαι.

P forms : δεδαιτηκώς—Mid. δαιτώμαι 'lead a life' συν-διητάτο—ἐξ-ειρητήθην—διητημένος.

48. \*διακονίω 'serve'—ἐδιακόνουν—διακονήσω—δεδιακόνηκεν.—Pass. ἐδιακονήθην—δεδιακονήμαι.

P-B forms : διηκόνουν—διακονέσω (Gr. Urk. Berlin 261 [+II-III<sup>d</sup>] ἵνα διακονέσι ἰμῖν for -ήσῃ ἡμῖν 843<sup>b</sup>)—διηκονήσα.—Mid. διακονείτο—διακονήσομαι, δεδιακονήσομαι—διηκονησάμην & ἐδιακονησάμην—διηκονήθην.

N : διακονοῦμαι (854) & διακονίζομαι 'beg'—διακονιστῶ—διακονεμένος, -ισμένος.

49. \*διδάσκω 'teach'—διδάξω—ἐδίδαξα—δεδίδαχα.—Mid. διδάξομαι—ἐδιδάξάμην.—Pass. ἐδιδάχθην—δεδίδαγμα.

[In N extinct save in δάσκαλος (for ἡδάσκαλος 737) 'teacher,' δασκαλεύ(γ)ω 'teach' δασκάλεμα & δασκαλέμος 'teaching.']

50. \*(διδράσκω) ἀπο-, ἐκ-, δια-διδράσκω 'escape'—ἀπο-δράσομαι (subj. -δρῶ, -δράς, -δρᾶ, etc.)—ἀπ-, ἐξ-έδραν (-δραιν, -δρᾶναι, -δράς)—ἀπο-, δια-έδρακα. See 979.

P forms : -δράσω—-έδραν & -έδρασα (also simple : Pallad. 1041 B ἐδρασεν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου).

51. δίδωμι 'give,' for A see 955 ff.

P-B forms (cp. 961) : δίδω Rev. 3, 9 (ubi δίδω) ; Leont. Neap. V. J. 62, 23 ; 76, 15 ; V. S. 1725 A ; 1733 C. CGL 415, 74 reddo apodido i.e. ἀποδίδω. δίδεις Leont. Neap. V. S. (Vind.) 1733 A ; ἐνδίδεις Leont. Neap. V. J. 73, 15. δίδει Apophth. 280 c [ubi male δίδοι αὐτῷ πληγὰς καὶ ἀφίει αὐτὸν ἡμθανῇ] ; παραδίδει Leont. Neap. V. J. 80, 3 ; 11. δίδει ib. 23, 4 ; V. S. 1721 A ; ib. (Vind.) 1729 D. CGL 416, 2 reddidit apodidi i.e. ἀποδίδει. (διδόμεν for δίδομεν Orig. ii. 65 A. ἀντι-διδόμεν Theod. iv. 585 A ; cp. 776). ἀποδίδετε Acta Tho. 15, 15. δίδετε Leont. Neap. V. J. 41, 7. δίδωσιν for αἰδουσιν Acta Tho. 53, 31. ἐδίδουναι Leont. Neap. V. S. 1729 B. δίδης V. J. 77, 4 ; 9. ἐν-διδῶν (-δῶν) for ἐν-διδόη<sup>[1]</sup> Philo 382, 42 ; δίδοι from διδοίη Gr. Pap. Br. Mus. i. 57. διδῶτο (διδῶτο) for διδοίτο Orig. i. 1505 B ; δίδος (due to δός) for δίδου, JMoschos 3077 D. δίδειν (write δίδειν) Acta Tho. 36, 31. Leont. Neap. V. J. 62, 17 ; 72, 5 ; 77, 7 ; 14.—ἀπο-διδούν for -διδύν Rev. 22, 2. διαδιδύν (write διαδιδύν) Acta Tho. 15, 15 ; Leont. Neap. V. J. 61, 7. δίδων Leont. Neap. V. J. 49, 7.—ἐδίδει Leont. Neap. V. J. 70, 5 ; 77, 13. ἀπέδιδει Leont. Neap. V. J. 66, 9 (c).—δώσῃ for εἰς Eus. Alex. 361 B. δώσῃ (-σει) Rev. 8, 3 ; Philo i. 182, 13 ; παραδῶσῃ (-σει, Sept. Ex. 13, 11 ; Deut. 13, 17 (18) ; Luke 12, 58 ; δῶν for δῶ Sept. Gen. 28, 20 ; Ps. 120 (121), 3. John 15, 16 ; Eph. 3, 16.] δώσωμεν Mark 6, 37 ; ἀπο-δώσοι Hermas Mand. 3, 2. ἐκδώσῃ Acta Tho. 88, 21 ; Leont. Neap. V. S. 1680 C. παραδώσωσιν Acta Tho. 42, 5. ἐνδώσωσι Acta Tho. 88, 29. παραδώσατε Dion. H. ii. 117, 9, 8.—έδωσα for έδωκα Apoll. D. Synt. 276, 1 ; δῶν ? Luc. Paras. 836 ; Cyn. 546 ; δῶν (δῶν) Pap. Petrettini p. 1. δοί from δοίη (148) Revue Arch. ix (1887), 201 ; Sept. Ps. 41, 3 ; 2 S. 3, 39.

[<sup>1</sup>] Phryg. 325 διδῶν καὶ διδῶνς· τοῦτου τὸ εὐκτικὸν οὐδεὶς τῶν Ἀττικῶν εἶπε διὰ τοῦ ὡ ἄλλὰ διὰ τῆς οἱ διφθόγγου. τεκμηριοὶ δὲ Ὅμηρος· ἐν μὲν ὑποτακτικῷ χρῆται διὰ τοῦ ὡ λέγων· εἰ δὲ κεν αὐτοὶ | δῶν κῦδος ἀρέσθαι, ἔστι δὲ ἐάν σοι δῶ ὁ θεός· εἰ δὲ εὐκτικῶς, οὕτως· 'σοὶ δὲ θεοὶ τόσα δοῖεν ὅσα φρεσὶ σῆς μενουῖς.' ἐθαύμασα οὖν Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Σύρου σοφιστοῦ, δῶν καὶ διδῶν λέγοντος ἐπὶ τοῦ εὐκτικοῦ.

So παρα-δοῖ (i.e. παραδοίη, if not -δῆ) Sept. 1 Macc. 11, 40; Mark 4, 29 (see above δῶ for δῶ); δώσει Sibyll. 5, 221; ἀπο-δώσαν Orig. i. 1429 B. δῶμεν, δῶντε Moeris 108 δόημεν, δόητε Ἀττικῶς, δῶμεν, δῶντε Ἑλληνικῶς.— παρα-δῶσαντα Hippol. 829 B. δῶσας Vita Epiph. 52 D; 92 B. Leont. Neap. V. J. 67, 8. Mal. 26, 4 (ubi male δῶσας); ἐπιδῶσαντος Leont. Neap. V. J. 24, 2; ἐπιδῶσαν ib. 22, 6. ἀπο-δῶσαντες JMoschos 3064 c; Andr. Cr. 1221 B; Leo Gram. 361, 8 (ubi male παραδῶσαντες).—ἐξ-ἔδετο Matt. 21, 33; Mark 12, 1.—Cp. δέδωκαν for δεδῶκασιν [Callisth.] 126, p. 27 (c); Leont. Neap. V. J. 21, 12. (786.)

N: δίδω (δίδεις, δίδει, etc.), also δίνω (sometimes δύνω i.e. dono [853<sup>b</sup>] & Cretan [from do x δίδω: \*δοδω] δούδω)—δώσω (sometimes δῶκα, due to)—ἔδωκα, also ἔδωσα.—Pass. δοθῶ—ἐδόθηκα—δοσμένος (dissociated from δομένος i. e. ἰδομένος).—

52. δοκέω 'believe,' 'think'—δύξω (δοκήσω)—ἔδοξα (ἐδόκησα)—δεδοκῆκε.—Pass. ἐδοκήθην—δέδογμαι (δεδόκημαι).

N: (Cretan) διώχνει (διώχνει) μου = δοκεῖ μοι—διόξει μου—ἔδιοξε μου.

53. \*δράω 'do'—δράσω—ἔδρασα—δέδρακα.—Pass. ἐδράσθην—δέδραμαι (P δεδρασμένος).

54. \*δύναμαι 'can,' 'am able' (δύνασαι, also δύνῃ; δύναται, etc.; δύνωμαι, δύνῃ, etc., δύνασθαι, δυνάμενος)—εδυνάμην & ἡδυνάμην (722) (subj. δυνάμην)—δυνήσομαι—εδυνήθην—δεδύνημαι.

P-B forms: δύνομαι Louvre Pap. 39 (161 B.C.) 10; so too Gr. Pap. Br. Mus. p. 36 (160-159 B.C.), 22: whence frequently δύνῃ, as: Gr. Urk. Berlin 246 (†II-III<sup>rd</sup>), 10; Acta Tho. 14, 3 πότε δύνῃ; δυνόμεθα Sept. Jes. 28, 2.—ἡδύνοντο Jes. 59, 14; ἔδυνετο 4 Macc. 2, 20 (cp. 774).—δυνήσομαι—εδυνήσομαι, ἔδυνασθην. (774.)

[Phryn. 337 δύνῃ. ἰδὲ μὲν τοῦτο ὑποτακτικὸν ᾧ, ἐὰν δύνωμαι, ἐὰν δύνῃ, ὁρθῶς λέγεται. ἐὰν δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς τῆς δύνῃ τοῦτο πράξει, οὐχ ὑγιᾶν τιθεῖται. Χρὴ γὰρ λέγειν δύναι τοῦτο πράξει.]

N: δύνομαι & inceptive δυνάσσομαι (869)—δυνῶ & δυναστῶ.

55. δύνω 'dive,' 'plunge'—δύσω—ἔδυσσα (trans.).—Mid. δύομαι 'sink'—δύσομαι (δύω, -ης, -η, etc. διθι)—ἔδυν (979); δύναι; δύς, δύν, δύσα—δέδυνκα.—Pass. -δυθήσομαι—ἐδίθην—δέδυμαι.—See 979 & cp. 997, 2.

P forms: δύνω 'set' (intr.)—ἔδυσσα, also ἔδυνα—παρεσ-εδύσαν.

N: ντύνω (i.e. ἐν-δύνω 135 & 723) 'clothe'—ντύσω—ντυμένος.—So γδύνω (i.e. ἐκδύνω) 'undress.'

56. \*ἔλω 'leave,' 'permit,' 'let'—εἴω—ἔἴσω—ἔἴασα—ἔἴακα.—Pass. ἔἴασμαι—εἰάθην—εἰώμαι.

N preserves only: ἔσσε (i.e. ἔασε 150, c. 949) 'let' and ἄσσετε (i.e. ἔασετε) often contracted to ἔσσε (136, 2) 'let,' then the adverbial singular ἄς (i.e. ἔασε 949, 1916 f.).

57. ἱγγυῶ 'pledge'—ἱγγύα—ἱγγύησα (also ἐνεγγύησα)—ἱγγύηκα—ἱγγύηκει.—Mid. ἐγγυώμαι 'pledge myself'—ἱγγυώμην (also ἐνεγγυώμην)—ἐγγυήσομαι—ἐγγυήσομαι (also ἐνεγγυήσομαι)—ἱγγύημαι (ἐγγεγγύημαι)—ἱγγύημην (ἐγγεγγύημην).—Pass. κατ-, ἐξ-ἱγγυήθην.

N: ἱγγυῶμαι (850 ff.) 'pledge myself'—ἱγγυ(η)θῶ—ἱγγυ(η)μένος. (148 f.)

58. ἐγείρω 'awaken,' 'rouse,' 'erect'—ἡγείρον—ἡγερῶ—ἡγείρα.—Mid. ἡγρόμην (136, 1) 'awoke'—ἐγρήγορα 'am awake'—ἐγρηγόρειν & -ρη.—Pass. ἡγέρθην (997, 4).

P-B forms: ἐγείρεκα—ἐγγείρεκα.—Pass. ἐγερθήσομαι—ἐγγείρεμαι.

From ἐγρήγορα P has abstracted an adj. ἐγρήγορος (whence N γλήγορος 'swift' 134, 126) and thence ἐγρηγόρειν (even in Arist.), then γρηγορίω Sept., NT, etc.

N: γέβρω (for \*ἐγέβρω 903) 'bend,' 'stoop'—γείρω—γεμμένος.

IRREGULAR VERBS : ἐγκωμιάζω—εἶρομαι. [996<sub>80</sub>—71]

59. \*ἐγκωμιάζω 'praise'—ἐνεκωμιάζον—ἐγκωμιάσσομαι & -άσω—ἐνεκωμιάσα—ἐγκεκωμιάσα.—Pass. ἐγκεκωμιάσμαι.

60. \*ἕζομαι καθ-έζομαι 'sit'—ἐκαθεζόμεν—καθεδοῦμαι (cp. ἕζω infra 114).

P forms : καθεσθήσομαι (Sept. Lev. 12, 5 ; Just. Apol. 1, 35) — ἐκαθέσθην (Luc. ii. 349).—For N see ἕζω (infra 114).

[Phryg. 236 ἐκαθέσθη, καθεσθείς, καθεσθήσομαι, καὶ τὰ πληθυντικὰ καθεσθίσονται ἐκφυλά· λέγε οὖν καθέζομαι, καθεδοῦμαι, καθεδοῦνται, καθεδούμενος.]

61. \*θέλω & (in CIA since 250 B.C.) ἱθέλω 'wish,' 'want'—ἤθελον—(ἐ)θέλῃσω—ἡθέλησα—ἡθέληκα—ἡθέληκειν.

P-B forms : θεληθήτε (Ignat. ad Tral. 8, 1)—τεθέληκα—ετεθέληκεσαν (Dio C. 24, 26)—τεθέλημεθα (Greg. Naz. ii. 80 B).

[Phryg. 307 τεθέληκέναι· Ἀλεξανδρεωτικὸν τοῦνομα. διδ' ἀφετέον Ἀλεξανδρεῦσιν καὶ Αἰγυπτίοις αὐτό, ἡμῖν δὲ βηγέον ἡβηληκέναι. So too Tho. M. 172.]

N : θέλω (θέλεις & θές, θέλει & θέ, θέ(λε)με\*, θέ(λε)τε, θέ(λου)νε & θέν ; 863)—ἤθελα—θέλησω—ἡθέλησα.

62. \*ἐθίζω 'accustom'—εἰθίζον—εἰθῶ (888)—εἰθισα—εἰθικα.—P εἰθίσθην—εἰθισμαι—εἰθίσμην. (Cp. ἔθω.)

G-B : συνηθίζω—-ίσω—-ισα—-ικα [σεσυνήθικα Justinian Cod. I, 17, 3 ; Clim. 697 A ; 900 D ; 1095 D.]

N : συνηθίζω—συνηθίσω—εἰσυνήθισα—συνηθισμένος.

63. \*ἔωθω 'am wont'—εἰώθειν.

64. (ΕΙΔΩ) εἶδον 'saw' (ἴδοιμι, ἰδεῖν, ἰδών ; fut. subj. ἴδω, ἴδῃς, etc. ; imprt. ἴδε 912).—οἶδα 'know' (969)—ἥδειν—εἴσομαι. (Cp. ὁράω infra 186.)

For P forms cp. 969 ff.

N : εἶδα (not ἴδα 717 [1])—ἰδῶ (also διῶ)—ἴδωμένος (also διωμένος 915).

65. εἰκάζω 'compare,' 'assume'—ἥκαζον & εἵκαζον—εἰκάσω—ἥκασα.—Pass. εἰκασθήσομαι—ἡκασθην (εἰκάσθην)—ἥκασμαι (εἵκασμαι).

P form : εἵκακα.

N : ξεικάζω (i.e. ξειεικάζω 135 & 723) 'conjecture,' 'understand'—ξεικάσω—ξεικασμένος.

66. \*εἵκω 'give in,' 'retreat'—εἰκον—εἰζω—εἰζα, also εἵκαθον.

67. \*ΕΙΚΩ) εἴοικα 'resemble' (εἰόικω, εἰοικέναι, εἰοικώς, also εἰκώς, εἰκός, εἰκνία (cp. 723), but εἰκός 'fitting,' 'fair')—ἥκειν—εἰζω.

67<sup>b</sup>. \*εἰμί 'am,' see 981 ff.

68. εἰμι 'shall go,' see 988 ff.

69. εἰπείν 'to say,' see ΕΠΩ (infra 86).

70. \*εἶργω & εἶργνυμι (also εἶργνύω) 'push,' 'hinder'—εἶρξω—εἶρξα.—Pass. εἶρχθην—εἶργμαι.

[Some write εἶργ- in the sense of 'shut in,' 'lock up,' and εἶργ- 'shut out,' 'exclude.' Cp. Eust. 1387, 3 τὸ εἶργω ἐπὶ μὲν τοῦ καλῶς ἐψίλουν, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ ἐγκλείω ἐδάσνον.]

71. \*ἔιρομαι 'ask'—fut. ἐρήσομαι—ἡρόμην.

In P-N replaced by the A ἐρωτάω.



996<sub>71-82</sub>] IRREGULAR VERBS: εἶρω—ἐνοχλέω.

72. °(εἶρω 'say')—fut. ἐρῶ—εἶρηκα.—Pass. ῥηθήσομαι, fut. pf. εἰρήσομαι—εἰρήθην—εἶρημαι.

P forms: ἐρέω<sup>[1]</sup> (also ἐράω [852], as: Prisc. 174, 1 ἦκον ἀνερῶντες. 187, 1 ἐστάλησαν ἐρώμετες), ἐρρήθην.

In P-N replaced by λέγω, εἶπον (εἶπα). See ΕΠΩ (infra 86).

73. εἴωθα see εἶω (supra 63).

74. °ἐκκλησιάζω 'hold a meeting,' 'convene'—ἐξ-ἐκκλησιάζον & ἡκκλη-σίαζον—ἐκκλησιάζω—ἐξ-ἐκκλησίασα & ἡκκλ-. (Cp. 746.)

In P-B also passive: 'convene,' 'am read in church,' and Mid. 'go to church.'

N: κλησιάζομαι (732) 'go to church'—κλησιαστώ.

75. °ἐλαύνω 'drive'—ἤλαυνον—ἐλῶ (ἐλᾶς, etc.; cp. 889)—ἤλασα—ἐλήλακα.—Mid. ἤλασάμην.—Pass. ἤλαβην—ἐλήλαμαι—ἤληλάμην.

P-B forms: ἐλάω (pres.), (cp. εἶρω supra 72)—ἤλάσμην—ἐλα(σ)θήσομαι—ἐλήλασμαι.

In N extinct, unless ἐλα & ἐλάστε (infra 90) 'come' be a relic of it (914).

76. °ἐλίσσω or -ττω, also εἰλ-, 'roll'—ἐλίξω—εἰλίξα.—Also Mid.—Pass. ἐλίχθην—ἐλίγμαι—εἰλικτο.

P forms: ἐξ-ἐλιχθήσομαι & ἐλιγήσομαι.

In N replaced by τυλίσσω, -ζω (880; also -γω)—τυλίξω—τυλι(γ)μένος (179).

77. °ἔλκω 'draw'—ἐλκον (719)—ἐλξω—ἐλκυσσα—καθ-ἐλκυκα.—Mid. ἐλκυσάμην.—Pass. ἐλκυσθήσομαι—ἐλκύσθην—ἐλκυσμαι.

P forms: ἐλκύω—ἐλκύσω—ἐλξα.—Mid. ἐλκυσόμενος.

78. °ἐμέω 'vomit'—ἐμούμαι—ἤμεσα—ἐμήμεκα.

P-B forms: ἡμέθην—ἐμεθήσεται—ἐμήμεσμαι.

In N replaced by ξερνάω (i.e. ἐξ-εράω 135 & 723. 906)—ξεράσω—ξερασμένος.

79. ἐναντιόδομαι 'oppose'—ἐναντιώσομαι (pass.)—ἤναντιώθην—ἤναν-τίωμαι.

B forms: ἐναντιότο (Mal. 168, 11; cp. 717).

N: ἀναντιώνομαι (from ἀνάντια i.e. ἐναντία by assimilation)—ἀναντιωθῶ.

80. \*ἐνθυμέομαι 'think upon'—ἐνεθυμούμην—ἐνθυμήσομαι (durat.), ἐνθυμηθήσομαι (effect.)—ἐνεθυμήθην—ἐντεθύμημαι—ἐνετεθύμητο.—So too προθυμέομαι 'am eager'—προθυμούμην—προθυμήσομαι, also προθυμηθή-σομαι—προθυμήθην.

N: θυμούμαι (i.e. ἐ]νθυμούμαι, ν]θυμούμαι or ἐ[ν]θυμούμαι [194], θυμούμαι 135 & 723)—θυμηθῶ (θυμισμένος from θυμίζω i.e. ἐνθυμίζω 'remind').

81. °(ἐν-νυμι), ἀμφι-έννυμι—ἀμφιῶ—ἡμφίεσα.—Mid. ἀμφιέννυμαι—ἀμφιέσομαι—ἡμφίεσμαι.

P forms: ἀμφιεννύω—ἀμφισθεῖς. Also ἀμφίξω and commoner ἀμφιάω regular (937).

82. °ἐνοχλέω 'trouble'—ἠνώχλουν & ἐνώχλουν (745)—ἠνώχλησα.

[1] Even Atticists misuse the form ἐρέω for the present, as: Dio Chrys. i. 174, 3 οὐδὲ ἐδύνατο εἶρεῖν; ii. 118, 13 μέλλων νῦν εἶρεῖν ἢ γράφειν. Luc. de Dom. 300 τίς μηχανῇ μὴ οὐχὶ πάντως ἐλαττον εἶρεῖν αὐτόν; Aristid. xlvī. p. 217, 268 εἶρεῖν εἶδει. Philost. Vit. Ap. 175, 13 (Keyser) αὐτὸ τὸ μὴ περὶ ἀληθινῶν εἶρεῖν ἀληθεύει. Schol. Luc. Jacobits iv. 230 in p. 253, 11 ἢ ἀληθέστερον εἶρεῖν. Cp. WSchmid i. 96 & ii. 51, where the above examples are mistaken for future infinitives.

83. \*ἔξ-ετάζω 'examine'—ἐξήταζον—ἐξετάσω (& ἐξετῶ 889)—ἐξήτασα—ἐξήτακα.—Pass. ἐξητάσθην—ἐξήτασμαι.

P-B forms : ἐτάζω—ήτασα (ἐξήταξα).

N : ξετάζω (723)—ξετάξω—ξετασμένος.

84. \*ἐπιορκέω 'swear falsely'—ἐπιορκήσω—ἐπιώρκησα—ἐπιώρκηκα (744).

85. \*ἐπίσταμαι 'understand,' 'know' (ἐπίστασαι, ἐπίσταται, etc. ἐπίστωμαι, ἐπίστη, ἐπίωται, etc. ἐπίστασο & ἐπίστω)—ἐπιστάμην (ἐπίστασο & ἐπίστω)—ἐπιστήσομαι—ἐπιστήθην.

86. ΕΠΩ—aor. ἔπων, also εἶπα 'said' εἶπες & εἶπας εἶπε'; εἵπομε, etc., also εἵπαιμεν, εἵπαιεν; εἵπειν, εἵπών (fut. subj. εἵπω, εἵπης, etc.; imprt. εἶπέ, εἶπάτω, εἵπατε, εἵπόντων).—The rest is borrowed from the verbs φημί, εἶρω, ἀγορεύω, λέγω.

P-B forms : εἶπα, εἶπας, εἶπε, εἵπαμεν, εἵπατε, εἵπαν; Part. εἵπας, -αντος, εἵπασα; Fut. imprt. εἵπον, εἵπάτω, etc., εἵπάτωσαν.

N : εἶπα, εἶπες, εἶπε', εἵπαμε', εἵπετε, εἵπαν' (dialectal by-form εἶπηκαν, due to ἐποίησαν i. e. πεποίηκαν?) & εἵπασι' (so Nicet. Byz. 772 A).—Fut. subj. εἵ|πῶ, -ῆς, ῆ, etc. (915). εἵ|πέ', εἵ|πέτε.—Pass. πω(η)θῶ (πο-)—πω(η)μένος (or πο(η)-μένος). See also λέγω infra 151, 2.

87. \*ἵπωμαι 'follow'—εἰπόμεν—ἔψομαι—ἐσόμεν.

88. \*ἐργάζομαι 'work'—ἡργαζόμεν (719)—ἐργάσομαι—ἡργασάμην—ἐργασμαι, ἡργασμένος (CIAiv. 477 frg. b 8. 477 d 12).—Pass. ἐργασθήσομαι—ἡργασθην.

P-B forms : ἐργᾶ & ἐργᾶται for ἐργάσῃ & ἐργάσεται (Sept.).

N : ἐργάζομαι & ἀργάζομαι—στῶ—σμένος.

88<sup>b</sup>. ἐρίσθαι see εἶρομαι (supra 71).

89. \*ἔρρω 'clear out'—ἐρρήσω—ἡρρησα—εἰς-ἡρρηκα.

90. ἵρχομαι 'go,' 'come'—ἡρχόμεν—(fut. εἶμι [989], ἦξα, ἀφίξομαι, P ἐλεύσομαι, imprt. ἐλθέ 912)—ἦλθον (ἔλθοιμι, ἐλθείν, ἐλθών)—ἐλήλυθα—ἐληλύθει.

G-B forms : δεῦρο for ἐλθέ (Antatt. 88, 19 δεῦρο ἀντὶ τοῦ ἔρχον Πλάτων Πολιτείας τρίτῃ), and δεῦτε for ἐλθετε.

N ἔρχομαι—(ἐλθῶ) ἔρθω (ἐλα for ἐλθέ 914, ἐλάστε & ἐλάτε)—ἦρθα—ἄρχομένος (for ἔρχ-). See supra 75.

91. \*ἔσθω 'eat'—ἥσθιον—ἔδομαι—ἔφαγον—ἐδήδοκα.—Pass. ἠδέσθην—κατεδήδεσμαι.

P forms : ἔσθω—φάγομαι (due to ἄδομαι [114], also φαγοῦμαι), φάγεσαι, etc. [Phryg. 301 φάγομαι βάρβαρον' λέγει οὖν ἔδομαι καὶ κατέδομαι· τοῦτο γὰρ Ἀττικόν. 302 βρώσομαι, κακῶς δ' φαβαρίνος' οἱ γὰρ Ἀττικοὶ ἀντ' αὐτοῦ ἔδομαι χρῶνται καὶ κατέδομαι.]

Since G replaced by τρώγω which see (infra 281).

92. ἑστήκω see ἵστημι 955, 962, 965 & 966.

93. \*ἑστίαω 'treat,' 'regale'—ἐσιτίων (719)—ἐσιτιάσω—ἐσιτίασα (ἡσιτίασεν CIA iv. 630 b 26)—ἐσιτίακα.—Pass. ἐσιτώμαι—ἐσιτώμην—ἐσιτιάσομαι (durat.) P, ἐσιταθίσουμι (effect.)—ἐσιτιάσθην—ἐσιτίαμαι.

94. ἐτάξω see ἐξ-ετάζω (supra 83).

95. \*εὔδω καθ-εὔδω 'sleep'—(καθ-εὔδον) καθ-ἡὔδον & ἐκάθενδον (746)—καθευδήσω—(P καθεὔδηκα).

In P-N speech replaced by κοιμῶμαι (i. e. κοιμῶμαι 850 ff.).

96. \*εὐρίσκω 'find'—εὐρήσω (imprt. εὔρε, 912 ff.)—ἡύρον & εὐρον—ἡύρηκα & εὐρηκα—εὐρήκειν & ἡύρηκεν.—Mid. ἡύρισκόμην—εὐρήσομαι—ἡύρόμην & εὐρόμην—εὐρήμαι (Mid. & Pass.).—Pass. εὐρεθήσομαι—εὐρέθην.—

P-B forms: ἡύρισκον—εὔρα & εὐρησα—εὐράμην—ἡύρηκα (Babr. 22)—ἡύρέθη (Gr. Pap. Br. Mus. 112, 864; Alchem. 348, 6).

[Phryg. 115 εὔρασθαι οὐκ ἐρεῖς προπαροξυτόνως διὰ τοῦ α, ἀλλὰ παροξυτόνως διὰ τοῦ ε, εὐρέσθαι.]

N: βρίσκω (i.e. εἰρίσκω, 135 & 723), also βρίχνω and (Cretan) βρίστω, 'find'—ἡύρισκα & εὐρίσκα—βρῶ (i.e. εἰρῶ—ἡύρα, ἡύρηκα & εὐρηκα—βρωμένος (= εὐρημένος from εἰρῶ, 915).—By-form ἡέξω (from fut. ἐξέω (132<sup>b</sup>), also ξέρα, 'know'—ἡξε(ν)ρα—no more.

97. \*εὐχομαι 'pray'—εὐξομαι—ἡξάμην & εὐξάμην—ἡύγμαι—ἡύγμην.—(P εὐχθεῖσα pass.).

N: εὐκοῦμαι (due to καταροῦμαι i.e. καταρῶμαι)—εὐκηστῶ—εὐκστήκα.

98. 1. ἔχω 'have'—εἶχον (719)—έξω & σχήσω (imprt. σχές)—έσχον (σχοίην, σχεῖν, σχών)—έσχηκα.—Mid. & Pass. έχομαι—είχόμην—έξομαι & σχήσομαι (durat.), σκηθήσομαι (effect.)—έσχόμην—έσχημαι.

P-B forms: έσχσαν for εἶχον (791; A. P. 5, 209), έσχσαν for έσχον (Scymn. 695), έσχησα.

N: έχω—είχα, no more.

2. ἀμπεύχω 'surround', 'cover'—ἀμψέξω—ἡμπίεσχον.—Mid. ἀμπεύχομαι 'have on'—ἡμπεύχόμην—ἀμφέξομαι—ἡμπεσχόμην.—Also ἀμπίσχω & Mid. ἀμπίσχομαι—ἡμπίσχετο.

3. ἀνέχω 'keep up'—ἀνείχον—ἀνέξω & ἀνασχέσω—ἀνέσχον—ἀνέσχηκα).—Mid. ἀνέχομαι 'hold out'—ἡνεύχόμην—ἀνέξομαι & ἀνασχέσομαι—ἡνεύχόμην.

4. ὑπισχνέομαι 'promise'—ὑπισχνούμην—ὑποσχέσομαι—ὑπεσχόμην—ὑπέσχημαι—ὑπέσχημην.

N: ὑπόσκομαι (App. iv. 3) & ὑποσκεύ(γ)ομαι—ὑποσκεπτόμαι—ποσκεμένος.

99. ἔψω 'cook'—ἔψον—έψήσω—ἔψησα.—Mid. έψησομαι.

P-B forms: έψέω and έψάω (from έψησω)—ἔψουν—έψηκα.—Pass. έψηθείς—ἔψημένος.

N: ψήνω (723, ψένω or ψαίνω 902)—ψήσω—ψημένος (from which the present ψήνω, 853).

100. ἱ(ξάω) ζῶ 'live' (ζῆς, ζῆ, etc. [829] subj. ζῶ, ζῆς, ζῆ, etc.; imprt. ζῆ & ζῆθι, ζῆτω, etc. ζῆν, ζῶν)—έζων (έζην, έζη, etc.; subj. ζῶν, ζῶης, etc.)—ζήσω & ζήσομαι (commoner βιώσομαι supra 26)—(έζησα) έβίω.

P-B forms: aor. έζησα—pf. έζηκα (ζέζηκα JACramer iii. 256, 6). (738.)

N: ζῶ 'live' (ζῆς, ζῆ, etc.)—ζήσω.—By-form: ζῆω (857), ζῆς, ζῆ, ζηοῦμε—έζηουν<sup>α</sup>, έζηες, etc.

101. \*ζεύγνυμι & νύω 'yoke'—ζεύξω—έξευξα.—Mid. & Pass. ζεύγνυμαι—έζευγνύμην—ζεύξομαι—έξευξάμην; Pass. έξεύχθην & έζύγην—έζευγμαι.

P-B forms: ζευγίξω—δια-ζευχθήσεται.

N: ζεύγω (so even Nomoc. 412 [instead of ζεύγων 775]) & ζέφνω (i.e. ζεύ(γ)νω)—ζέψω—ζεμένος.

102. \*ζώννυμι 'gird'—έζωσα.—Mid. ζώννυμαι—έζωσάμην—έζωμαι.

P-B forms: ζώσομαι.—Pass. έζώσθην—έζωσμαι.

N: ζών(ν)ω (so since T, as Apophth. 276 D ζώνουσι)—ζώσω—ζωσμένος. (775.)

103. \*ἥδομαι 'rejoice'—ἡσθήσομαι—ἡσθην.

104. ἤκω 'am come'—ἤξω.

P-B forms: ἤκω as present: 'come'—aor. ἤξα—pf. ἤκα.

105. ἤμαι see κάθημαι 994.

106. ἤμι 'say,' see 978.

107. ἡττάομαι (ἡσ-) 'am worsted'—ἡττώμην—ἡττήσομαι (durat.), ἡττηθήσομαι (effect.)—ἡττήθην—ἡττημαι.

P-B forms: ἡττάω (= νικάω) 'conquer'—ἡττήσω—ἡττησα—ἡττηκα.—Pass. ἡσδόμαι (from ἡσων 504, 2).

108. ἱθάπτω 'bury'—θάψω—ἐθαψα.—Pass. ταφήσομαι; τεθάψομαι—ἐτάφην (ἐθάφθην)—τέθαμμαι.

P-B forms: pf. τετάφατε, τετάφθαι.

N: θάφτω (174) 'bury'—θάψω—θαμμένος.

109. \*θανυμάξω 'admire,' 'wonder'—θανυμάσομαι—ἐθαύμασα—τεθαύμακα.—Pass. regular.

P-B forms: fut. θανυμάσω. Also Mid. θανυμάζομαι—θανυμασθήσομαι—ἐθαυμασάμην & ἐθαυμάσθην (NT Rev. 13, 3).

N: θαυμάζομαι (179) 'admire'—θαυμαστῶ.

110. ἱθέλω see ἐθέλω.

111. ὀρέω 'run,' 'race'—ἔθεον—θεύσομαι.—The rest from τρέχω & δραμεῖν (see infra 278).

P-B forms: ἔθειε for ἔθει (835).—fut. θεύσω.

112. \*(θνήσκω or θνήσκω) ἀπο-θνήσκω 'die'—ἀπο-θανοῦμαι, τεθνήξω—ἀπέθανον—τέθνηκα, as, ε, etc. See 967, a.

P forms: fut. θνήξομαι, τεθνήξομαι—ἐθανον.

N: ἀποθαίνω (900) & northern N πεθαίνω 'die'—ἀποθάνω & πεθάνω—ἀπόθανα & ἐπέθανα—ἀποθαμμένος & πεθαμμένος.

113. ὄνυ 'sacrifice,' regular, but aor. pass. ἐτύθην (182, c), P ἐθύθην (Melito 1216 A; Aster. 436 B).

114. ἵω & ἱκαθ-ίζω 'sit'—ἐκάθισον—καθιῶ (888)—καθισα & ἐκάθισα (746)—Mid. ἱζομαι & καθ-ίζομαι—ἱζόμεν & ἐκαθιζόμεν—καθιζήσομαι—ἐκαθισάμην (trans.)—pf. κάθημαι, which see in 994.

P-B forms: καθίσω & καθιζήσω—καθίξω—κεκάθικα.—Mid. fut. καθίσομαι and καθιούμαι—aor. ἐκαθεζόμεν. (See also ἱζομαι.)

[Moeris 195 καθεδεῖ Ἀττικῶς, καθίσεις Ἑλληνικῶς.]

N: καθίω 'sit'—καθίσω, imprt. κάτσε (Prodr. 3, 431) i. e. καθ'σε (136, 995), (ἐκατσα Prodr. 1, 131; ἐκατсен 1, 199; κάτσωμεν 1, 243, and so on ever since)—καθισμένος.

115. ἵημι see 957.

116. ὀ(τ)ω ἀφ-ικνεομαι 'arrive'—ἀφίξομαι—ἀφικόμεν—ἀφίγμαι, -ξαι, -κται.—So καθ-, ἐφ-.

117. ἱλάσκομαι 'propitiate'—ἐξ-ιλασάμην—Pass. ἐξίλασθην.—Also ἱλέομαι.

P-B forms: ἱλάσομαι & ἐξ-ιλάσω—ιλασάμην—Pass. ἐξίλασθήσομαι—ιλάσθην.

118. ἵστημι see 955, 962, 965-6 & 997, 1.

P-N forms:

(a) from ἵστημι. P-B forms: ἱστώνω (also στώνω? cp. παραστανίτω 962) and ἱστών 'set up'—στήσω—ἱστήσα—ἱστάκα.—N: σταίνω (from ἱστώνω, 723 & 900 f.; not so ḠHatzidakis in KZ xiii. 105-117, but cp. 959 [1]) 'set up'—σταίσω (στέω)—σταμμένος.—Also στήνω (965) 'set up'—στήσω—(στημένος).

(b) from ἕστηκα 'stand,' see 965 f.—P-B forms: ἐστήκω & στήκω (so in Sept., NT, etc. cp. 973) <sup>[1]</sup>—pf. ἕσταμαι.—N: στέκω, also στέκομαι (a contamination of στήκω & ἕσταμαι or ἕσταμαι) 'stand' (imprt. στέκε, also στέκα, στεκάτε [830<sup>b</sup>], part. στεκόμενος & στεκούμενος)—σταθῶ—σταίμενος.

119. \*καθ-αίρω 'cleansē'—ἐκάθαιρον (746)—καθαρῶ—ἐκάθηρα.—Mid. καθαίρομαι—καθαροῦμαι—ἐκαθηράμην.—Pass. ἐκαθίρθη—κεκαίθαρμαι.

P-B forms: κεκάθαρκα—ἐκάθαρα—καθαρθήσομαι.—By-form: καθαρίζω (also καθερίζω or rather καθαιρίζω (116) in Sept. & NT).

N: καθαρίζω 'cleansē'—καθαρίσω—καθαρισμένος.

120. καθ-ίζομαι see ἕζομαι (supra 60).

121. ἱκαθ-ίζω see ἕζω (supra 114).

122. \*κάθ-ημι see 994.

123. ἱκαίω & κάω (20<sup>b</sup>) 'burn'—καύσω—ἕκαυσα—κατα-κίκαυκα.—Pass. καίυσομαι (durat.), καυθήσομαι (effect.)—ἐκαύθην.

P-B forms: fut. καήσομαι—ἐκάην (κατα-καών Diog. 6, 95).

N: καίω 'burn,' καίγω (860), also καύω (from καύσω)—κάψω (from καύσω i.e. κάψω)—καήμενος (from ἐκάημεν, hence καῦμένος is a misspelling).

124. ἱκαλέω 'call'—fut. καλλῶ (889)—ἐκίλεσα—κέκληκα.—Mid. καλοῦμαι 'invite'—fut. καλοῦμαι—ἐκαλεσάμην.—Pass. fut. καλοῦμαι (durat.), κληθήσομαι (effect.); κεκλησώμαι—ἐκλήθην—κέκλημαι—ἐκεκλήμην.

P form: καλέσω.

N: καλῶ (& καλειῶ 857 ff.) 'invite'—παλέσω—καλεσμένος.

125. ἱκαμύνω see μύνω (infra 168).

126. \*κάμνω 'toil'—κημοῦμαι—ἕκαμον—κέκηκα.

P-B forms: (κάμνω 'work'): καμῶ (or rather κάμω 894) = ἐργάσομαι (Hesych.)—ἐκαμύμην.

N: (κάμνω) κάνω, 'do,' 'make,' also καμῶν (so too Porph. Cer. 463, 7 καμωθέντων)—κάμω—ἐκαμα—καμωμένος.

127. κείμαι see 990.

128. \*κείρω 'shear'—κερῶ—ἕκειρα.—Mid. κείρομαι—κεροῦμαι—ἐκειράμην.—Pass. ἐκάρην—ἐκαρμαι.

In N replaced by P πουρεύω.

129. \*κεράννυμι & νύκω 'mix'—ἐκίρησα.—Mid. ἐκερασάμην.—Pass. κριθήσομαι—ἐκράθην & ἐκεράσθην—ἐκκριμαι.—By-form: κιρηνημι with pass. κίρναμαι.

P-B forms: κερᾶω & κερνάω 'pour out'—κεράσω & κερῶ—κεκέρακα.—Mid. κερᾶομαι.—Pass. κερνώμαι—κεκέρασμαι (κεκίρναμαι Orib. iii. 179, 5).

N: κερνάω (116. 937; so even Achmet. 196) 'pour out,' 'fill' (a cup)—κεράσω—κερασμένος.

130. ἱκερδαίνω 'win'—κερδανῶ—ἐκέρδανα.

P-B forms: κερδαίνω—κερδήσω—ἐκέρδησα—κεκέρδηκα & -ακα.—Pass. κερδηθήσομαι—κεκέρδημένος. By-form: κερδίζω.

N: κερδαίνω (so in Crete and elsewhere) & κερδίζω—κερδαίω & κερδίσω—ἐκέρδαισα & ἐκέρδισα—κερδαιμένος & κερδισμένος.

[<sup>1</sup>] Hence ἕστηκα or rather ἐστήκα=A εἰστήκειν: Apophth. 375 B ἡ ἀγία Μαρία ἐστήκει καὶ ἔκλαιεν.

IRREGULAR VERBS : **κίχρημι—κρεμάννυμι.** [996<sub>III</sub>—140

131. **κίχρημι** 'lend'—**χρήσω—ἔχρησα—κέχρηκα.**—Mid. **κίχραμαι—ἐχρησάμην.**

P-B forms : **κιχράω** (Sept.).—Mid. **κιχράομαι** 'borrow'—**ἐκιχράμην.**

Since *G* replaced by *A* **δανείζω** which still fully survives.

132. **ἱκλαίω & κλάω** (20<sup>e</sup>) 'weep'—**κλυύσομαι & κλαήσω—ἔκλαυσα.**—Mid. **κλαίομαι** 'lament'—**ἐκλαυσάμην.**—Pass. **κεκλαύσεται.**

P-B forms : **κλαύσω.**—Pass. **κλαυσθήσομαι—ἐκλαύσθην—ἐέκλαυσμαι, ἐέκλαυται.**

*N* : **κλαίω**, also **κλαίγω** (860) 'weep'—**κλάψω** (from **κλαύσω** i.e. **κλάφσω**).—Mid. **κλαίομαι—κλαυτῶ—κλασημένος (κλαυμένος** ? cp. su. ra 123) & **κλαμένος** (150, d).

133. **κλάω** 'break'—**ἔκλασα**—Pass. **ἐκλάσθην—ἐέκλασμαι.**

P forms : **κλάσω**—Pass. **ἀνα-κλασθήσομαι**, also **ἀνα-κλάσομαι** (Gal. 3, 147).

*N* : **κλάνω** 'break' (CGL 5, 13 **κλάννι** *frangit*)—**κλάσω—κλασμένος.**

134. **ἱκλείω & κλήω** 'shut'—**ἔκλειον, ἔκκληρον—κλείσω, κλήσω—ἔκκλεισα, ἔκκλησα—ἀπο-κέκληκα.**—Mid. **κατα-κλησάμενος.**—Pass. **κλεισθήσομαι—κεκλεισθῶμαι—ἐκλείσθην, κατ-εκλήσθην—ἐέκλειμαι, ἐέκκλημαι—ἐέκεκλείμην.**

P form : **ἐέκλεισμαι.**

*N* : **κλείω** or **κλειῶ** (155, c) 'shut'—**κλείσω—κλεισμένος.**

135. **ἱκλίπτω** 'steal'—**κλέψω**, also **κλέψομαι—ἔκλεψα—ἐέκλοφα.**—Pass. **ἐκλάπην—ἐέκλεμμαι.**

P-B forms : **ἐκλέφθην—ἐέκλαμμαι.**

*N* : **κλέφτω** (174), also **κλέβω** (875), 'steal'—**κλέψω—κλεμμένος.**

136. **ἱκλίνω** 'lean,' 'slope'—**κλινῶ—ἔκλινα.**—Pass. **κατα-κλινόμαι—κλινούμαι & -κλινίσσομαι—-εκλίνην—ἐέκλειμαι.**

P-B forms : **ἐέκλιναι—κλινθήσομαι—ἐκλινάμην, ἐκλίθην & ἐκλίνθην.**—(**κεκλίσεται** Apoll. De Pron. 286 c ; **κεκλίνθαι** id. Synt. 47, 1).

*N* : **κλίνω** 'lean'—**κλίνω—κλινένος.**

137. \***κόπτω** 'cut'—**κόψω—ἔκοψα—έέκοφα.**—Pass. **κοπήσομαι—ἐέκοπήν—έέκομμαι—ἀπο-κεκόψομαι.**

P forms : **κόφομαι—έέκοφάμην.**

*N* : **κόπτω & κόβ(γ)ω** (875) 'cut'—**κόψω—κομμένος.**

138. **ἱκράζω**, commoner **έέκραγα** 'cry'—**έέκεκράγειν** 'cried'—**κεκράξομαι** 'shall cry'—**έν-έκραγον.**—By-form : **κραυγάζω—κραυγάσας.**

P-B forms : **κράζω, κεκράζω, ἀνα-κράξομαι, ἀνα-κεκράξομαι—έέκεκραγον, έέκεκραξα.**

*N* : **κράζω—κράξω.**

139. \***κρέμαμαι** 'hang' (subj. **κρέμωμαι, -ηται**)—**έέκρεμάμην** (subj. **κρεμαίμην, -αιο, -αιτο, etc.**)—**κρεμήσομαι.**—Pass. **έέκρεμάσθην.**

P-B forms : (**κρέμομαι** ? cp. 774 & **δύναμαι** supra 54)—**έξ-έκρέμετο** (Luke 19, 48)—**κεκρέμασμαι.**

*N* : **κρέμομαι** 'hang'—**κρεμαστῶ—κρεμασμένος** (cp. Apollod. Arch. 16).

140. **κρεμάννυμι** 'hang'—**κρεμῶ—έέκρέμασα.**

P forms : **κρεμαννύω & κρεμνάω—κρεμάσω.**—Mid. **έέκρεμασάμην.**—For the pass. **κρέμαμαι** see preceding.

[Moeris 134 **έέκρεμάννυνεν** 'Αττικῶς, **έέκρέμα** 'Ελληνικῶς. Apoc. Mar. 119, 33 **έέκρεμούντο.**]

*N* : **κρεμ(ν)άω** (sometimes **κρεμάγω** 860), also **κρεμάζω** (868. 871) 'hang'—**κρεμάσω—κρεμασμένος.** Cp. preceding.

141. **ἰκρίνω** 'judge'—**κρίνω**—**ἔκρινα**—**κεκρίκα**.—Mid. **κρίνομαι** 'choose,' 'explain'—**δια-κεκρίμεθα**.—Pass. **κρίνομαι** 'am judged'—**κρινούμαι** (durat.), **κριθήσομαι** (effect.)—**ἐκρίθην**—**κέκριμαι**.—So **ἀπο-κρίνω** 'separate.'  
*N*: **κρίνω** (also **κρένω** 902) 'judge'—fut. **κρίνω**.—Pass. **κρίνομαι**—**κριθῶ**—**κριμένος**.

2. **ἰἀπο-κρίνομαι** 'answer,' 'reply' (mid.)—**ἀποκρινούμαι**—**ἀπεκρινάμην**—**ἀποκέκριμαι**—**ἀπεκεκρίμην**.—So **ὑπο-κρίνομαι** 'dissemble.'  
*P-B* forms: **ἀποκριθήσομαι** 'shall answer'—**ἀπεκρίθην**.

*N*: **ἀποκρίνομαι** 'reply'—**ἀποκριθῶ**.

142. **ἰκρούω** 'strike,' regular.—Mid. **ἐκρουσάμην**.—Pass. **-ἐκρούσθην**—**-έκρουμαι** & **-κέκρουσμαι**.

*N*: **κρού(γ)ω** (860) 'strike,' 'hurt'—**κρούσω**—**κρουσμένος**.

143. **ἰκρύπτω** 'hide'—**κρύψω**—**ἔκρυψα**.—Mid. **κρύβομαι**—**ἐκρυψάμην**.—Pass. **ἐκρύφθην**—**έκρυμμαι**.

*P* forms: **κρύβω**—**ἐκρυβον** (**ἐκρυφον**? Q. Sm. 1, 393)—aor. **ἔκρυβον** (= **ἐκρυψα**)  
*A*. P. 7,700)—**συγ-κέκρυφα**.—Pass. **κρυβήσομαι** & **κρυφθήσομαι**; **κεκρύβομαι**.  
*N*: **κρύπτω** (174), **κρύβω** (875) & **κρύβγω** (861), 'hide'—**κρύψω**—**κρυμμένος**.

144. **\*κτάομαι** 'acquire'—**κτῆσομαι**, **κεκτήσομαι** 'shall possess'—**ἐκτησάμην**—**κέκτημαι** 'possess' (subj. **κεκτῆται**)—**έκεκτήμην** (subj. **κεκτῆτο**).  
*N*: **ἀπο-κτῶ** (κτάω J Moschos 3065 v)—**ἀποκτήσω**—**ἀποκτημένος**.

145. **\*κτείνω** 'kill'—**κτενῶ**—**ἔκτεινα** (**ἔκτανον**)—**ἀπ-έκτονα** (& **ἀπ-εκτόνηκα**)  
**ἀπ-εκτόνεσαν**.—By-form: **ἀπο-κτίννυμι** or **-κτείννυμι**, also **κτ(ε)ιν(ν)ῶ**.  
*P-B* by-forms: **ἀπο-κτένω** & **-κταίνω**—**ἔκταναν**—**ἀπ-έκτα(γ)κα**—**ἀπ-εκτο-νῆκει**.

146. **\*κτίν(ν)υμι** see preceding.

147. **\*κύπτω** 'stoop'—**ἀνα-κύνφομαι**—**ἔκνυφα**—**κέκνυφα**.

*P* form: fut. **κύνω**.

*N*: **σκύπτω** (so even Leont. Mon. 621 c) [from **εἰσ-κύντω**], also **σκύβω** (875) & **σκύβγω** (861), 'stoop'—**σκύψω**—**σκυμμένος**.

148. **\*λαγχάνω** 'get by lot'—**λήξομαι**—**ἔλαχον**—**εἰληχα**.—Pass. **ἐλήχθην**—**εἰληγμένος**.

*P* forms: **λέλογχα**, **λέλαχα**.—Pass. **λελάχαται**.

*N*: **λαχάνω** (M), **λαχαίνω** (900 f.) 'get by lot,' 'come across'—**λάχω**—**λαχα-μένος**.

149. **λαμβάνω** 'take'—**λήψομαι** (imprt. **λαβέ** 912 f., **λαβεῖν**, **λαβών**)—**ἔλαβον**—**εἰληφα**—**εἰλήφειν**.—Mid. **λαμβάνομαι** 'grasp'—**ελαβόμεν**—**ἐπ-εἰληφθαι**.—Pass. **ληφθήσομαι**—**ἐλήφθην**—**ἐλημμαι**.

*P* forms: **λήψομαι**—**ἐλήψα** (= **ἔλαβον**)—**ἐλήμφθην** (= **ἐλήφθην**)—**ἐπι-ελέημ-μαι** (also **εἰλημπται**)—**κατα-ελεήσεται**.

*N*: **λαβάνω** (M), also **λαμπάνω**, now **λαβαίνω** (900 f.) 'receive'—**λάβω** (imprt. **λάβε** & **λάβον**, as Great Louvre Pap. 2378 & 3191, and Alchem. passim)—**λαβο-μένος** (whence **λαβώνω** 'hit,' 'wound').

150. **\*λανθάνω** 'lie hid,' 'escape notice'—**λήσω**—**ἔλαθον**—**λελήθα**.—Mid. dep. (**ἐπι-**)**λανθάνομαι** 'forget'—**ἐπι-λήσομαι**—**ελαθόμεν**—(**ἐπι-**)**λί-λησμαι**.

*P* forms: **λήσομαι** (= **λήσω**)—**λέλαθα**.—Mid. **ἐλησάμην**—**ελελήσεται** (**ελε-θήσεται** Acta Phil. in Hellad. 14).—Pass. **ἐπι-λησθήσομαι**—**ἐπ-ελησθην**.

*N*: (**λαθαίνω** ? 900 f.) **λαθεύω** 'escape notice,' 'err'—**λαθέψω**—**λαθεμένος**.

151. 1. °(λέγω 'gather,' 'choose') συλ-, ἐκ-λέγω,—λέξω—ἐλεξα—  
συνείλοχα (734)—λέξομαι (δια-λέξομαι durat., διαλεχθῆσομαι effect.)—  
ἐλεξάμην.—Pass. συλ-λεγήσομαι—ἐλέγην (& ἐλέχθην)—ἐίλεγμαι (&  
-ἐλέεγμαι).

P forms : pf. -είλεχα—κατα-λεχθήσομαι.

[Moeris 191 καταλεγείς Ἀττικῶς, καταλεχθεὶς Ἑλληνικῶς.]

2. Ἰλέγω 'say'—λέξω—ἐλεξα—(pf. εἶρηκα; see εἶρω supra 72).—Pass.  
λεχθῆσομαι; λελέξομαι—ἐλέχθην—λέλεγμαι.—So δια-λέγομαι 'chat,' 'dis-  
cuss'—διαλέξομαι (durat.), διαλεχθῆσομαι (effect.)—διελέχθην—διείλεγμαι.

P forms : λέλεχα (= εἶρηκα)—διελέγην.

N : λέ(γ)ω (863. 155, c) 'say'—εἰ[π]ῶ—εἶπα (εἶπηκα)—εἰ[π]αμένος (& πωμένος,  
see supra 86 & infra 214).

152. Ἰλείπω 'leave'—ἀπο-λείψω—ἔλιπον—λέλοιπα—ἐλελοίπην.—  
Pass. (ἀπο-)λείπομαι—(ἀπο-)λείψομαι (durat.), ἀπο-, ὑπο-λειφθῆσομαι  
(effect.); λελείψομαι—ἐλείφθην—λέλειμμαι.—By-form : -λιμπάνω.

P forms : ἐλειψα—ἐλειψάμην.

[Phryn. 343 ἐκλείψας ἀδόκιμον, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἐκλιπών.]

N : λείπω 'leave,' 'am wanting'—λείψω—ἐλειψα.

153. \*Λούω 'wash,' 'bathe' (λούεις, λούει, λούμεν, λούτε, λούσι)—  
ἔλουον (ἀπ-έλου, ἐλούμεν)—ἔλουσα.—Mid. λούται, λούνται (λούσθαι, λού-  
μενος & λουόμενος)—ἐλούμην—λούσομαι—ἐλουσάμην—λέλουμαι. (Cp. 153.)

P forms : λούω, λούεις, λούει, λούομεν, etc., regular—ἔλουον, ἔλουες, etc.—  
λούσω.—Pass. ἐλούθην & ἐλούσθην—λέλουσμαι.

[Phryn. 165 ἐλούμην, ἐλούου, ἐλούετο, λούομαι, λούεται, ἐλούμεθα, ἐλούοντο,  
λούεσθαι πάντα οὕτως λεγόμενα ἀδόκιμα. εἰ δὲ δόκιμα βούλει αὐτὰ ποιῆσαι τὸ  
ε καὶ τὸ ἀφαιρεῖ καὶ λέγε λούσθαι καὶ λούμαι, λούται, ἐλούμην, ἐλούτο, ἐλούμεθα,  
ἐλούντο οὕτως γὰρ οἱ ἀρχαῖοι λέγουσιν. Moeris 228 λούται Ἀττικῶς, λούεται  
Ἑλληνικῶς.]

N : λούω & λούγω (860) 'bathe'—λούσω.—Mid. λού(γ)ομαι—λουστῶ—λου-  
σμένος.

154. μαίνω 'make mad'—ἔμνηνα.—Pass. μαίνομαι 'am mad'—μανούμαι  
—ἐμάνην—μέμνηνα 'am mad.'

P forms : μανήσομαι—ἐμνήαμην—μεμάνημαι.

(N : [Crete, etc.] μανίζω 'get angry'—μανίσω—μανισμένος.)

155. \*μανθάνω 'learn'—μαθήσομαι—ἔμαθον—μεμάθηκα.

N : μαθάνω M (194), μαθαίνω (900f.) 'learn,' 'teach'—μάθω—μαθημένος.

156. Ἰμαραίνω 'wither'—ἐμάρᾱνα (65. 892)—μεμάρασμαι.

P forms : ἔμαρηνάμην.—Pass. μαρασθῆσομαι—ἐμαράνθην—μεμάραμμαι.

N : μαραίνω 'wither'—μαράνω—ἐμάρᾱνα.—Mid. μαραίνομαι—μαραθῶ—ἐμα-  
ράθηκα—μαραμένος.

157. Ἰμαρτυρέω 'testify,' regular.—Pass. μαρτυρήσομαι (durat.), μαρτυ-  
ρηθῆσομαι (effect.)—ἐκ-μαρτυρησάμενος.—By-form : μαρτύρομαι 'attest'  
—ἐμαρτυράμην.

P forms : μαρτυρούμαι—μεμαρτύρημαι.

N : μαρτυρῶ (-άω) 'testify'—μαρτυρήσω—μαρτυρημένος.

158. \*μάχομαι 'fight'—μαχοῦμαι—ἐμαχεσάμην—μεμάχημαι.

P forms : μαχήσομαι—ἐμαχησάμην & ἐμαχίσθην.

N : μάχομαι 'bear malice against'—ἐμάχουμον—no more.



159. μεθύσκω 'intoxicate,' Ἰμεθύω 'am intoxicated'—ἐμέθυσα.—Pass. μεθύσκομαι 'get drunk'—ἐμεθύσθην.

P forms: μεθύσω, μεθυσθήσομαι—μεμέθυσμαι.

N: μεθύω (155, c) 'am or make drunk'—μεθύσω—μεθυσμένος.

159<sup>b</sup>. μείγνυμι & μειγνύω see μίγνυμι.

160. °(μείρομαι) Pass. pf. εἴμαρται 'it is fated,' εἰμαρμένος.—ἡ εἰμαρμένη 'fate.'

161. \*μέλλω 'am about to,' 'tarry'—ἔμελλον & ἡμελλον (722)—μελήσω—ἐμέλλησα (& ἤμ-).—Pass. μέλλεται 'is put off.'

N: μέλλει 'is reserved,' 'is about'—ἔμελλε—no more.—Pass. μέλλεται (= εἴμαρται; cp. preceding in Pass.); τὸ μελλούμενον (= τὸ μέλλον).

162. (μέλω 'care') μέλει 'concerns,' 'is of interest'—ἔμελεν—μελήσει—ἐμέλησε—μεμέληκε.

So ἐπι-μέλομαι, commoner -μελοῦμαι—ἐπ-εμελόμην, -εμελοίμην—ἐπι-μελήσομαι (durat.)—ἐπ-εμελήθην—ἐπι-μεμέλημαι.—So τοῦ μετα-μέλομαι 'repent'—μετ-εμελόμην—(τὸ μετα-μελησόμενον).

P forms: ἐμέλησα (= ἐφρόντισα)—μεμέληκας—μεμέλημαι—'Ἐπ-εμελησάμην.—Mid. μετα-μελοῦμαι—μετα-μεληθήσομαι—μετ-εμελήθην—μετα-μεμέλημαι.

N: μέλει με 'it is of importance to me,' 'I care' (chiefly negative: δέ με μέλει 'it is nothing to me')—ἔμελε—no more. Probably due to literary influence, for common speech commonly uses in its place (γ)νοιάζει με (= ἐννοιά μοι ἐστί).

163. Ἰμῶω 'remain'—μένω—ἔμεινα—μεμένηκα.

N: μένω (northern N also μνίσκω [or μνήσκω] & μνέσκω)—μείνω.

164. \*μιαίνω 'defile,' regular—ἐμίανα.—Pass. ἐμάνθην—μεμίασμαι.

P forms: ἐμίνα—μεμιαγκάς.—ἐμίνατο—μεμίαμμαι.

N: μιώνω (Crete) 'defile'—μύωω—μωμένος.

165. μίγνυμι (or μείγνυμι) & -νύω 'mix'—μίξω—ἔμιξα.—Pass. μίγνυμαι—ἀνα-μιχθήσομαι—ἐμίχθην & ἐμίγην—μέμυγμα.

P forms: μέμυχα—ἐμεμίχην.—ἐμίζάμην—μεγῆσομαι.

N: σμίγω (so too Theoph., Nonn. i. 222, 346) [from συμ-μίγω 136, 2] 'mix,' 'join'—σμίξω—συμ(γ)μένος (179).

166. °(μμνήσκω or -μνή-) ἀνα-, ὑπο-μμνήσκω 'remind'—-μνήσω—ἐμνήσα.—Pass. μμνήσκομαι 'remember'—μνησθήσομαι—μεμνήσομαι 'shall remember'—ἐμνήσθην—μémνημαι 'remember' (subj. μεμνώμαι; μέμνησο)—ἐμμεμνήμην (subj. μεμνήμην).

In N it lingers in the dissimilated form μνήσκω (Trinch. 220 [† 1165] μνησκό-μεθα), then in a few isolated expressions due to the Church: (μ)νήσθητί μου Κύριε (i. e. μνήσθητι). [For the northern form μνήσκω or rather μνίσκω = μένω see μένω supra 163.]

167. Ἰνημονεύω 'mention,' regular.—Pass. μνημονεύσομαι (durat.), μνημονεύθῃσομαι (effect.).

N: μνημονεύω 'commemorate'—μνημονεύω—μνημονεμένος—due to the influence of the Church.

168. \*μύω 'shut' (the eyes or lips)—ἔμυσα—μέμυκα 'am closed.'—Commoner κατα-μύω, also κυμ-μύω, 'close the eyes.'

P forms: καμ-μύω 'shut the eyes'—καμμύσω—ἐκόμμυσα—κεκάμμυκα.

N: καμνύω (155, c) & καννύω (from καμῶ 155, a) 'close my eyes'—ύσω—υσμένος.

169. °νέμω 'distribute'—νεμῶ—ἔνειμα—δια-νεμέμκα.—Mid. 'distribute among selves,' 'pasture,' 'possess'—νεμοῦμαι—ἐνειμάμην—νενέμμαι.—Pass. ἐνεμήθην.

P forms : νεμήσω—νεμήσομαι—νεμηθήσομαι.

170. °νέω 'heap up'—ἐνησα.—Pass. νένημαι.

P forms : νήσω—ἐνήσθην, ἐπ-ενήσθην—νένησμαι.

171. (νίζω 'wash') ἀπο-, ἐκ-νίζω—νίψω.—Mid. ἀπο-νίζομαι—ἀπο-νίψομαι—ἀπ-ενιψάμην—ἀπο-, ἐκ-, κατα-νένιμμαι.

P forms : νίπτω—νίψω—ἐνίψα.—Mid. νίβομαι—ἐνιβάμην.—Pass. νιφήσομαι—κατ-ενίφθην—νένιμμαι.

N : νίπτω (174), νίβω (875) (so even Nomoc. 505), also νίβγω (861) 'wash (the hands or face)'—νίψω.—Mid. νίβομαι 'wash my hands'—νιπτῶ—νιμμένος.

172. Ἰνυστάζω 'nod,' 'am sleepy'—ἐνύστασα.

P forms : νυστάζω—ἐνύσταξα.

N : νυστάζω 'am sleepy'—νυστάζω—νυστα(γ)μένος (179)..

173. (οἶννυμι 'open') ἀν-οἶννυμι & ἀν-οίγω 'open'—ἀνέφρων (747)—ἀνοίξω—ἀνέφρα—ἀνέφρα or ἀνέφρα 'have opened' & 'stand open.'—Pass. ὑπανεφρίνυμι, ἀνεφρόμην—ἀνοίξομαι (durat.) ἀνέφξομαι & P ἀνοιχθήσομαι (effect.)—ἀνέφγμαι & ἀνέφγα—ἀνεφγμην.

P forms : ἥνοιγον—ἥνοιξα.—Mid. aor. ἀνεφρόμην.—ἀνοιχθήσομαι & ἀνοιγήσομαι—ἡνεφύχθην (ἀνεφύχθην) & ἡνοιχθην—ἥνοιγμαι.

N : ἀνοίγω 'open'—ἀνοίξω—ἀνοι(γ)μένος (179).

174. οἶδα see 969 ff.

175. °οικτίρω 'pity'—ῥκτίρα.

P forms : οἰκτεῖρω—οἰκτερήσω—ῥκτεήρῃσα.—Pass. οἰκτερήσομαι (Marc. Erem. 909 A)—ῥκτειρήθην—ῥκτειρήται.

176. οἶμαι see οἶομαι.

177. °οἰμώζω 'wail'—οἰμώξομαι—ῥμωξα.

P forms : οἰμώσσω or -ττω—οἰμώξω.

178. °οἶομαι & οἶμαι 'think,' 'deem' (οἶε 763, οἶετι, οἶόμεθα, οἶεσθε [& οἶσθε Pap. of Isocr. 8, 119], οἶονται)—φόμεν, commoner ῥμην (cp. 148)—οἶήσομαι—ῥήθην.

P forms : οἰηθήσομαι—ῥησάμην.

179. °οἶχομαι 'am gone'—ῥχόμεν—οἶχήσομαι.

P forms : παρ-ῥχῃκα—παρῥχῃκει.

180. °οἰωνίζομαι 'forbode'—οἰωνίζοντο—οἰωνισάμην (716).

P form : fut. οἰπιούμαι.

181. °ὀλισθάνω & -αίνω 'slip'—aor. 2nd ὀλισθον.

P forms : ὀλισθαίνω (900)—ὀλισθήσω—ὀλίσθησα (also ὀλίσθηγα)—ὀλίσθηκα.

182. °ὀλλυμι 'destroy' ἀπ-ὀλλυμι, also ἐξ-, δι-ὀλλυμι, by-form ἀπ-ὀλλύω 'destroy'—ἀπ-ὀλλυν & -ὀλλυν—ἀπολῶ, διολῶ—ἀπ-ὀλεσα—ἀπ-ὀλώλεκα.—Pass. ἀπ-ὀλλυμαι—ἀπ-ολουμαι—ἀπ-ὀλωμην—ἀπ-ὀλωλα 'am lost'—ἀπ-ὀλώλειν (997, 11).

P forms : ἀπ-ὀλλύν & ἀπ-ὀλλω (937)—ὀλίσω—ὀλεσα.—Pass. ἀπ-ὀλεσθήσομαι—ἀπ-ὀλίσθην (δωλίσθη Theoph. 299, 17)—ὀλώλεσμαι.

183. \*ὄμνυμι (& -νύω) 'swear' (impert. ὄμνυ, ὀμνύς, -ύντος)—ὄμνυν & ὄμνουν—ὀμνούμαι—ὄμωσα—ὀμώμοκα.—Pass. ὀμό(σ)θην—ὀμώμο(σ)ται.

P forms: ὀμνύω (ὄμνυε)—ὀμώσω.

[Moeris 253 ὀμνούμαι, ὀμεί, ὀμείται. 'Αττικῶς' ὀμώσω, (ὀμώσεις), ὀμώσει, 'Ἑλληνικῶς'.]

N: ὀ]μύνω & ἀμύνω 'swear'—ὀ]μώσω & ἀμώσω.—By-forms: μυνάγω—μνάξω—μνωμένος.

184. ὀνίνημι 'profit'—ὀνήσω—ὀνησα.—Pass. ὀνίναμαι—ὀνινάμην—ὀνήσομαι—aor. ὀνήμην (subj. ὀναίμην, ὀναίω; ὀνασθαι), also ὀνήθην (ὀνηθῆναι).

P forms: ὀνέω (Theod. Lect. 225).—Mid. ὀνούμαι (ὀνεῖται Stob. 68, 36; ὀνούμενος [Luc.] Philop. 26)—aor. ὀνάμην, ὀνήσασθαι, ὀνάσατο.

In P-N speech replaced by ὠφελέω (N φελάω). (937.)

185. ὀξύνω 'sharpen'—παρ-οξύνω 'stimulate'.—Pass. παρώξυνμαι (παρωξύνθαι).

P forms: παρ-ώξυνκα—ώξυνμαι, ἀπ-ώξυνμαι.

186. ὁρώω 'see'—έώρων (763)—ὄφσομαι (ὄψει 726)—εἶδον (see E1ΔΩ supra 64)—έώρακα (έώρακα)—έώρακή & -κεῖν.—Mid. προ-, ύφ-, περι-ορώμαι—προ-εωρώμην—ὀφθίσσομαι—ὀφθην—έώραμαι & ὤμαι (ὤψαι, ὤπται, etc.).

P forms: ὠρων (727)—εἶδα (see E1ΔΩ supra 64)—ώρακα. (Mal. 111, 7 έωρα-κούσα).—Mid. ὠφάμην.—Pass. ὠραθήσομαι—έωράθην & ὠράθην.—Pf. προ-εωράσθαι. [Mark that in T-M compositions the future form ὄφσομαι is very often used as present in the sense of I have to answer for, App. iv. 10<sup>b</sup>.]

In N replaced by θωρῶ (i. e. θεωρῶ 727. 152) & βλέπω 'see'—fut. ἰδῶ (also διῶ i. e. διῶ 915)—εἶδα—ἰδωμένος. See under E1ΔΩ (supra 64).

187. ἱργίζω 'irritate'—ώργισα.—Mid. dep. ἱργίζομαι 'get angry'—ὀργιούμαι (durat.), ὀργισθήσομαι (effect.)—ώργισθην—ώργισμαι.

N: ὀργίζομαι 'hate'—ὀργιστῶ—ώργισμένος.

188. \*ἐρίγω 'stretch'—ἔρεξα.—Mid. & Pass. ὀρέγομαι 'stretch myself,' 'desire'—(ἠρεξάμην) ἠρέχθην.

P forms: ἐράρεχα (due to ἐράρνηχα; see ἐρύττω infra 190).—Mid. & Pass. ὀραιεγμένος.—By-form: ὀριγνώμαι—ὀριγνήσομαι—ὀριγνηθῆναι.

N: ὀρέγομαι 'desire'—βεχτῶ.

189. ὀρθόω 'erect,' regular—but see ἀνορθύω.

N: δι-ορθώνω 'correct'—διορθώσω—διορθωμένος.

190. ὀρύττω & -σσω 'dig'—κατ-ορύξω—ὠρυξα—(κατ-)ορώρυχα.—Pass. κατ-ορυχθήσομαι (κατ-ορυχήσομαι)—ὠρύχθην—ὀρώρυγμαι—δι-ωρώρυκτο.

P forms: aor. 2nd ὠρυγον—ὠρωρύχειν.—Mid. ὠρυξάμην.—Pass. ὀρνήσομαι—ὠρυγμαι.

191. ὀσφραίνομαι 'smell'—ὀσφρήσομαι—ὠσφρόμην.

P forms: ὀσφραίνω 'give to smell,' Mid. ὀσφραίνομαι & ὀσφρώμαι (or ὀσφρομαι? App. iv. 3)—ὠσφράνθην & ὠσφρησάμην.

192. \*οὔρεω 'make water'—εούρου (726)—οὔρησομαι—έν-εούρησα—έν-εούρηκα.

P forms: οὔρήσω—οὔρησα—οὔρηκει.—Pass. οὔρηθην. (727. 153.)

N: κατ-οурέω 'make water'—κατουρήσω—κατουρημένος.

193. ὀφείλω 'owe'—ᾤφειλον—ὀφείλῃσω—ὀφείλῃσα—ὀφείλῃκειν.—Pass. ὀφείλῃθεις.—☞ The 2nd aor. ᾤφελον (mostly preceded by ὥς, εἴθε, εἰ γάρ) is used as a particle of unattainable wish: *would that* (1904 f.).

IRREGULAR VERBS: ὀφλισκάνω—πειράω. [996, 194-202

*P* forms: ὄφλω—ὄφελον (write ὄφελον 717 [1]) & ὄφειλον = ὄφελον: 'would that.'

(In *N* extinct, except in χρωφελέτης i. e. χρεωφελέτης 152.)

194. ὀφλισκάνω 'owe'—ὀφλήσω—ὄφλον (from ὄφελον)—ὄφληκα.—*Pass.* ὀφλημένος.

*P* forms: ὄφλω (App. iv. 3)—ὄφλησα.

195. ἰπαίζω 'sport,' 'play'—παίσομαι (998)—ἔπαισα—πέπαικα.—*Pass.* πέπαισμαι.

*P* forms: παίζομαι, παίζω—ἔπαιξα—πέπαιχα.—*Pass.* παιχθήσομαι—ἐπαίχθην—πέπαιγαμαι.

[Phryn. 217 παῖσαι. Δωριεῖς διὰ τοῦ π, ὁ δ' Ἀττικὸς παῖσαι· καὶ παῖσατε καὶ συμπαιστῆς διὰ τοῦ σ ἱερεῖς. Moeris 137 ἐπαισαμεν Ἀττικῶς, ἐπαίξαμεν Ἑλληνικῶς. 268 παῖσαι Ἀττικῶς, παῖσαι Ἑλληνικῶς.]

*N*: παίζω—παίζω—παιγμένος (179) & παισμένος.

196. παῖω 'strike'—παίσω & (durat.) παήσω—ἔπαισα—ὑπερ-πέπαικα.—*Mid.* (trans.) ἐπαισάμην.—*Pass.* ἐπαισθήν (commoner ἐπλήγην—pf. πέπληγαμαι).

*P* forms: πέπαικα & πεπαίηκα.—*Pass.* ἐμ-πέπαισμαι. Otherwise replaced by πατάσσω (which see below 198).

197. ἰπάσχω 'suffer'—πέισομαι—ἔπαθον—ἐπέπονθα—ἐπεπόνθειν.

*P* form: παθαίνω & *pass.*, also προσ-παθῶ.

*N*: πάσχω (176) 'labour,' 'strive'—πάθω—παθόμενος. [The form προσπαθῶ savours of literary mannerism.] By-form: (M πα(ν)θάνω 901), πασκίζω (πα-σχίζω) 'endeavour.'

198. ἰπατάσσω 'strike'—πατάξω—ἐπάταξα.—*Pass.* replaced by τύπτομαι (which see below 283).

*P* forms: *Pass.* πατάσσομαι—παταχθήσομαι—ἐπατάχθην. (Cp. παῖω & τύπτω.)

*N*: πατάσσω 'harass,' 'worry'—πατάξω—πατα(γ)μένος (179).

199. ἰπαύω 'cause to cease,' 'stop' (but παύε also intr. 'stop')—παύσω—ἐπαύσα—πέπαυκα.—*Mid.* παύομαι 'cease'—παύσομαι—ἐπαυσάμην—πέπαυμαι.—*Pass.* παυθήσομαι; πεπαύσομαι—ἐπαύθην (& ἐπαύσθην).

*P* forms: ἀνα-πέον (Acta Tho. 19, 29, if not ἀναπεύον, as in *N*).—ἀνεπεώμην (Acta Tho. 33, 40) [or ἀνε-πευ-? cp. *N*]—ἀνα-παήσομαι, ἀναπαῶσιν (Callin. 135, 24)—ἐπάην, (ἀνεπάην), παῆναι (Hermas Vis. 3, 9, 1).

*N*: παύω & παύγω (861)—παύω.—*Mid.* ἀνα-παύ(γ)ομαι & -πεύ(γ)ομαι (861) 'rest'—ἀναπα(γ)ῶ—ἀναπάηκα—ἀναπαημένος.

200. πείθω 'persuade'—πέισω—ἔπεισα—πέπεικα, but πέποιθα (intr.) 'trust'.—*Pass.* πείθομαι—πέισομαι (durat.), πεισθήσομαι (effect.)—ἐπεισθην, ἐπειθόμην—πέπεισομαι & πέποιθα (997, 9).

*P* form: πεποιθήσω (Aquil Ps. 9, 11).

201. ἰπεινάω 'am hungry' (πεινῆς, πεινῆ, etc. πεινῆν) πεινήσω—ἐπείνησα—πεπεινήκα (829 f.).

*P* forms: πεινῶ (πεινῆς, πεινῆ, etc. πεινῶν)—πεινάσω—ἐπεινάσα (830 [& 1]).

*N*: πεινῶ 'am hungry'—πεινάσω—πεινασμένος.

202. \*πειράω 'try'—πειράσω—ἐπειράσα (65, 892).—*Mid.* dep. πειρώμαι 'try'—πειράσομαι—ἐπειρασάμην & ἐπειράθην—πεπειρομαι.

*P* forms: πειράζω 'try,' 'tempt,' 'vex'—πεπειράκα—πειραδθήσομαι.—*Pass.* πειράζομαι—ἐπειράσθην—πεπειρασμένος.

*N*: πειράζω 'trouble,' 'vex'—πειράξω—(πειραγμένος, 179) πειρασμένος.

203. \*πέμπω 'send'—πέμψω—ἐπέμψα—πέπομφα—ἐπεπόμφην.—Mid. ἀπο-, ἐκ-, προ-, μετα-πέμπομαι—πέμψομαι—ἐπεμψάμην.—Pass. ἐπέμφθην—ἐπέμμαι.

P form: πεμφθήσομαι.

N: (μ)πέμπω (μπέπω) 'send'—(μ)πέψω—(μπεμπᾶτος = πεπεμένος 1052).

204. \*περαίνω 'accomplish'—περανῶ—ἐπέρανα (65. 892).—Mid. δι-επερανίμην.—Pass. ἐπεράνθην—πεπέρασμαι.

P forms: περανθήσομαι—πεπεραμένος.

205. \*περαιῶ 'carry over,' regular, but fut. pass. περαιώσομαι (durat.), περαιωθήσομαι (effect.)—ἐπεραιώθην.

206. \*περάω 'pass'—δια-περάσω—δι-επέρασα.

P forms: ἐπέρασα—πεπέρακα.

N: περνᾶω (even Apophth. 440 A περνᾶ τὴν φάραγγα; so Epiph. Mon. 265 B) (ροδί), also ἀπερνᾶω, 'pass,' 'cross'—περάσω—περασμένος (also περαζόμενος, as Corn. A 19).

207. \*πετάννυμι 'spread' (also ἀνα-πεταννίω)—fut. ἀνα-πετώ—κατ-ἐπέτανα—πέπταμαι.

P forms: ἀνα-πετάω—πετάσω—δια-πεπέτακα.

N: πετάω 'throw,' 'fly'—πετάξω—πετα(γ)μένος (179).

208. ἱπítóμαι 'fly'—πετήσομαι & πτήσομαι (136. 1)—ἀν-επτόμην (ἀνί-πτοίτο, ἀνα-πέσθαι, ἐπι-πτόμενος).

P forms: ἱπταμαι—fut. imprt. ἀνύ-πτῃθι—aor. ἔπτῃν (ἀνο-πταίην—πτήναι, ἐπι-, κατα-πτάς).

N: πέτομαι 'rely,' 'trust'—ἐπέτουμον' (801<sup>b</sup> f.)—no more. In the sense of fly, it has been replaced by πετάω (see supra 207).

209. πηγνυμι 'fix'—πήξω—ἐπηξα.—Pass. παγήσομαι—ἐπάγην—pf. πέπηγα 'stand firm' (997, 6).

P forms: πηγνύω & πήσσω (πήττω)—πέπηχα.—Mid. ἐπηξάμην.—Pass. ἐπήχθην—πέπηγα.

N: πήσσω & πήξω (873) 'stiffen,' 'curdle'—πήξω—πη(γ)μένος (179).—Also μπήγω & μπήξω 'thrust,' 'fix in'—μπήξω—μπηγμένος.

210. ἱπηδάω 'leap,' regular, but fut. πηθήσομαι (998).—P πηδήσω.

N: πηδάω 'leap'—πηδήσω & πηθήξω—πηδημένος.

211. \*πίμπλημι 'fill,' ἐμ-πίπλημι (126)—ἐν-επίμπλην (ἐν-επίμπλασαν)—ἐμ-πλήσω—ἐν-έπλησα—ἐμ-πέπληκα.—Mid. ἐμ-πίπλωμαι 'fill for self'—ἐν-επλησάμην.—Pass. ἐμ-πλησθήσομαι—ἐν-έπλητο (subj. ἐμπλήμην) & ἐν-έπλησθην—ἐμ-πέπλησται.

P forms: πιμπλάω & πιμπλέω (937; Great Louvre Pap. 581 πιπλώντας) (also πίμπλαμαι, as Sept. Prov. 3, 10 πίμπληται)—πλησθήσομαι—πέπλησμαι—πεπλήσομαι.

212. (πίμπρημι 'burn') ἐμ-πίπρημι (126)—ἐν-επίμπρην—ἐμ-πρήσω—ἐν-έπρησα.—Pass. ἐν-επρήσθην—ἐμ-πεπρήσθαι (ἐμ-πεπρημένος).

P forms: πιμπράω & πρήθω (937) 'burn,' 'swell'—ἐμ-, κατα-πέπρηκα—ἐν-επρήσαντο.—Pass. πρησθήσομαι (also ἐμ-πρήσομαι)—πέπρησμαι (imprt. πέπρησο).

N: πρήσκα (due to εὐρίσκα? also πρήσω Crete) 'swell'—πρήσω.—Pass. πρήσκομαι (so even Achmet. 71; Prodr. 3, 234) πρησάω—πρησμένος.

213. ἱπίνω 'drink'—πίομαι (imprt. πίδι)—ἔπιον—πέπωκα.—Pass. καταποθήσομαι—ἐπύθην—πέπομαι.

IRREGULAR VERBS : *πιπράσκω—ποιέω*. [906<sub>114-222</sub>]

*P forms* : fut. *πιούμαι* & *πίομαι* (*πίσαι*, imprt. *πίε*)—aor. inf. *πείν* (148)—*πέπαυκα*.

[*Moeris* 294 *πίομαι*, *πίθι*, *Ἀττικῶς* *πιούμαι*, *πίε* (155, c), *Ἑλληνικῶς*.]

*N* : *τίνω* 'drink'—*πῶ* (imprt. *πίε* 155, c)—(*ἐπία*) *ῥπια* (720)—*πιωμένος* dissimilation from *ἐλπωμένος* i.e. *ἐρρημένος* (supra 151, 2) 'drunk'.

214. \*(*πιπράσκω* 'sell'; *Α* *πωλέω* or *ἀποδίδομαι*—fut. *πωλήσω* or *ἀποδώσομαι*—aor. *ἐπώλησα* or *ἀπεδόμην*)—pf. *πέπρακα*.—Pass. *πιπράσκειται*—*πεπράσμαι*—*ἐπράθην*—*πέπραμαι*—*ἐπέπρατο*.

*P forms* : *πιπράσκω* 'sell' (beside *πωλῶ*)—*ἐπίπρασκον*.—Pass. *πραθήσομαι*.—*ἐπίπρασα* (*Vita Epiph.* 81 v *ἐπίπρασεν* = *ἐπώλησεν*. *Vita SA* 14\* *ἂ δεύτε* *πιπράσμεν*), *πιπράσσασι*.

[In *N* replaced by *πωλῶ* or rather *πουλῶ* (so even in *FTrench.* 13 [†1005] & 143 [†130])—*ῥσω*—*λημένος*.]

215. \**πίπτω* 'fall'—*πεσοῦμαι*—*ἔπεσον*—*πέπτωκα*.

*P forms* : fut. *πίσομαι*—*ἔπιστα*—*πέπτωκες*, *πέπτωκαν*.—Pass. *ἀπο-πίπτομαι* (*Protev. Jacobi* 20, 1. *ἐπτῶθ* [= *ἔπεσε*] & *Achmet.* 144. *κατα-πτωθήναι* *Diod.* ii. 513; 17; *ἀπο-πτωθέντων* *Sophronios* 3429 c).—Mid. *ἀν-πέσαντο* (*Ev. Petri* 18).

*N* : *πέφτω* (from *πέσω* x *πίπτω*, op. *πέπτωκα*, *πέφτη* 174) 'fall'—*πέσω*—*πεσμένος*.

216. *ἱπλέκω* 'twine,' 'plait'—*ἔπλεξα*—*δια-πέπλοχα*.—Pass. *ἐμ-πλεχθήσμαι*—*ἐπλέχθην*, & 2nd *ἐπλάκην*—*πέπλεγμαι*.

*P forms* : *πλέξω* (860) 'plait'—Mid. *ἐπλεξάμην*.—Pass. *συν-επλέκησαν*.

*N* : *πλέκω* 'plait,' 'braid'—*πλέξω*—*πλε(γ)μένος* (179).

217. *ἱπλέω* 'swim,' 'navigate' (*πλείς* etc. 834)—*ἔπλεον*—*πλεύσομαι* & *-σοῦμαι*—*ἔπλευσα*—*πέπλευκα*.—Pass. *πεπλευσμένος*.

*P forms* : fut. *πλεύσω*.—Pass. *περι-πλευσθήσεται*—*ἐπλεύσθην*.

*N* : *πλέ(γ)ω* (860) 'swim'—*πλέψω* (also *πλέξω*, *Crete*)—*πλεμένος*.

218. \**πλήττω* 'strike' (in *A* commoner *παίω*, *τύπτω*)—*έκ-*, *κατα-πλήξω*—*ἐπληξα*—*πέπληγα*.—Pass. *έκ-πλήττομαι*—*πληγήσομαι* (but *έκ-πληγήσομαι*) ; *πεπλήξομαι*—*ἐπλήγην* (but *έξ-*, *κατ-επλάγην*)—*πέπληγμαι*.

*P forms* : *πλήσσω* 'strike'—*πλήξω*—*ἐπληξα*.—Mid. *πλήσσομαι*—*πλήξομαι*—*ἐπληξάμην*.—Pass. *ἐπλήχθην*.

219. \**πνέω* 'blow,' 'breathe'—*πνευσοῦμαι* (but *ἐμ-πνεύσομαι*)—*ἔπνευσα*—*ἐπι-πέπνευκα*.

*P forms* : *πνεύσω*.—Pass. *δια-πνευσθήσομαι*—*δι-επνεύσθην*—*ἐμ-πέπνευ(σ)μας*.

*N* : *ἀνα-πνέ(γ)ω* (860) 'breathe'—*ἀναπνέψω* (from *πνεύσω*) & *-πνέξω* (from *πνέγω*)—*ἀναπνεμένος*.

220. *ἱπνίγω* 'choke,' 'throttle'—*ἀπο-πνίξω*—*ἀπ-ἐπνιξα*.—Pass. *ἀπο-πνιγήσομαι*—*ἀπ-επνίγην*—*πέπνιγμαι*.

*P forms* : *ἀπο-πνίγομαι* (*Eunap.* p. 24 *GFBoiss.*)—*ἐπνιξα*.—Pass. *πνιγήσομαι*, *ἀποσπνιγέσθαι* (*Eunap.* V. *Soph.* p. 38)—*ἐπνίγην* & *ἀπ-επνίχθην*.

*N* : *πνίγω* 'choke,' 'drown'—*πνίξω*.—Pass. *πνίγομαι*—*πνιγῶ*—*ἐπνίγῃκα*—*πνι(γ)-μένος* (179).

221. *ἱποθέω* 'long for,' 'desire'—*ποθήσω* (& *-ίσομαι* ?)—*ἐπόθησα* (*-εσα* ?).

*P forms* : *πεπόθηκα*.—Mid. *ποθοῦμαι*—*προ-ποθηθείσῃς*—*πεποθήμενος*.

*N* : (*ποθέω*) *ποθῶ* 'long for'—*ποθήσω*—*τὸ ποθοῦμενο* *ἀσπεδατήν*.

222. *ποιέω* 'make,' 'do,'—regular (833).

*P forms* : *ποιῶσαι*, *ποισάμενοι*, *πεποίκει* (148).

*N* : *ἵποικα* (= *ἐποίησα* 1875) rare; otherwise replaced by *κά(μ)νω*, which see above 126.

223. Ἰ*πονίω* 'labour,' 'suffer'—*πονήσω—ἐπόνησα—πεπόνηκα—ἐπεπονή-  
κειν.*—Mid. δι-*επονησάμην.*—Pass. δι-, ἐξ-*επονήθην.*

*P* forms (843<sup>b</sup>): *πονέσω* (Sept. Esai. 19, 10)—*ἐπόνεσα* (Sept. often).—  
Mid. *πονίσσομαι, κατα-πονήσομαι.*—Pass. *ἐπονήθην* (also mid.).

*N*: (*πονέω*) *πονῶ* 'suffer pain'—*πονέσω—πονέμενος* (843<sup>b</sup>).

224. \**πορεύω* 'convey'—*πορεύσω—ἐπόρευσα.*—Pass. *πορεύομαι 'go,'  
'wander'—πορεύσομαι* (durat.), *πορευθήσομαι* (effect.)—*ἐπορεύθην—  
πεπόρευμαι.*

*P*: *πορεύω=πορεύομαι* (Pachom. 948 A).

*N*: *πορεύ(γ)ομαι* (860) (Crete) 'get along,' 'can subsist'—*πορευθῶ.*

225. Ἰ*πράσσω* or *πράττω* 'do'—*πράξω—ἔπραξα—πέπραγα & (P?) πεί-  
πραχα.*—Mid. *πράξομαι ἐπραξάμην—πέπραγμα.*—Pass. *πράξομαι* (durat.),  
*πραχθήσομαι* (effect.); *πεπράξεται* (685)—*ἐπράχθην.*

*N*: *πράσσω* 'act,' 'dwell'—*πράξω.*

226. \**πρίασθαι* see *ὠνέομαι* (infra 321).

227. \**πτάρνυμι* 'sneeze'—aor. 2nd *ἔπταρον.*

*P* forms: *πτάρνυμι* 'sneeze'—*πτάρνυτες.*

*N*: *φταρνίζομαι & φταρμίζομαι* 'sneeze'—*-στώ—-σμένος.*

228. \**πτῆσσω* 'crouch'—*ἔπηξα—ἔπηχα.*

*P* forms: *πτῆξω—ἔπηκα.*

229. \**πτύσσω* 'fold'—*ἀνα-πτύξω—ἔπτυξα.*—Mid. *ἐπτυξάμην—ἀν-  
έπτυγμα.*—Pass. δι-*επτύχθην.*

*P* forms: *προσ-πτύξομαι—ἀν-επτύγην—πέπτυκται.*

230. Ἰ*πτύω* 'spit'—*πτύσομαι—κατ-έπτυσα.*

*P* forms: fut. *πτύσω—ἔπτυσα—ἔπτυκα.*—Pass. *ἀνα-πτυσθήσομαι—ἔπτύσθην.*

*N*: *φτύῶ* (174, 155, c) & *φτώ* (from *φτεῖς*, 859<sup>c</sup>) 'spit'—*φτύσω—φτυσμένος.*

231. \**πυνθάνομαι* 'inquire,' 'hear'—*πεύσομαι—ἐπυνθόμην—πέπυσμαι.*  
Since *G* replaced by *ἐξετάζω, ἐρωτώ, μανθάνω*, etc.

232. Ἰ*ραίνω* 'sprinkle'—*ρανῶ—ἔρρανα* (65).

*P* forms: *ἔρραγκα—περιρρανάμενος—ρανθείς—βέραμμα* (739), *ἔρραμμένος.*

*N*: *ραίνω* 'sprinkle'—*ράνω.*

233. Ἰ*ράπτω* 'sew'—*ἀπο-ρράψω—ἔρραψα.*—Mid. *ἐρραψάμην.*—Pass.  
*ἐρράφην ἔρραμμα.*

*N*: *ράφω* (174) & *ράβω* (875) 'sew'—*ράψω—ραμμένος.*

234. \**ῥέω* 'flow'—*ῥέσομαι* (durat.), *ῥύσσομαι* (effect.)—*ἔρρῶν—ἔρρῶκα.*

*P* form: *ῥέρευκα* (Hrdn. Gr. Philot. 417; Hippol. Haer. 196, 3).

[In *N* replaced by *τρέχω* and *χύνομαι*.]

235. *ρήγνυμι* (also *ῥηγνύω*) 'break'—*ρήξω—ῥρηξα.*—Mid. *κατα-ῥρήγνυ-  
μαι—κατ-ερρηξάμην—πῖ. δι-, ἀν-έρρωγα* 'am broken.'—Pass. *ῥαγήσομαι—  
ἐρράγην* (997, 7).

*P* forms: *ῥηγνύω & ῥήσσω—διέρρηχα.*—Mid. *ἐρρηξάμην—έρρωγα.*—Pass.  
*συν-έρρηγμα, ἀπο-ῥρήκεται* (739)—*ῥηχθεῖσα.*

[Moeris 307 *ῥηγνύσας διὰ τοῦ α' Ἀττικῶς, ῥηγνύουσιν ἢ ῥήσουσιν Ἑλληνικῶς.*]

In *N* replaced by *σπά*(ν)ω, *σχίζω* (which see below 249); but *βαγίζω* (from *βαγῶ*), also *βαίζω* (155<sup>b</sup> & 863) 'crack'—*βαγίσω*—*βαγισμένος*.

[Some connect *N* *ρίχνω* and *ρίπτω* 'throw' with *A* *ρήγνυμι* and write accordingly *ρήχτω* and *ρήχτω*; but see below under *ρίπτω* 237.]

236. \**ρίγώ* 'shiver' contracts to ω and φ instead of ου and οι (836), though *ρίγοῦσι* (Pl. Phil. 45 B) and *ρίγούντων* (Xen. Hell. 4, 5, 4); inf. *ρίγων* for and beside *ρίγουν*.—*ρίγῶσω*—*έρριγῶσα*.

*P* forms: *ρίγῶ* (? see *N*)—*έρριγώκτες*.

[*Moeris* 307 *ρίγυντος* 'Αττικῶς, *ρίγούντος* 'Ελληνικῶς. 309 *ρίγῶν* 'Αττικῶς, *ρίγουν κοινῶς, ρίγοι*(ν) [i.e. *ρίγειν* 251 & App. v. 8<sup>c</sup>] 'Ελληνικῶς.]

*N*: *ρίγῶ* (so even *Apophth.* 260 D οὐ *ρίγῶτε* & CGL 399 [MS. of VIII-IX<sup>th</sup>] *rigo, rigas, rigu, rigomen*), & *έργῶ* (from *έρ'γῶ* 132<sup>b</sup> & 136, Crete) 'shiver,' 'am cold'—*άσω*—*σμένος*.

237. \**ρίπτω*, also *ρίπτέω* 'throw'—*ρίψω*—*έρριψα*—*έρριφα*.—Pass. *ἀπο-ρριφθῆσομαι*—*έρριφθην* & *έρριφην*—*έρριμμαι*.

*P* forms: *ρίφῶ*—*έρρίφωμαι* (Luc. i. 673)—*βέριμμαι* (739).

*N*: *ρίχνω* & *ρίπτω* or *ρή-* (from *ρίπτω* x *ρήγνω* and *ρίγνω* x *ρίπτω*? see above under *ρήγνυμι*) 'throw'—*ρίξω* or *ρήξω* (*Apoc. Mar.* 124, 14 *ράττω* [read *άρατέ*] *με* και *ρήξατέ* *με*) [The forms *ρίψω* *έρριψα* due to literary influence?]*—ρίμμένος*.

238. \**ρῶννυμι* (also *-νύω*) 'strengthen'—*ἐπ-έρρωσα*.—Pass. *έρρώσθην*—*έρρωμαι* (imprt. *έρρωσο*, *έρρωσθε* 'farewell,' inf. *έρρώσθαι*)—*έρρώμην*.

*P* forms: *ρῶννύω*—*ἐπ-έρρώσω*—*έρρωσα*.—Pass. *ρῶσθῆσομαι*.

239. \**σβέννυμι* 'extinguish,' 'quench'—*σβέσω*—*έσβεσα*.—Mid. *ἀπ-έσβην* (*ἀπο-σβῆναι*, *ἀπο-σβεῖς*).—Pass. *σβέννυμαι*—*ἀπο-σβήσομαι*—*έσβεσθην*—pf. *ἀπ-έσβηκα* 'am extinguished' (997, 8). See 979.

*P* forms: *σβέννύω*.—Pass. *σβεσθῆσομαι*—*έσβεσμαι*.

*N*: *σβύνω* or *σβήνω* (northern *σβένω* 902) 'extinguish,' 'quench'—*σβύσω* or *σβήσω*—*σβυμμένος* or *σβήμένος*.

240. *ῥεῖω* 'shake'—*σεισω*—*κατα-σείσεικα*.—Mid. *ἀπ-εσεισάμην*.—Pass. *έσεισθην*—*σείσεσμαι*.

*P* forms: *ῥεῖω*.—Pass. *σειώμαι*.

*N*: *σειῶ* (155, ο) 'shake' (*σεῖς*, *σεῖ*, 148 & 702)—*σεισω*—*σεισμένος*.

241. *ῥημανῶ* 'show,' 'indicate'—*σημανῶ*—*έσημνη* (& *-ανα*).—Mid. *έσημνήμην*.—Pass. *ἐπι-σημανθῆσομαι*—*σεσήμασμαι*.

*P* forms: *έσημνα*—*σεσήμαγκα*.—Mid. *σημανούμαι*.—Pass. *σημανθῆσομαι*—*έσημάνθην*.

*N*: *σημαίνω* 'sound' (of the *σήμαντρον* 'sounding metal,' 'gong')—*σημάνω*—(*σημασμένος*).

242. \**σήπω* 'make putrid.'—Pass. *κατα-σασπήσομαι*—*έσάπην*—pf. *σέσηπα* 'am rotten.'

*P* forms: *σήψω*—*κατ-έσηψα*.—Pass. *έσήφθην*—*σέσημμαι*.

*N*: *σασπίζω* 'make or become putrid'—*σασπίσω*.—Also pass. (Crete) *σασπίζομαι*—*σασπηθῶ*—*έσασπήθηκα*—*σασπημένος*.

243. *σιγῶ* 'am silent'—*σιγῆσομαι*—*έσιγήσα*—*σεσίγηκα*.—Pass. *σιγηθῆσομαι*; *σεσιγήσομαι*—*έσιγήθην*—*σεσίγημαι*.

*P* form: *σιγῆσω*.

244. \**σιωπάω* 'am silent'—*σιωπήσομαι*—*έσιώπησα*—*σεσιώπηκα*.

*P* form: *σιωπήσω*.

*N* *σιωπῶ* rare (as δὲ *σιωπῶς*);, *σιωπαίνω* & *σιωπάζω* 'become silent'—*σιωπάσω*—*σιωπασμένος* (for *σιωπ-σιωπ-* see 152).



245. ἱσκάπτω 'dig'—σκάψω—κατ-έσκαψα—κατ-έσκαφα.—Pass. κατεσκάφην—έσκαμμαι.

*P forms*: κατα-σκαφήσομαι—έσκάφην.

*N* σκάπτω (174), also σκάβω (875), 'dig'—σκάβω—σκαμμένος.

246. °(σκεδάννυμι 'scatter') δια-, κατα-, ἀπο-σκεδάννυμι—ἀπο-, δια-σκεδῶ (889)—δι-, κατ-εσκεδάσα.—Pass. έσκεδάσθην—έσκέδασμαι.

*P forms*: σκεδαννύω, σκεδάω & σκεδάζω (937)—σκεδάσω—έσκέδασα.—Pass. δια-σκεδάννυται—σκεδασθήσεται.

[*N* διασκεδάζω 'amuse'—διασκεδάσω—διασκεδασμένος is apparently due to literary influence.]

247. ἱ(σκέπτομαι 'look about') *A* σκοπέω & σκοπέομαι—έσκόπουν & έσκοπούμην—σκέψομαι—σκεψάμην—έσκεμμαι—έσκέψεται (pass.).

*P forms*: σκέπτομαι 'examine'—σκοπήσω—έσκόπησα—έσκοπησάμην—έσκόπημαι.—Pass. έσκέφθην (έπ-εσκέπην Sept. Num. 1, 19; 47).

*N* σκέπτομαι (174) 'ponder over,' 'think'—σκεφτώ—σκεμμένος.

248. °σκάπτω 'mock,' 'scoff'—σκάψομαι—έσκωψα.—Mid. έσκωψάμην.—Pass. έσκόφθην—έσκωμμαι.

249. \*σπῖω 'pull'—σπάσω—έσπασα—έσπακα.—Mid. σπάσομαι—έσπασάμην—έσπασμαι.—Pass. δια-σπασθήσομαι—έσπάσθην—έσπασμαι.

*P form*: σπασθήσομαι.

*N* σπῖω (so even Achmet. 181) & σπάνω (906), also σπάζω (868), 'break'—σπάσω—σπασμένος.

250. \*σπείρω 'sow'—σπερώ—έσπειρα.—Pass. έσπάρην—έσπαρμαι.

*P forms*: έσπαρκα—σπείρασθαι—σπαρήσομαι.

*N*: σπέρνω (903) 'sow'—σπείρω—σπαρμένος.

251. °σπίνδω 'pour out,' 'make a libation'—κατα-σπείσω—έσπειρα.—Mid. 'make an agreement'—σπείσομαι—έσπειςάμην.—Mid. & pass. έσπειςμαι.

*P forms*: σπείσω—κατεσπείκώς (Plut. Sert. 14).—Pass. έσπείσθην.

252. ἱσπουδάζω 'make haste,' 'hurry'—σπουδάσομαι—έσπουδάσα—έσπούδακα.—Pass. έσπούδασμαι.

*P forms*: σπουδῖσω.—Mid. δι-εσπουδαζύμην (Apt. An. 7, 23)—δια-σπουδάσομαι.—Pass. σπουδασθήσομαι—έσπουδόςθην.

*N*: σπουδάζω 'make haste,' 'study'—σπουδάξω (873) & -άσω—έσπούδαξα (also -ακα 1875)—σπουδασμένος (also σπουδαγμένος).

253. (στέλλω 'despatch')—ἀπο-, έπι-στέλλω—έστειλα—έπ-, άπέσταλκα.—Mid. ύπ-εστειλάμην.—Pass. στέλλομαι—ἀπο-σταλήσομαι—έστάλην—έσταλμαι.

*P forms*: έσταλκα & 2nd έστολα.—Pass. έστάλθην.

[*N* στέλλω, στέλνω (904, for στέρνω 187),—στέλλω—σταλμένος—points to literary influence? Genuine popular substitute (μ)πέμνω, see supra 203.]

254. στενάζω 'sigh'—έστέναξα.

*P forms*: στενάζω—έστεναγμένος.

*N*: άνα-στενάζω 'sigh'—άναστενάξω—άναστενα(γ)μένος (179) 'wretched.'

255. °(στερέω, ἀπο- 'deprive') & στερίσκω—στερήσω—έστέρησα.—Pass. ἀπο-στερούμαι, στερίσκομαι & στέρομαι—έστερόμην—στερήσομαι (durat.), στερηθήσομαι *P* (effect.)—έστερήθην.

*P* forms : **ἰστέρεσα** (839<sup>b</sup>)—**ἰστέρηκα**.—*Pass.* **στερούμαι**—**στερηθήσομαι**—**ἰστέρημαι**, **ἰστέρεσμαι**.—~~843~~ Since *P*, it is frequently confounded with, and mostly replaced by, **ὑστερίω** (as Pachom. 948 B) which see below 287.

256. **στόρνυμι** & **\*στρώννυμι** 'spread'—**παρα-, ὑπο-στορῶ** & **ὑπο-στρώσω**—**ἑστέρεσα** & **ἑστρωσα**.—*Mid.* **ὑπο-στόρνυμαι**.—*Pass.* **ἑστρωμαι**.

*P* forms : **στρωννύω**—**στρώσω** & **στορίσω**—**ἑστρωκα**.—*Mid.* **στρώσομαι**—**ἑστορεσάμην** (**στρωσάμενοι**).—*Pass.* **στρωθήσομαι**—**κατ-εστρώθην**, **ἑστορέσθην**—**ἑστορέσμην**.

*N* : **στρών(ν)ω** 'spread'—**στρώσω**—**στρωμένος** (775. 853).

257. **\*στρέφω** 'turn'—**ἀπο-, δια-, ἀνα-στρέψω**—**ἑστρεψα**.—*Mid. fut.* **ἀπο-, κατα-στρέψομαι** (& *pass.*)—**κατ-εστρεψάμην**—**ἑστραμμαι** (& *pass.*).—*Pass.* **δια-στραφήσομαι**—(but subj. **στρεφθῶ**)—**ἑστρέφθην** (**στρεφθεῖς**).

*P* forms : **στρέφω**—**ἐπ-εστροφῶς**.—*Mid. & Pass.* **στρέψομαι**, *Pass.* **στραφήσομαι**.

*N* : **στρέφομαι** 'take a look at'—**στραφῶ**.

258. **στρώννυμι** see **στόρνυμι** (above 256).

259. **ἰ(σφάζω 873) σφάττω** 'kill'—**σφάζω**—**ἑσφαξα**.—*Pass.* **ἀπο-σφαγήσομαι**—**ἀπ-, κατ-εσφάγην** (**εσφάχθην**)—**ἑσφαγμαι**.

*P* forms : **ἑσφακα**—**σφαγήσομαι**—**ἑσφάγην**.

*N* : **σφάζω** 'kill'—**σφάζω**—**σφα(γ)μένος** (179).

260. **\*σφάλλω** 'cause to fall'—**σφαλῶ**—**ἑσφηλα**.—*Pass.* **σφαλοῦμαι** (*durat.*), **σφαλίσομαι** (*effect.*)—**ἑσφάλην**—**ἑσφαλμαι**.

*P* forms : **ἑσφακα**—**ἑσφάλθην**—(**ἑσφαλόμεν** as Orig. i. 1337 B).—Also neuter : **σφάλλω**='err.'

*N* : (**σφάλλω**) **σφάλινω**, **σφαίρνω** (904)—**σφάλω**—(**σφαλμένος**) **σφαρμένος**.

261. **σφάττω** see **σφάζω** (above 259).

262. **ἰσφύζω** (**σῶζω**) 'save'—**σῶσω** (**σώσω**)—**ἑσφωσα**—(**ἑσωσα**)—**σέσφωκα** or **σέσωκα**.—*Mid.* **διασφύσομαι** (**-σῶ-**),—**δι-, ἀν-εσφυσάμην** (**-σω-**).—*Pass.* **σωθήσομαι** (**σψ-**)—**ἑσώθην**—**εσέσμαι** & **σέσψμαι**.

*P* forms : **σφύσομαι**—**ἑσφύσθην**.—*By-form* : **σαννύω**.

*N* : **σφύω** 'save'—**σφύσω**.—*Pass.* **σφυστῶ**—**ἑσφύστηκα**—**σφυσμένος**.—*By-forms* : **σάν(ν)ω** 'reach', 'suffice' & **σαν(ν)ίζω** (Crete) 'stop.' (Cp. Antatē. 114, 5 **σαννύν** ἀντὶ τοῦ σφύω Δεινύλοχος Μειδίq.)

263. **ἱταράσσω** & **-ττω** 'stir'—**ταράξω**—**ἐτάραξα**.—*Pass.* **ταράξομαι** (*durat.*), **ταρυχθίσομαι** *P* (*effect.*)—**ἐταράχθην**—**τετάραγμαι**.

*P* form : **συν-εταράχειν**.—*Pass.* **ταραχθήσομαι**.

*N* : **ταράσσω**, also **ταράζω** (880) 'stir'—**ταράξω**—**ταρα(γ)μένος** (179).

264. **ἱτάσσω** & **τάττω** 'arrange'—**τάξω**—**ἔταξα**—**τέταχα**.—*Mid.* **ἐπι-, ἀντι-τάξομαι**.—*Pass.* **ταχθήσομαι**; **τετάξομαι**—**ἐτάχθην**—**τέταγμα**.

*P* forms : *Mid.* **τάσσομαι**, also 'vow'—**τάξομαι**.—*Pass.* **ἐν-ταγήσομαι**—**ἐτάγην**.

*N* : **τάσσω** & **τάξω** (880) 'promise'—**τάξω**—**τα(γ)μένος** (179).—*Mid.* 'vow'—**ταχτῶ**—**τα(γ)μένος** 'promised.'

265. **\*τείνω** 'stretch'—**τενῶ**—**ἔτεινα**—**τέτακα**.—*Mid.* **προ-τενούμαι**—**ἔτεινάμην**.—*Pass.* **παρα-τενούμαι** (*durat.*), **-ταθήσομαι** (*effect.*)—**-ετάθην**—**τέτάμαι**.

*P* forms : *Mid.* **τείνομαι**.—*Pass.* **ταθήσομαι**—**ἐτάθην**.

[In *N* **τεντάνω** & **ξεντάνω** 'stretch'—**-ώσω**—**-ωμένος**.]

266. <sup>ο</sup>τελέω 'accomplish'—τελῶ (889)—έτέλεσα—τετέλεκα.—Mid. έτε-  
λεσάμην.—Pass. έτελέσθην—τετέλεσμαι.

P forms: τελέσω—άπο-τελεσθήσομαι, τελεσθησόμενος.

[In N τελειώνω, less common τελεύω 'finish,' both regular.]

267. <sup>ο</sup>τέλλω 'accomplish', άνα-τέλλω 'raise,' 'rise'—άν-έτειλα.—Mid.  
έν-τέλλομαι 'order'—έν-τεειλάμην—έν-τέταλμαι.

P forms: άνα-τέταλκα.—Mid. έν-τελοῦμαι.

268. <sup>ο</sup>τίμνω 'cut'—τεμῶ (892)—έτεμον—τέτμηκα.—Mid. ύπο-τεμοῦμαι—  
ετέμόμην.—Pass. τμηθήσομαι; τεμήσομαι—έτμήθην—τέτμημαι.

[In P-N speech replaced by κόπτω (N also κόβω) which see above 137.]

269. (τετραίνω 'bore')—aor. συν-έτρησα.—Pass. τέτρημαι.

P forms: τιτραίνω & τιτράω, also τορέω, but generally τρυντάω (regular),  
which last is still universal in N.

270. <sup>ο</sup>τήκω 'melt'—έκ-τήξω—έτηξα.—Pass. έτάκην—τέττηκα 'am  
molten'—έτετήκην (997, 5).

P forms: τήξω—έτηξα.—Pass. τήξομαι (durat.) τακτήσομαι (effect.)—έτήχθην  
—τέττηγμαι.

N: τήκομαι 'melt'—έτήκουμην.—The rest from λύνω (in G-T often λειάνω).

271. τίθημι, P τίθω, see 955-9 & 963 ff.

272. <sup>ο</sup>τίκτω 'bear'—τέξομαι—έτεκον—τέτοκα.

P forms: τέξω—έτεξα.—Pass. τεχθήσομαι—ιτέχθην—τέτεγμαι.

[In N replaced by γεννάω.]

273. <sup>ο</sup>τιμάω 'honour,' regular (828); Pass. τιμήσομαι (durat.), τιμηθή-  
σομαι (effect.); τετιμήσομαι.

N: τιμάω 'honour' τιμήσω—τιμημένος.

274. <sup>ο</sup>τίνω (also τείνω) 'pay'—τίσω—έτισα—τέτίκα.—Pass. έξ-ετίσθην  
—έκ-τέτισμαι έξ-ετετίσμην.

[In N replaced by πληρώνω or rather πλερώνω (40) 'pay'—πλερώσω—πλερω-  
μένος.]

275. <sup>ο</sup>τιτρώσκω 'wound'—τρώσω—έτρωσα.—Pass. τρωθήσομαι—έτρώ-  
θην—τέτρωμαι.

P forms: τετραρκός—έτετρώκειν.—τετρώσομαι.

[Since T times replaced by πληγάνω 'wound' (as Theoph. 236, 3. 319. 3.  
Achmet. 77, 80)—πληγώσω—έπλήγωσα—πληγωμένος.]

276. <sup>ο</sup>τρέπω 'turn'—τρέψω—έτρεψα—τέτροφα.—Mid. τρέψομαι—έτρε-  
ψάμην (also trans.), έτραπόμην (intr.)—Pass. έτρέφθην—τέτραμμαι.

P forms: τέτραφα—τραπήσομαι; τρέψομαι.

N: έ[ν]τρέπομαι (723) (=αλδίομαι, αλσχύνομαι)—ντραπῶ (impert. ντράψου).

277. <sup>ο</sup>τρέφω 'nourish'—θρέψω (183 f.)—έθρεψα—τέτροφα.—Mid. θρέ-  
ψομαι (durat.), τρηφήσομαι (effect.)—έθρεψάμην.—Pass. τραφήσομαι—  
ετράφην (θρεφθείσι Pl. Pol. 310 A)—τέθραμμαι.

N: θρέφω (184) 'nourish'—θρέψω—θρεμμένος.

278. <sup>ο</sup>τρέχω 'run'—άπο-θρέξομαι (183), δραμοῦμαι—έδραμον—άνα-δεδρά-  
μηκα.—Pass. έπ:-δεδράμηται.

P forms: θρέξω & δράμω (or δραμῶ? 894), άνα-δράμωμαι—(έθρεξα)—δεδρόμηκα.

N: τρέχω 'run' (impert. τρέχα beside τρέχε [830<sup>b</sup>], τρεχάτε)—τρέξω (184)—  
(τρεχάμενος 'flowing,' 'running,' τρεχούμενος 'current,' τρεχάτος = θέω  
'running').

279. *Τρίβω* 'rub'—*τρίψω—τρίψα—τέτριφα*.—Mid. *προσ-τρίψομαι—ἀπ-, προσ-τριψάμην*.—Pass. *κατα-τρίβησμαι; ἐπι-τετρίψομαι—ἐτρίβην* (also *ἐτρίφθην*)—*τέτριμμα*.

*N*: *τρίβω & τρίβω* (861) *rub*—*τρίψω—τριμμένος*.

280. *Τρίξω* (*P*) 'creak'—*τρίξω—τρίξα—τέτριγα* as present 'creak.'

*N*: *τρίξω* 'creak'—*τρίξω—τριγμένος* (179) & *τρισμένος*.

281. \**τρώγω* 'gnaw,' *P* also 'eat'—*τρώξομαι—ἐτραγον*.—Pass. *δια-τέ-τρωγμαι*.

*N*: *τρώγω* (*τρώ(γ)εις & τρώς* 863 & 154) 'eat'—*φά(γ)ω—φα(γ)ωμένος* (863. 155<sup>b</sup> f.).

282. \**τυγχάνω* 'hit,' 'chance'—*τεύξομαι—ἐτυχον—τετύχηκα*.

*P* forms: *τέτευχα, τέτυχα*.—Also *τυγχάνομαι* (pass.)—*ἐν-ετύχθην, ἀπ-ετεύχθην* (*τύχοιτο* Mitth. xix 249, 135 [III<sup>d</sup> A.D., Athens])—*ἀπο-τέτευγμα*.—Adverbially *τυχόν* 'perchance,' *forte* (2125).

[Phryn. 373 *τέτευχε τιμῆς, τέτευχε τοῦ σκοποῦ μὴ λέγε, ἀλλ' αὐτ' αὐτοῦ τῷ δοκίμῳ χρῶ τετύχηκε*.]

*N*: (*M τυχάνω*, 190) *τυχαίνω* (901) 'chance'—*τύχω*.—Compound *ἐπιτυχαίνω* & commoner *πετυχαίνω* (755)—*πιτύχω & πετύχω—πιτυχαιμένος & πετυχαιμένος*.

283. \**τύπτω* 'strike'—*τυπτήσω—ἐπάταξα, ἔπαισα* (see above *πατάσσω & παίω*).—Pass. *τυπτήσομαι*.

*P* forms: *τύψω—ἐτύψα & ἐτύπησα* (also 2nd *ἐτυπον*)—*τετύπηκα, τέτυφα*.—Mid. *ἐτυψάμην*.—Pass. *ἐτύπην, ἐτυπτήθην & ἐτύφθην—τέτυμμαι & τετύπημαι*.

[Moeris 339 *τυπτήσιν Ἀττικῶς, παίσειν Ἑλληνικῶς*.]

[In *N* replaced by *δέρνω* (see above 43) and *κτυπάω*.]

284. \**τύφω* 'smoke'.—Pass. *ἐπι-τυφήσομαι—τεθυμμένος*.

285. \**ὕγιαίνω* 'am healthy'—*ὕγιανῶ—ὕγιανα*.

*P-B* forms: *ὕγιασθήσομαι—ὕγιασθην (ὕγιασθην)—ὕγιασμένος*.

*N*: *γιαίνω* (723)—*γιάνω—γιαμ(μ)ένος*.

286. *ὑπ-ισχνίομαι* see *ἔχω* (supra 98, 4).

287. *ὕστερῶ* 'am too late,' 'fail'—*ὕστερήκει*.

*P-B* forms: *ὕστερήσω—ὕστερήκα*. ~~ω~~ Frequently confounded with *στερέομαι*, as *ὕστερήσομαι* Eur. I. A. 1203. NT Rom. 3, 23 etc. Joseph. 15, 6, 7.—See *στερέω* above 255.

[The *N* forms: *ὕστεροῦμαι* 'am needy' *ὕστερηθῶ—ὕστερημένος* savour of literary influence.]

288. \**ὕφαίνω* 'weave'—*ὕφανῶ—ὕφηνα*.—Pass. *ὕφανθην—ὕφασμαι*.

*P-B* forms: *ὕφανα—συν-ύφαγκα*.—Mid. *ὕφηνάμην & ὕφανάμην*.

*N*: *φαίνω* (134 ff. 723) 'weave'—*φάνω—φαμ(μ)ένος* (149[1]) (cp. ancient *ὑφαιμμα*).

289. \**ὕω* 'rain'—*ὕσω—ὕσα*.—Pass. *ἐφ-υσμένος*.

[Since *G* replaced by *βρέχω* which is still universal in *N*, see above 33.]

290. *φαγεῖν* see *ἐσθίω* (& *τρώγω*) above 91 (& 281).

291. \**φαίνω* 'show'—*φανῶ—ἔφηνα*.—Pass. *ἴφαινομαι* 'appear'—*φανοῦμαι* (durat.), *φανήσομαι* (effect.)—*ἐφάνθην*, (intr.) *ἐφάνην—πέφηνα* 'have appeared' (997, 10)—*πέφασμαι*.—Mid. *ἀπο-φαίνομαι* 'express'—*ἀποφανοῦμαι—ἀπεφηνάμην*.

*N*: *φαίνομαι* 'appear'—*φανῶ—ἐφάνηκα*. [By-form: *φανίζομαι* (i.e. *ἐμφανίζομαι* 723) 'make my appearance'.]

292. φάσκω 'say' replaces φημί in the participle and imperfect: φάσκων, ἔφασκον (975 ff.).

293. ἰφέρω 'bear,' 'bring,' 'carry'—ἔφερον—οἶσω—ἤνεγκα & ἤνεγκον—ἐνήνοχα.—Pass. ἐνεχθήσομαι, also οἰσθήσομαι—ἤνιχθην—ἐνήνεγμαι.

Since P times popular speech has extended the stem φερ- to the fut. and aorist also (cp. 903), as: Moeris 261 οἶσε 'Ἀττικῶς, φέρε 'Ἑλληνικῶς καὶ κοινῶς—ἤφερα (CIG 1379), ἔφερα (J Moschos 3004 A).

N: φέρνω (903; Apoc. Sedrach 133, 36 ἀναφέρνεται διὰ φάρυγγος) 'bring'—φέρω—ἔφερα—φερμένος.

294. ἰφεύγω 'flee'—φεύξομαι (also φευξομαι)—ἔφυγον—πέφευγα.

P-B forms: φεύζω, φυγούμαι & φύγομαι—ἔφευξα.—Pass. δι-εφεύχθη, πεφυχθήναι.

N: φεύγω 'flee' (imprt. φεύγα beside φεύγε, φευγάτε beside φεύγετε, [830<sup>b</sup>])—φύγω—(φευγάτος = πεφευγώς, πεφυγμένος 1052).

295. φημί, see 975 ff.

296. ἰφθάνω 'anticipate'—ἔφθανον—φθήσομαι—ἔφθασα, 2nd ἔφθην (φθάνην, φθῆναι, φθάς).

P-B forms: φθάσω—(ἔφθαξα Theocr. 2, 115)—ἔφθακα, πεφθακώς (Damasc. ii. 268 A)—ἔφθάκειν, ἔπεφθάκει (Dion. C. 65, 18, 1).—Pass. ἐφθάνοντο—ἐφθάσθην.

[Moeris 360 φθῶσιν 'Ἀττικῶς, φθάσωσιν 'Ἑλληνικῶς.]

N: φτάνω (174) 'reach,' 'arrive'—φτάζω—φτασμένος.

297. φθείρω 'corrupt'—φθερῶ—ἔφθειρα—ἔφθαρκα (also δι-ἐφθορα trans.)—δι-εφθάρκει.—Pass. δια-φθερούμαι (durat.), δια-φθαρήσομαι (effect.)—ἔφθάρην—ἔφθαρμαι (also δι-εφθορα intr.).

P forms: ἔφθορα = ἔφθαρκα.—Pass. φθαρήσομαι—πέφθορμαι.

298. φιλότητος 'am ambitious'—φιλοτιμήσομαι—ἐφιλοτιμήσθην, φιλοτιμηθεῖς—πεφιλοτιμήμαι.

P forms (also 'bestow upon'): φιλοτιμηθήσομαι—ἐφιλοτιμησάμην.—Also pass.

299. \*φοβέω 'frighten'—(ἐκ-)φοβήσω—ἐφόβητα.—Mid. ἰφοβέομαι 'fear'.—Mid. & pass. φοβήσομαι (durat.), φοβηθήσομαι (effect.)—ἐφύβιθην—πεφόβημαι—ἐπεφοβήμην.

So too in P-B Greek. P-N by-form: φοβερίζω = φοβέω 'threaten.'

N: φοβοῦμαι 'fear'—φοβηθῶ—ἐφοβήθηκα—φοβισμένος from the by-form φοβίζω 'frighten.' The P φοβερίζω still obtains in N in the sense of 'threaten.'

300. ἰφορέω 'carry'—φορήσω—ἐφύρησα—κυτα-πεφόρηκα.—Mid. ἐξ-εφορησάμην.—Pass. πεφορημένος.

P-B forms: φορέσω (839<sup>b</sup>)—ἐφύρεσα—πεφορηκέτες.—Pass. φορήσομαι—ἐν-εφορήθην.

N: φορέω 'wear,' 'have on'—φορέσω—φορεμένος.

301. φράζω 'declare'—φράσω—ἔφρασα—πέφρακα.—Pass. πέφρασμα.

302. (ἰφράσσω) φράττω 'enclose'—φράζω—ἔφραξα.—Mid. ἐφραζάμην.—Pass. ἐφράχθην—πέφραγμα.

P forms: φράσσω—περι-πεφραγυῖαι—ἐπεφράκεσαν.—Pass. ἐμ-φραχθήσομαι, φραγήσομαι—ἐφράγγην.

N: φράσσω & φράζω (880) 'enclose'—φράζω—φρα(γ)μένος (179).

303. φρίσσω & -ττω 'shudder'—ἔφριξα—πέφρικα (as present).

P forms: φρίζω—πέφρικαν for πεφρίκασι (786).

304. Ἰφυλάσσω & ἴτω 'guard'—φυλάξω—ἐφύλαξα—πεφύλαχα.—Mid. φυλάξομαι (durat.), φυλαχθήσομαι *P* (effect.)—ἐφυλαξάμην—πεφύλαγμαι.—Pass. φυλάζομαι (durat.)—ἐφυλαχθῆν.

*P-B* forms: πεφύλακα—φυλαχθήσομαι.

*N*: φυλάσσω & φυλά(γ)ω (880. 155<sup>b</sup>) 'guard,' 'preserve' (φυλάεις φυλάῖς, φυλάει φυλᾶμε', etc. 863)—φυλάξω—ἐφύλαξα—φυλα(γ)μένος (179).

305. \*φύρω 'mix'—Pass. πέφυρμαι.—By-form: φυράω 'stir'—φυράσω—ἐφύρασα.—Mid. ἐφυρασάμην.—Pass. ἐφυράθην—πεφύραμαι.

*P* forms: ἐφύρσα & ἐφύρα.—Mid. φυρασάμενος.—Pass. συμ-φυρήσομαι, συναναφυρέντες.

*N*: ἀνα-φέρνηω (903) 'mix,' 'stir'—ἀναφύρω—ἀνάφερα—ἀναφερμένος.

306. \*φύω 'produce'—φύσω—ἔφύσα.—Mid. & Pass. φύομαι—'grow'—φύομαι—ἐφύν—πέφυκα 'am by nature,' 'it lies in me'—ἐπεφύκειν (997, 3).

*P* forms: φυήσομαι—ἐφύην—πέφυκαν (786).

In *N* replaced by φυτρῶν 'gr. π' and κάνω or γεννῶ 'produce.'

307. \*χαίρω 'rejoice'—χαίρῃσω (durat.), χαρήσομαι *P* (effect.)—ἐχίρην—κεχάρηκα (κεχάρημαι).

*P-B* forms: χαίρομαι—χαρήσομαι (effect. CIA ii. 593, b, 13 [IInd<sup>c</sup> B.C.] συναρρήσονται), χαρούμαι; κεχαρήσω, κεχαρήσομαι.

[Moeris 366 χαίρησις Ἀττικῶς, χαίρησιν (read χαρήσιν) Ἑλληνικῶς. Hdn. 393 χαίρω ἔρεϊς, οὐ χαίρομαι· εἰ δὲ μὴ ἀμάρτημα ἀμαρτήσεις δὲ καλεῖται Δατισμός ἀπὸ Δάτιδος τοῦ Πέρσου ὅστις πρῶτον εἶπεν ὅτι χαίρομαι, πλανηθεὶς τῷ ἔθει τῶν Ἀττικῶν.]

*N*: χαίρομαι 'rejoice'—χαρῶ—ἐχάρηκα—χαίράμενος, χαρούμενος (see 2111).

308. \*χαλάω 'loosen'—ἐχάλασα—ἐχηλάσθην.

*P* forms: χαλάσω—κεχάλακα.—Pass. κεχάλασμαι.

*N*: χαλάω (also χαλνῶν 906) 'destroy,' 'spoil'—χαλάσω—χαλασμένος.

309. \*χαρίζομαι (Mid. dep.) 'grant'—χαριούμαι—ἐχαρισάμην—κεχαρίσμαι (also pass.).

*N*: χαρίζω (so even Porphy. Car. 59, 14) 'grant,' 'offer'—χαρίσω—ἐχάρισα—χαρισάμενος. [χαρισάμενος, 'enjoyable,' 'delightful,' see 2111.]

310. Ἰχάσκω 'gape'—ἐγ-χανοῦμαι—ἔχανον—κέχηνα 'gape' (κεχήνη, imprt. κεχήνετε, κεχηνώς).

*N*: χάσκω 'gape' (imprt. χάσκα besides χάσκε, 830<sup>b</sup>)—ἔχασκα (ἀνα-χασκήσω), no more.—By-form: ἀνα-χασκίζω 'open my mouth'—ἀναχασκίσω.

311. Ἰχέλω caco—χεσοῦμαι (& κατα-χέσομαι, subj. χέσω)—κατ-έχεςα (ἐγ-χέσαιμι)—ἐγ-κέχοδα.—Pass. κεχέσμενος.

*P* form: χέσειν.

*N*: χέζω caco—χέσω—ἐχεσα—χεσμένος.

312. \*χέω 'pour'—fut. χέω, χεῖς, χεῖ (834) (subj. χέω—imprt. ἐγ-χεάτω)—ἔχεα (subj. ἐγ-, συγ-χέαιμι)—ἐκ-κέχυκα.—Mid. χέομαι—(fut.) χεόμενον—ἐχεάμην.—Pass. συγ-χυθήσομαι (effect.)—κέχυμαι.

*P-B* forms: χύνω & χύν(ν)ω (902)—χύσω, also χεῶ (χεεῖς etc. if not χέω, χεῖς, 894)—ἐχυσα.—Pass. συγχύννουν (Hermas Vis. 5, 5)—χυθήσομαι—ἐχυθῆν.

*N*: χύν(ν)ω 'pour'—χύσω—χυμένος.

313. \*χόω 'heap'—χόσω—ἔχωσα—ἀνα-κεχωκότες.—Pass. χωσθήσομαι—ἐχώσθην—κέχωσμαι.

*P* forms: χώννυμι & χωννύω.—Mid. χωσαμένη.

*N*: χών(ν)ω (851) 'bury,' 'hide'—χώσω—χωσμένος.

314. °XPA-, XPH-. 1. χρῶμαι 'use'—χρήσομαι—ἐχρησάμην—κέχρημαι.—Pass. ἐχρήσθην.

P forms : χρᾶσθαι (Sext. 644, 15 ; see 830 [1])—ἐχράτο (Dion. H. ii. 706)—κεχρήσεται (Theocr. 16, 73).

2. χρῶ 'give oracle'—χρήσω—ἐχρησα.—Pass. ἐχρήσθην.

P forms : χρᾶ, χρᾶν.

3. °ἀπο-χρῶ 'suffice' (subj. ἀποχρῆ [987<sup>b</sup>], inf. ἀποχρῆν, ἀποχρῶν)—ἀπέχρη—ἀποχρήσειν—ἀπέχρησε.—Mid. ἀποχρώμαι 'am content.'

315. ἱχρίω 'anoint'—χρίσω—ἐχρίσα.—Mid. ἐχρίσάμην—κέχρισμαι (κέχρισμαι).

P forms : κέχρικα.—Pass. χρισθήσομαι—ἐχρίσθην.

N : χρίῶ (155, 6) (also χρίνω 906) 'anoint,' 'smear'—χρίσω—χρισμένος.

316. °(χρῶξ) χρῶξ 'colour.'—Pass. ἐχρώσθην—κέχρωσμαι.

P forms : χρώννυμι—χρώσω—ἐχρωσα—ἐπι-κέχρωκα.—Pass. χρωσθήσομαι—κέχρωσμαι.

317. χώννυμι, see χῶω.

318. ψεύδω 'deceive,' 'belie'—ψεύσω—ἔψευσα.—Mid. 'lie'—ψεύσομαι (durat.), ψευσθήσομαι (effect.)—ἐψευσάμην—ἔψευσμαι.—Pass. ψευσθήσομαι—ἐψεύσθην.

319. ἱψύχω 'cool'—ψύξω—ἔψυξα.—Pass. ἐψύχθην, and 2nd ἀπ-, ἀνεψύχην ἐψυκται.

P forms : ψύγω.—Pass. ψυχθήσομαι & ψυγήσομαι—ἐψύγην.

[Moeris 382 ψυχῆναι Ἀττικῶς, ψυγῆναι Ἑλληνικῶς.]

N : ψύγω 'cool'—ψύξω.—Pass. ψυγῶ—ἐψύγηκα—ψυμ(μ)ένος (or ψημένος from ψήνω ; see under ἔψω above 99).

320. \*ὠθέω 'push'—ἐώθουν (726)—ῶσω—ἔωσα.—Mid. ἀπ-ώσομαι—ἔωσάμην—ἔωσμαι.—Pass. ὠσθήσομαι—ἔωσθην.

P forms : ὠθησα (152)—ἐξ-έωκα—ἐξ-έωκειν.—Mid. ὠθήσομαι (ἀπ-έωσομαι Sept. 4 Reg. 21, 14 ; ἐξέωσασθαι Vita Epiph. 105 A)—δι-, ἐξ-ὠθησάμην.—Pass. ἐξ-, ἀπ-ώσθην (ὠθηθεῖς)—ῶσμένος (152).

N : δ(μ)π-ώθω & ἀμπ-ώχνω (also ἀμπ-ώνω) 'push'—δ(μ)πώσω & ἀμπώξω—δ(μ)πωσμένος & ἀμπωγμένος (179 Petros Patrikios 126, 5 ἀπωγμένου).

321. °(ὠνέω) ὠνέομαι 'sell'—ἐωνούμην (726)—ὠνήσομαι—ὠνήμην (com-moner ἐπιδράμην)—ἔωνημαι (also pass.)—ἔωνήθην (pass.)—ἔωνηκώς.

P forms : ὠνησάμην (152)—ἀπ-ωνηθήσεται.

[Phryn. 5 ὠνάμην ὠνασο, ὠνατο πάντα ἀδόκιμα ὅταν διὰ τοῦ α' τὰ γὰρ ἀρχαῖα διὰ τοῦ η, ὠνήμην, ὠνησο, ὠνητο. 113 ἐωνησάμην' εἰς λόγους περὶ τοῦ ἀμαρτήματος. ἐνθα ἂν μὴ δυνηθῇ τὸ πρίασθαι ἢ ἐπιδράμην θεῖναι, ἐκεῖ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὠνούμαι τάρτε, ἐνθα δ' ἂν τὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ πρίασθαι, φυλάττου θάτερον.]

## II. ANOMALY IN THE MEANING.

997. Some verbs show a fluctuation between transitive and intransitive meaning. When this is the case, mark that—

the 1st aorist and 1st perfect are transitive ;

the 2nd „ „ 2nd „ „ intransitive.

1. ἵστημι 'set up,' 'place'—στήσω—ἵστησα 'set up.'—ἵσταμαι 'set up myself'—στήσομαι—ἕστην 'stood'—ἕστηκα 'am standing'—ἕστηκη 'was standing'—ἕστηξω 'shall stand' (972. 996<sub>118</sub>).

## ACTIVE VERRS WITH MIDDLE FUTURE. [997, 998.]

So ἀφίστημι 'set off,' ἀπέστην 'stood off,' 'revolted,' ἀφέστηκε 'am distant';—ἐφίστημι 'set over,' ἐπέστην 'set myself over,' ἐφέστηκε 'am set over';—καθίστημι 'set down,' κατέστην 'established myself' (but κατεστησάμην 'established for myself'), καθέστηκε 'am established' (972).

2. κατα-δύω 'submerge'—καταδύσω—κατέδυσα—καταδέδυκα;—κατα-δύομαι 'sink'—καταδύσομαι—κατέδυν 'dived,' 'set'—καταδέδυνκα 'have entered,' 'set.'—So ἐνδύω 'put on,' 'dress'—ἐνδύσω—ἐνέδυσα.—ἐνδύομαι 'put on'—ἐνδύσομαι—ἐνέδυν 'put on (my clothes)'—ἐνδέδυνκα 'wear,' 'am clad.' (996<sub>88</sub>.)

3. φύω 'produce,' fut. φύσω aor. ἔφῦσα.—φύομαι 'grow,' fut. φύσομαι—ἔφυν—πέφυκα 'am by nature.' (996<sub>308</sub>.)

4. ἐγείρω 'raise'—ἐγερῶ—ἤγειρα.—ἐγείρομαι 'rise'—ἠγέρθην—ἐγρήγορα 'am awake.' (996<sub>88</sub>.)

5. τήκω 'melt'—τήξω—τήξα.—τήκομαι 'melt'—τακήσομαι—ἐτάκην—τέτηκα 'am melt.' (996<sub>270</sub>.)

6. πήγνυμι 'fix'—πήξω—ἔπηξα.—πήγνυμαι 'become firm,' 'freeze'—παγήσομαι—ἐπάγην—πέπηγα 'stand firm.' (996<sub>208</sub>.)

7. ῥήγνυμι 'tear'—ῥήξω—ἔρρηξα.—ῥήγνυμαι 'burst'—ῥαγήσομαι—ἐρράγην—ἔρρωγα 'am torn.' (996<sub>238</sub>.)

8. ἀπο-σβέννυμι 'extinguish'—ἀπο-σβέσω—ἀπ-έσβεσα.—ἀποσβέννυμαι 'go out'—ἀπο-σβήσομαι—ἀπ-έσβην—ἀπ-έσβεσκα. (996<sub>238</sub>.)

9. πείθω 'persuade'—πείσω—ἔπεισα—πέπεικα.—πείθομαι 'listen to,' 'obey'—πείσομαι—ἐπείσθην—πέπεισμαι 'am convinced'—πέποιθα 'trust,' 'relie.' (996<sub>300</sub>.)

10. φαίνω 'show'—φανῶ—ἔφην—πέφασκα.—φαίνομαι 'appear'—φανούμαι, φανήσομαι—ἐφάνην—πέφην 'have appeared.' (996<sub>291</sub>.)

11. ἀπ-όλλυμι 'destroy'—ἀπολῶ—ἀπώλεσα—ἀπολώλεκα.—ἀπόλλυμαι 'perish'—ἀπολούμαι—ἀπωλόμην—ἀπόλωλα 'am lost.' (996<sub>182</sub>.)

## ACTIVE VERBS WITH A MIDDLE FUTURE.

998. Many active verbs form a *middle future*, which has either an active (transitive) or passive meaning.

A middle future with an *active* meaning is formed by the following verbs among others :

ᾄδω 'sing'	ᾄσομαι	πηδάω 'leap'	πηδήσομαι
ἀκούω 'hear'	ακούσομαι	πλέω 'swim'	πλεύσομαι
ἀπ-αντάω 'meet'	ἀπ-αντήσομαι	πνέω 'blow'	πνεύσομαι
ἀπολαύω 'enjoy'	ἀπολαύσομαι	ρέω 'flow'	ρνήσομαι
ἀρπάζω 'snatch'	ἀρπάσομαι	σιγῶ 'keep silent'	σιγήσομαι
βαδίζω 'step'	βαδιύομαι	σιωπάω "	σιωπήσομαι
βοάω 'cry'	βοήσομαι	σκώπτω 'mock'	σκώψομαι
γελάω 'laugh'	γελάσομαι	σπουδάζω 'make haste'	σπουδάσομαι
διώκω 'pursue'	διώξομαι	τίκτω 'bear'	τέξομαι
ἐπ-αινέω 'praise'	ἐπ-αινέσομαι	τρώγω 'gnaw'	τρώξομαι
θαυμάζω 'admire'	θαυμάσομαι	τυγχάνω 'chance'	τεύξομαι
κλέπτω 'steal'	κλέψομαι	φεύγω 'flee'	φεύξομαι
οἰμῶζω 'lament'	οἰμώξομαι	φθάνω 'anticipate'	φθήσομαι



999. Many of these verbs, however, have also the future active in use, as: ἄσσω, ἀρπάσσω, διώξω, ἐπαινέσω, θαυμάσω, κλέψω, πλείψω, σιωπήσω, τείξω, φθάσω—and this tendency for regularity, manifested even in early *A* compositions, comes to a full development in *P* Greek, as: ἀκούσω, ἀμαρτήσω, ἀπαντήσω, ἀπολαύσω, βοήσω, γελάσω, οἰμώξω, etc.

999<sup>b</sup>. For the further consequences of this tendency see 1478-86.

## DEPONENT VERBS.

999<sup>c</sup>. For the definition of deponent verbs and their discrimination into middle and passive deponents (MD, PD) see 674.

1000. Though the *A* mode of conception regarding the middle form of the verb has considerably changed since (1478-86), the group of deponents, as far as they still survive in *N*, preserve also, to a great extent, their deponent character (1001-4). In many cases, however, they have changed to actives, and in others, they have even attracted a considerable number of verbs from the class of actives.

1. Deponents in *A*, changed to Actives in *P-N* (cp. 1003).

<i>A</i>	<i>P-B</i>	<i>N</i>
δράττομαι 'seize'	δράττω	ἀ]δράχτω
κτῶμαι 'acquire'	κτῶ	ἀπο-κτῶ
αὐθαδίῃμαι 'am self-willed'	αὐθαδιάζω <i>T</i>	—
βρωμάμαι 'stink'	βρωμάω (& -ίω)	βρωμαίω & -ίω
βιάζομαι 'force'	βιάζω	βιάζω
μασάομαι 'chew'	—	μασάω & -ίω
ἐξηγέομαι 'interpret'	ἐξηγίομαι	ἐ-, (ξε-)ξηγίω
πειρώμαι 'attempt'	πειράζω 'tempt'	πειράζω 'molest'
χαρίζομαι 'present with'	χαρίζω	χαρίζω
δωρέομαι 'present with'	δωρέω	—

2. Actives in *A*, changed to Deponents in *P-N*.

<i>A</i>	<i>P-B</i>	<i>N</i>
δυσανεστέω 'am displeased'	(δυσανεστούμαι	δυσανεσκίζομαι
ἐκδικέω 'avenge'	—	γδικιώνομαι
ἐμπιστεύω 'trust'	ἐμπιστεύομαι	μπιστεύ(γ)ομαι
ἐπιχειρέω 'attempt'	ἐπιχειρίζομαι	—
ἐχθαίρω 'hate'	ἐχθαίρομαι	δχτρεύομαι
θαυμάζω 'wonder'	θαυμάζω	θαμάζομαι
παρουσιάζω 'appear'	παρουσιάζομαι	παρρησιάζομαι
—	(εὖ)σπλαγχνίζομαι 'pity'	σπλαχνίζομαι
σικχαίνω 'loathe'	σικχαίνομαι ?	σιχαινομαι
—	—	(κακ-)ἀφωροῦμαι
ὑφοράω 'suspect'	ὑπερασπίζομαι	περασπίζομαι
ὑπερασπίζω 'defend'	ὑπερρηφανεύομαι	περρηφανεύομαι
ὑπερρηφάνεω 'am proud'	χαίρομαι	χαίρομαι
χαίρω 'rejoice'	—	—

1000<sup>b</sup>. So further *N*: παραπονούμαι 'complain,' παραξενίζομαι 'wonder,' ὀνειρεύομαι 'dream,' ἐ]ντηροῦμαι (=σέβομαι), ὀργίζομαι 'hate,' ὀργίζομαι, (γ)νοιάζομαι, ἐ]ρωτεύομαι, καμώνομαι (= *A* ὑποκρίνομαι), μνρίζομαι (formed after its *A* equivalent ὀσμώμαι or ὀσφραίνομαι), ξεκαρδίζομαι (= *A* ἐκθυήσκω γέλωτι), ξεμυστηρεύ(γ)ομαι, ψυχπονοῦμαι 'sympathize with.' (Cp. 1466-74.)

## MIDDLE AND PASSIVE DEPONENTS. [1001-1004.

### I. MIDDLE DEPONENTS (MD).

1001. The commonest deponents with an *aorist middle* are the following :—

*αἰσθάνομαι 'feel'	*ἵπταμαι P 'flee'	*παλαμάομαι 'handle'
*αἰτιάομαι 'accuse'	*καλαμάομαι 'glean'	*παρα-κελεύομαι 'urge'
*ἀκίομαι 'heal'	*κνύζομαι 'whine'	*παραμυθίομαι 'console'
*ἀκροάομαι 'listen'	*λογίζομαι 'reflect'	*παρρησιάζομαι 'speak freely'
*ἀλλομαι 'leap'	*λυμαίνομαι 'injure'	*πέτομαι 'fly'
ἰάπο-κρίνομαι 'reply'	*λαβάομαι 'outrage'	πραγματεύομαι 'deal with'
*ἀράομαι 'beseech'	*μαρτύρομαι 'attest'	*προ-καλίζομαι 'challenge'
*ἀσπάζομαι 'greet'	*μασάομαι 'chew'	*προοιμιάζομαι 'preface'
*βιάζομαι 'force'	ἰμάχομαι 'fight'	ἱπροφασίζομαι 'pretend'
*βληζάομαι 'bleat'	*μέφομαι 'blame'	ῥύομαι 'deliver'
ἱβρωμάομαι 'stink'	*μετα-πέμπομαι 'send for'	*στοχάζομαι 'aim'
*γίγνομαι 'become'	*μηκάομαι 'bleat'	*τοξάζομαι 'shoot with a bow'
ἱδέχομαι 'receive'	*μιμέομαι 'imitate'	*ὑπισχνέομαι 'promise'
δαρίομαι 'present'	*νήχομαι 'swim'	*ὑπο-κρίνομαι 'feign'
*ἐντέλλομαι 'enjoin'	ὀγκάομαι 'bray'	*φείδομαι 'spare'
*έπομαι 'follow'	*ὀδύρομαι 'wail'	*φθίγγομαι 'speak'
ἱεργάζομαι 'work'	οἶχομαι 'am gone'	*χαρίζομαι 'gratify'
*εύχομαι 'wish'	*οἰωνίζομαι 'augur from'	ἱχασμιομαι 'yawn'
*ηγέομαι 'lead'	*ὀλοφύρομαι 'lament over'	*χειρόομαι 'subdue'
*θεάομαι 'look'	ἱόρχομαι 'skip'	*χράομαι 'use'
*ιάομαι 'heal'	*ὀσμάομαι 'smell'	*ὀνύομαι 'buny'
*ἰκνέομαι 'arrive'	*ὀσφραίνομαι 'smell'	*ὠρύομαι 'howl'

1002. Many of the above MD verbs have also an *aorist passive* with a *passive* meaning, as : ᾗτισάμην 'accused' — ᾗτιάσθην 'was accused' ; ἐβιασάμην 'forced' — ἐβιάσθην 'was forced.' Of others the perfect has both an active and a passive meaning, as : εἰργασται 'he has performed' and 'it has been performed' ; ἀπο-κρίνεται 'he has replied' and 'it has been replied.'

1003. The middle *aorist* having retreated since *G* (1478-86) and its substitute (the *aorist passive*, often also the perfect) having generally maintained the original passive meaning, several of the above verbs have been mistaken for passives and thus adapted also to the active form (cp. 1000), as : αἰτιάω P-B, ἀκίω P, βιάζω P-N, βρωμάω P-N, δαρίω P-B, ὀλυμαίνω P, μασάω P-N, μεταπέμπω P-B, ἐντέλλω P-B, παρρησιάζω P, χειρίω P.—On the other hand, the ancient form is still preserved in δέχομαι, ἐργάζομαι, ἀποκρίνομαι, ἀφουκρούμαι (for *A* ἐπακρούμαι), κατα-αρούμαι (*A* καταρώμαι), γίνομαι, μάχομαι, προφασίζομαι, ὀρχ(ει)οῦμαι (859, *A* ὀρχοῦμαι), πέτομαι, στοχάζομαι, ὑπύσχομαι (App. iv. 3, *A* ὑπισχνοῦμαι), χασμύομαι or χασμουρεύομαι (*A* χασμῶμαι), etc.

### II. PASSIVE DEPONENTS (PD).

1004. Deponents with an *aorist passive* in form are chiefly verbs denoting *motion*, *emotion*, or *thinking*. The commonest of them are :—

*ἀγαμαι 'admire'	*δέομαι 'need,' 're-	*ἐνθυμέομαι 'consider'
*αἰδέομαι 'revere'	quest'	*ἐπιμέλομαι & -έομαι
*ἀμύλλομαι 'emulate'	*διστάομαι 'live'	'care,' 'attend to'
ἱάρνιομαι 'refuse'	*διαλέγομαι 'converse'	*ἐπίσταμαι 'know'
*ἀχθομαι 'am unwill-	*διανοέομαι 'meditate'	*ἐστιάομαι 'banquet'
ing'	*δύναμαι 'can'	*εὐλαβέομαι 'beware'
ἱβούλομαι 'wish'	*ἐναντιόδομαι 'oppose'	*εὐχέομαι 'feast'

ᾠδομαι 'rejoice'	οὔμαι 'deem,' 'think'	προνοέμαι 'provide'
ἡττάμαι 'am over- come'	ὀργίζομαι 'get angry'	σέβομαι 'revere,' 're- spect'
*κρέμαμαι 'hang'	*ορμάομαι 'start'	*φαντάζομαι 'appear'
μαίνομαι 'am mad'	*πειράομαι 'attempt'	*φιλοτιμέομαι 'have am- bition'
*μεταμέλομαι 'repent'	πλανάομαι 'ramble'	
*μυμνησκομαι 'recollect'	*πορεύομαι 'wander'	
*μυσάττομαι 'loathe'	προθυμέομαι 'am dis- posed'	ἔφοβέομαι 'fear'
		ὑποτοπέομαι 'surmise.'

1005. Several of these PD verbs form also an aorist middle (MD), especially in *P-B* Atticistic Greek, as: ἡγασάμην, ᾔδασάμην, ἡμλλησάμην, ἡρνησάμην, διελέξάμην, ἔδυσσάμην (ἔδυνασάμην), διενησάμην, ἡσάμην, ἐμνησάμην, ὤρμησάμην, ἐπειρασάμην, ἐπλανησάμην, προουνησάμην, ἐφιλοτιμησάμην. See also 1486.

1006. The few specimens among the above verbs which still survive in *N* preserve also their deponent form in the surviving tenses (1478-86), as: ἀρνούμαι, βούλομαι, δύνομαι, ἀναντιώνομαι, ἐν]θυμούμαι, κρέμομαι, ὀργίζομαι, πορεύομαι 'get along,' (σέβομαι), φοβοῦμαι.

## II. ETYMOLOGY.

1007. The stock of the Greek language consists of *simple* words and of words *compound* of simple items. Hence the formation of words, which is called *etymology*, resolves itself into *derivation* and *composition*.

### A. DERIVATION.

1008. Simple words are derived either directly from verbal stems and roots, in which case they are called *primitive* (also *postverbal*, *deverbal*), as: ἀρχή from ἀρχω, σωτήρ from σώζω, ποιητής from ποιῶ;—or from nominal stems and are called *denominative*, as: ἀρχαῖος from ἀρχα i. e. ἀρχή, παιδ-άριον from παιδ i. e. παῖς, σοφ-ία from σοφός.

1009. Both primitives (postverbals) and denominatives are formed from the above stems by means of *suffixes* which indicate the grammatical character and meaning of the word thus formed, as: κρι-τής 'judge'—κρί-σις 'judgement'—κρι-τήριον 'judging court,' 'tribunal.'

1010. The derivation of a word often necessitates, in addition to the suffixes, a metaphonic change within the stem or root of the word, as :

φεύγω 'flee' gives φυγή (cp. 32<sup>f</sup>) 'flight'—λέγω 'say' gives λόγος 'word'—λείπω 'leave' gives λείψανον 'remnant,' ἐλ-λιπής 'wanting,' and λοιπός 'remaining.'

Accordingly, derivation often necessitates one or more of the phonopathic changes dealt with in 123-217.

1011. Both the *A* gender and accentuation of primitives as well as denominatives is still substantially preserved in *N*. (Cp. 245-9<sup>b</sup>. 258. 354, etc.)

### I. SUBSTANTIVES.

1012. Substantives are derived from verbs, from substantives, or from adjectives by appending to their stem one of the following suffixes, synoptically grouped according to their association of meaning.

## A. FROM VERBS.

1013. 1. Denoting the *AGENT*—

- τήρ (ό), ἑταῖρα (ή), as: σωτήρ 'saviour'—σώτειρα } *Rather common.*  
δοτήρ 'giver'—δότεira  
ἑτωρ (ό), ἑτρία, (ή) as: συλλήπτωρ 'helper'—συλλήπτρια.—*Uncommon.*  
-της (ό), -τρίς, ἑτρια (ή) as: ποιητής 'poet'—ποιήτρια } *Very common.*  
ψάλτης 'harper'—ψάλτρια  
αὐλητής 'flute-player'—αὐλητρίς  
-εύς (ό), ἑαδ, (ή) as: ἱερεύς 'priest'—ἱέρεια  
Βασιλεύς 'king'—Βασίλεια 'queen'.—*Common.*  
-ός (ό, ή), as: ὁ & ἡ αἰδός 'singer,' ὁ & ἡ τροφός 'nurse'.—*Common.*

*Remarks.*

1014. Nouns in -τήρ, -τρίς, -εύς, -ός, are always oxytone, while those in -τωρ, -τειρα, -τρια have recessive accent.

1015. As to the masculines in -της which are the most numerous, they are accented according as they consist of two or more syllables. In the former case, they invariably accent the penult (except κριτής 'judge' and its compounds with a *preposition*); in the latter, they accent the penult if it be *short* either by nature or position, otherwise they accent the ultima, as: ναύτης, πλάστης, κτίστης, ψάλτης [not κτιστής, ψαλτής]—νομοθέτης, ἐργάτης, ἐπιβάτης, ἐρέτης, προδότης—μαθητής, ποιητής, δικαστής, ζηλωτής.

1016. However, nouns in -ντής are oxytone, as: εὐδοντής;—further κριτής (1015, but ὄνειρο-κριτής), καθαρτής, ποικιλτής, ἀλήτης, πλανήτης, δυνάστης, κυβερνήτης, πεινστής.

1017. Of the above suffixes (1013), -της and -ος still fully survive in *N*, preserving their *A* accentuation also, as: ναύτης, κτίστης, κλέπτης, προφήτης, δεσπότης, μεσίτης, ψάλτης, ἐργάτης, προδότης, μαθητής, καλεστής, χορευτής, κριτής; so too ἑτρια in the syncopated form ἑτρα (150, *d* cp. 645, 3) as: μαθήτρι, χορεύτρια, μεσίτρα.—On the other hand -τήρ, ἑτωρ, -τρίς, and -εύς, owing to their final consonantism (219) and their inconvenient declension (219), have been affected by terminal phonopathy and become -τήρας, ἑτωρας, -ίας or -εās (-εās), -τρίδα respectively (218 ff., 338 f., 379, 407), as: σημαντήρας (σημαντήρ), κλήτορας (κλήτωρ), μίστορας 'master,' βασιλεās (Βασιλεύς).

1018. 2. Denoting the *ACTION*, also an *abstract* and *concrete* notion—

- \*-α (ή): δόσις 'giving,' πράξις 'acting,' γένεσις } *Very common.*  
'origin,' μιμησις 'imitation'  
\*-ία (ή): δοκιμασία 'trial,' προδοσία 'treachery'.—*Common.*  
\*-ία & -εία (ή): πενία 'poverty,' ἀγγελία 'news,' βασιλεία } *Very common.*  
'kingdom,' παιδεία 'education'  
Ἰ-μός (ό): διωγμός 'persecution,' θυμός 'courage,' } *Fairly common.*  
σεισμός 'earthquake'

1019. As a variety of -ία appears the suffix -εία which comprises a great number of abstract feminines derived from verbs in -εύω, as: (Βασιλεύω βασιλει-ία) Βασιλεία, (Παιδεύω) παιδεία, (Στρατεύω) στρατεία, (Πορεύομαι) πορεία.

1020. All these suffixes still obtain in *N*, subject to phonopathy; that is -μός fully survives, preserving its ancient accent also, as:

θυμός, λογισμός, σεισμός; so too -σία and -ία though generally as oxytones: -σία and -ία (155, c);—while -σις has been modified by terminal phonopathy to -ση or -σι (343). Examples: ἡ πράξις (πράξις) 'act,' γνώσις 'common sense,' κατηγορήσις, πείρσις, ζήσις, θλίψις, στάσις, κρίσις,—(προδοσία) προδοσία, ἀδυνασία, ὀργασία (for ὕργισια, 130)—ἀντρεία (ἀνδρεία), φιλία, φτωχία (also φτώχεια), δουλεία, ἀδικία, κακία—πειρασμός, κελαδισμός (Acta Xanth. 61, 27), λο(γ)ισμός (155, c), ἀγασμός, φερμός, δαρμός, σκοτωμός, ἐρχομός, φαγωμός, etc.

1021. But a more important deviation of *N* from *A*, regarding the above class of terminations, lies in the fact, that, whereas in *A* -σις was one of the commonest suffixes and acted as an equivalent and alternative of the infinitive, *P* Greek, especially *G-B* speech, in its disinclination for inconvenient inflexion and owing to the homophony of feminines in -ις with masculines in -ης (338), began to favour the ending -σίη and above all -μός (beside -μα and -ιμον [1022]). The natural outcome of this tendency was that -(σ)ία, now -(σ)ία (155, c), has become very numerous in *N*, while nouns in -ση or -σι at present form a rather limited group. In this way, the relative frequency in *A* of the above suffixes: -σις, -(σ)ία, -μός, has been reversed in *N* to -μός, -(σ)ία, -ση.

1021<sup>b</sup>. For an idiomatic use in *N* of -μός see 1839.

1022. Out of -σις + -μα (1024) *T-N* speech has evolved a third neuter suffix—-ιμον, now most common in *N* speech, to denote the action formerly designated by -σις, as: Βυγράψιμον 'writing,' δέξιμον 'reception,' etc. Ν ρήψιμον 'sewing,' κλείσιμον 'closing,' φέρσιμον 'behaviour,' λούσιμον 'bathing,' πλύνσιμον 'washing,' &c., &c. It is a contaminatory form based upon the stem of -σις and inflected after -μα in all the cases except the nominative singular (370 f.).

1022<sup>b</sup>. Regarding the genesis of -ιμον, scholars generally take it for a substantivized neuter of the adjective ending -ιμος (1054). This view however is refuted by the consideration that -ιμο stands in no connexion of meaning with adjectives in -ιμος and that *B-N* shows no parallel case of raising, as *A* Greek did, the neuter of an adjective to an abstract substantive (1050<sup>a</sup>, 1182). (Cp. Β μετάστασις, μετάστημα, μεταστάσιμον, στέψις, στέμμα, στέψιμον.)

1023. 3. Denoting the *RESULT* of action; also an *abstract* or *concrete* notion—

Ι-μα (τό): γίννημα 'product,' ποίημα 'poem,' ῥήμα 'word,' πράγμα 'thing,' σῶμα 'body.'—*Very common*.

Ι-μνι (ῆ): γνώμη 'opinion,' φήμη 'report,' ἐπιστήμη 'knowledge.'—*Common*.

Ι-η or -α (ῆ): τομή 'cut,' μάχη 'battle,' κλοπή 'theft,' φθορά 'destruction,' μοίρα 'fate,' βλάβη 'damage.'—*Very common*.

Ι-ος (τό): ψύχος 'cold,' ἔθος 'custom,' μίσος 'hatred,' πάθος 'suffering,' πλῆθος 'multitude,' κράτος 'force.'—*Very common*.

1024. All these four suffixes are still fully preserved in *N*, and that almost in the same proportion and with the same accentuation, as in *A*, as: γράμμα, θέλημα, ἐπιστήμη, γνώμη, φορά, μοίρα, ἀλλαγὴ, βάθος, βάρος. The only noteworthy deviation is that -μα now denotes also the action as well as the abstract notion, thus corresponding to both *A* -μα and *A* -σις, hence it has contributed to the abstraction of -ιμον (1022). It is also far commoner now in consequence of its gradual substitution for -σις and its synonymous infinitive (1022. App. vi. 25).

## 1025-1030.] SUBSTANTIVES FROM SUBSTANTIVES.

1025. 4. Denoting the *INSTRUMENT* or *MEANS*; also the *place*—

ἱ-τρον (τό): ἄροτρον 'plough,' σκήπτρον 'staff.'—*Common*.

-ερον (τό): βάθρον 'base,' στήπρον 'step,' κλείθρον 'bar,' 'lock.'—*Not common*.

ἱ-τρα (ή): ξύστρα 'scraper,' φασέτρα 'quiver.'—*Fairly common*.

-τήριον (τό): ποτήριον 'tumbler,' ἀκροατήριον *auditorium* (cp. 1034).—*Common*.

1026. So still in *N* and in about the same proportion, the only difference being that -τήριον has been shortened to -τήρι (302 ff.) and moreover become still commoner, as: σήμαντρο 'sounding-board,' 'gong,' πάνιστρο 'scovel,' 'maulkin,' σκάλαθρο 'poker,' ξύστρα 'scraper,' ποτίστρα 'cattle-trough,' σφυρίχτρα 'whistle,' ποτήρι 'cup,' πατητήρι 'wine-vat,' ἀργαστήρι 'loom,' 'shop,' σκαλιστήρι 'poker,' etc.

1026<sup>b</sup>. Kindred with -τρα is the suffix -θηρα which is peculiar to *G-N*, as: κολουβήθηρα 'font,' δακτυλήθηρα 'an instrument of torture,' now 'thimble,' κρεμάθηρα 'hook for hanging,' ἀρμυρήθηρα (δλμυρήθηρα) 'a plant,' κερήθηρα (κηρήθηρα) 'honey-comb.'

1027. Mark finally that *B-N* diction has abstracted a feminine ending -έα (κα. πληγή) to denote the *effect* produced by an instrument (*stroke*), as: Theoph. 318, 27 κονταρίαν (also Dig. 6, 504; 510, et passim), πολλὰς σταθίας. In *B-M* this was still paroxytone (-έα), but has since become oxytone (-έα or -ιά) through the natural process of *synizesis* (155), as: ξυλεά, μαχαυρεά, παλαμεά (-ιά).

## B. FROM SUBSTANTIVES.

1028. 5. Denoting *DESCENT* from a father or ancestor—so-called *patronymics*—and occurring oftener in epic than in *A* Greek—

-ῆς i.e. -άδης (δ): Αἰνείαδης, Λαερτιάδης 'son of Aeneas, of Laertios.'

-ίδης (δ): Πριυμίδης, Πηλείδης, Ἡρακλείδης 'son of Priamos, Peleus, Heracles.'—*Common*.

-ῖων (δ): Κρονίων 'son of Kronos.'—*Uncommon*.

-ίς, ἴδος (ή): Τανταλῖς, Νηρηῖς 'daughter of Tantalos, of Nereus.'—*Uncommon*.

-ιδεύς (δ), said of *animals*: αἰτιδεύς 'eaglet,' λαγιδεύς 'leveret.'—*Fairly common*.

1029. No direct trace of these patronymic suffixes is found in *N*, their place having been taken, to a great extent, by the diminutive endings -άκι(ον), -άκις, or -άκης, and -πουλος (1038<sup>c</sup> ff.). Such *N* specimens as: Δημητριάδης, Γεωργιάδης, Κωνσταντινίδης, Νικολαΐδης, etc., 'son of Δημήτριος, Γεώργιος, etc.,' are scholastic revivals of the classical usage.

1030. 6. Representing a person as belonging to a country or nation—so-called *ETHNIC* or *gentile* nouns—

\*-ιος (δ): Συρακόσιος, Κορινθίος, \*Ἀθηναῖος, \*Σμυρναῖος— } *Common*.  
Συρακοσία, Κορινθία, Ἀθηναία (cp. 1081 f.)

\*-εύς (δ): Ἑρετριεύς, Μεγαρεύς, Πειραιεύς.—*Fairly common*.

ἱ-της (δ): Σπαρτιάτης, Αἰγινίτης, Σικελιώτης, Τεγεάτης, }  
Κυδωνιάτης, \*Ἡπειρώτης, —*N* Μανιάτης, } *Very common*.  
Κορφιάτης, Κισαμίτης, Σελινιώτης

\*-άς, ἄδος (ή): Δηλιάς.—*Uncommon*.

\*-ίς, ἴδος (ή): Περσίς, Σικελίς.—*Fairly uncommon*.

## SUBSTANTIVES FROM SUBSTANTIVES. [1030-1037.]

\*-τις, ιδος (ή) : Σικελιώτις, Σπαρτιάτις, Αιγυπτίς.—*Fairly common.*

\*-σσα (ή) : Θράσσα, Κρήσσα—*P* Φοινίκισσα, Κιλίκισσα—*C* Common.  
*N* Ψευθηνιώτισσα, Χανιώτισσα, Περαιώτισσα }

1031. In *G-N*, particularly since *T*, ethnics are formed by the suffixes—

1. -της (δ), fem. -τισσα (cp. Latin -issa) : *N* Μανιάτης -τισσα, Κορφιάτης -τισσα, Κισαμίνης -τισσα, Μεσολογγίτης -τισσα, Μωραΐτης -τισσα, Σουλιάτης -σσα, 'Αντριάτης -τισσα, Κασώτης -τισσα, 'Ρουμελιώτης -τισσα, Περαιώτης (Πειραιεύς) -τισσα.—*Very numerous.*

2. -ανός (cp. Latin -ianus) : 'Ασιανός, Σαρδιανός, Κασιανός,—*N* Σφακιανός, Παριανός, Ψαριανός, -ιαή.—*Very numerous.*

2<sup>b</sup>. Substantives of this class are used also as adjectives (1078).

3. -νός (1078) : *N* Πατρνός, Καστρνός, 'Αρινός, -νή.—*Not common.*

3<sup>b</sup>. These ethnic substantives are used also as adjectives (1078 f.).

4. -(ν)ίος or -(ν)ιός (i.e. -ίος (155, a)) : *N* Σιφναίος (not from Σίφνιος, which would have remained unchanged), Σμυρναίος, Μυτιληναίος, Ξαντορηναίος, 'Ρωμαιοί, Σαλονικεός.—*Fairly common.*

4<sup>b</sup>. In all these nouns, which are not numerous, the frequently occurring *v* is thematic.

5. -ίνος 3 (also *A*, cp. 1080), as : Λεοντίνος, 'Ακραγαντίνος, Μεταποντίνος, *P* 'Αλεξανδρίνος, Βυζαντινός ;—*N* Τριεστίνος, 'Αρτζερίνος.—*Fairly common.*

6 -κός 3 : *N* Κρητικός, Τηνιακός.—*Rare.*

### 1032. 7. Denoting an APPURTENANCE or MEMBERSHIP—

-της (δ), \*-τις, ιδος (ή) : πολίτης, πολίτης 'citizen,' δημότης, δημότης 'burgess,' στρατιώτης, στρατιώτης 'soldier.'—*Numerous.*

1033. So still in *N*, but the feminine ending is -τισσα (1031, 1), as : ναύτης, δωγατιάτης, πετρίτης, κοπρίτης, χωριάτης, άκαμάτης -τισσα.—*Numerous.*

### 1034. 8. Denoting a PLACE ; sometimes also the instrument—

-εῖον (τό) : μουσεῖον 'seat of the muses,' κουρείον 'barber's shop,' φῶδειον 'music hall' odeum, ιερεῖον 'victim.'—*Common.*

-τήριον (τό) : δεσμοτήριον 'prison,' ακροατήριον auditorium, δικαστήριον 'court of justice.'—*Common.* (Cp. 1025.)

\*-ῶν, ὠνος (δ) : ἀνδρῶν 'men's apartment,' παρθενῶν 'maiden's room,' ἀμπελῶν 'vineyard,' περιστερεῶν 'dovecote.'—*Fairly common.*

1035. So still in *N* with the necessary phonopathic modification of -εῖον to -ειῶ (155, c), as : σκολειῶ, ἀγγειῶ, στοιχειῶ ;—of -τήριον to -τήριω or commonly -τήρι (302 ff.), as : ποτήρι, κρητήριω ;—and of -ῶν to -ῶνας (338 f.), or more commonly -εῶνας, as : καλαμῶνας 'reed-bed,' περιστερεῶνας, 'dovecote,' ἀχερεῶνας, 'hay-loft,' etc.

### 1036. 9. Denoting a DIMINUTIVE—

\*-ιον (τό) : παιδίον 'little child,' θηρίον 'little beast,' θύριον 'little door,' τραπέζιον 'little table,' κλειδίον 'little key.'—*Very numerous.*

\*-ίδιον (τό) : νησίδιον 'islet,' οἰκίδιον 'little house,' ἀγρίδιον 'little field.'—*Numerous.*

\*-άριον (τό) : παιδάριον 'boy,' ἀνθρωπάριον 'manikin.'—*Numerous.*

\*-ίσκος (δ) : παιδίσκος 'young boy.'—*Unccommon.*

\*-ίσκη (ή) : παιδίσκη 'maiden.'—*Unccommon.*

1037. The above two suffixes -ίδιον and -άριον are in reality not separate terminations, but mere amplifications of -ιον, hence they are actual diminutives of a diminutive, and so denote, or at all events originally denoted, something smaller than what is denoted by -ιον.



Similar in formation, though of a more pronounced character, are the following collateral but rather uncommon *A* amplifications: -ύλλιον (-έλλιον, -άλ(λ)ιον, -υλλίδιον), -ύδριον, -ιδάριον, -αρίδιον, -άσιον, -άφιον, -ύφιον, -ίσκιον, (-ισκίδιον, -ισκύδριον, -ισκάριον), -ίχτιον, -άκιον, -άκιον, as: ἀνθύλλιον, κρικέλλιον, κοράλ(λ)ιον, μειρακυλλίδιον, μελιδύριον, νησούδριον, ιματιδάριον, βιβλαρίδιον, κοράσιον, θειάφιον, ασπιδίσκιον, χλανιτκίδιον, νεανισκύδριον, νεανισκάριον, παιδισκάριον, πολίχτιον, κυλίχτιον, πιθάκιον, σπινθηράκιον.

1038. Owing to their frequent use in common speech, many of the diminutives had lost, as early as *A* times, their diminutive meaning and become equivalent to their primitives. Hence even in *A* the diminutive ending does not necessarily imply a diminutive sense also, as: θηρίον (= θήρ), ιστίον 'sail,' ἑρκίον, ισχίον, στόμιον, κρανίον, ἰνίον, φορτίον, πηνίον, βιβλίον, &c. This is the case particularly in *G-B* where diminutives became unduly numerous, having assumed the function of their primitives. (1038<sup>c</sup> f.)

1038<sup>b</sup>. With the probable exception of -ίσκος and -ίσκη, all the above suffixes are still preserved in *N*, of course in the shortened form -ι (302 f.), as: χαρτί, παιδί, ποδάρι, κλωνάρι, πιθάρι, κανίσκι, ξυράφι, χωράφι. κτένι, πηγίδι, σημάδι, δ]φειδί, ψαλίδι, καρύδι, κοράσι, &c. (but also κοράσιον, so too στοιχείδι, προικίδι, χωράδι, &c.). In other respects, however, *N* shows a considerable departure from *A*, in that it teems with diminutives, that is with nouns which are diminutive only in form but not in meaning. Thus: χαρτί = χάρτης, παιδί = παῖς, κλωνάρι = κλών, πιθάρι = πῖθος, κανίσκι = κανούρι, ραβδί = ράβδος, &c. The normalization thus effected naturally called for some differentiation of, or substitution for, the obliterated items. Accordingly while -ι in most of its varieties (-δι-, -ρι-, -κι-, &c., especially -άρι-) more or less still preserves (chiefly in insular Greek) its original or diminutive force (cp. λυρί little λύρα, γατί 'little γάτα,' πετράδι little πέτρα) — a novel suffix -άκι (also -ίκι, -ήκι, -άγγι, -ίγγι) was resorted to in *G* times, and this successor has spread ever since and finally become the dominant representative of *N* diminutive suffixes (cp. *T-B* νοσσάκιον CLeemans († III-IV<sup>th</sup>) 13, 2; σπινθηράκιον, μανάκιον, μανιάκιον, καψάκιον. καπιστράκιον, κιονάκιον, στενάκιον, etc.). In this way -άκι now can be not only affixed to any primitive substantive (appellative or proper name); it can even be superadded — and this is the commonest case — to any other diminutive suffix, all these terminations having more or less lost their diminutive force.

1038<sup>c</sup>. The genesis of the diminutive suffix -άκιον, -ήκιον, -ίκιον, seems to go not further back than *G* times, though it was undoubtedly a popular termination, as half diminutive and half radical, as early as *A*, at least in connexion with substantives in -ξ, as: άβαξ άβ-άκιον, σκύλαξ σκυλ-άκιον, δέλφαξ δελφ-άκιον, αὐλαξ αὐλ-άκιον, ψύδραξ ψυδρ-άκιον, άνθραξ άνθρ-άκιον, ἱέραξ ἱερ-άκιον, βύαξ βυ-άκιον, θώραξ θωρ-άκιον, μύσταξ μυστ-άκιον, πῖναξ πιν-άκιον, λάβραξ λαβρ-άκιον, κάμαξ καμ-άκιον, θρίναξ θριν-άκιον, χάραξ χαρ-άκιον, κόχλαξ κοχλ-άκιον, χάλιξ χαλ-ίκιον, μύρμηξ μυρμη-ήκιον, σκώληξ σκωλ-ήκιον, πέριξ περδ-ίκιον, φάραγξ φαρ-άγγιον, σάλαγξ σαλπ-ίγγιον, σὺργξ συρ-ίγγιον, etc. (cp. also πιστάκη πιστ-άκιον, φαρμ-άκιον, πιττ-άκιον). It is out of this class then that the terminal complex -άκιον -άκι was evolved as a diminutive suffix and so extended, since *T* times, to almost every substantive, whether primitive or already diminutive. (Cp. *N* άνδράκι, ά(ν)θρoπάκι, γυναικάκι, παιδάκι, χεράκι, δακτυλάκι, βουνάκι, σανιδάκι, ποταμάκι, μαχαιράκι, ποτηράκι, φυλλαράκι, πετραδάκι, κρεατάκι, etc., etc.) Nay, even the very group which gave the start to this process could not, in the long run, escape its influence, for *N* has formed from πινάκιον πινάκι, from καμάκιον καμακάκι, from αὐλάκιον αὐλακάκι, from θρινάκιον θρινάκι, from χαράκιον χαρακάκι, from βύακιον βυακάκι, from (μυστάκιον) μουστάκιον μουστακάκι, from ἱεράκιον ἱερακάκι, from χαλίκιον χαλικάκι, from σκωλήκιον or σκουλήκι σκουληκάκι, etc., etc.

1039. Among the various influences which have contributed to the multiplication since *A* of diminutives, we may note here : (a) their popularity even in *A*, especially in common speech, as may be inferred from the diction used in comedy ;—(b) the inconvenience of inflection attending their primitives, particularly in the numerous cases of consonantal declension (338 f.) ;—(c) the frequent use, especially since *G*, of the suffix *-as* (fem. *-a*) in an augmentative sense, and the necessity arising therefrom for a differentiation and dissociation. Cp. *χάρακας* 'big *χάραξ*,' *χαράκιον* little *χάραξ* ; *λάβρακας* 'big *λάβραξ*,' *λαβράκιον* little *λάβραξ* ; *λέρακας* 'big *λέραξ*.' (Cp. 1043.)

1040. The popular custom established even in classical antiquity, of forming pet names and nicknames by violently shortening proper names (287. 298 ; cp. Kühner-Blass ii. 280) remained in popular favour through all subsequent stages of the language. This practice, which is moreover common to all languages<sup>[1]</sup>, could not fail to affect also foreign names introduced into common life. Hence just as *Χρόμιος*, *Βάκχιος*, *Νύμφιος*, *Κίκιος*, *Κύνιος*, *Ζεφύριος*, *Κλεόβιος*, *Πυόνιος*, *Γύλιος*, *Ἀπολλάνιος*, *Ἀφροδίσιος*, *Διονύσιος*, *Ἀρτέμιος*, *Θεοδόσιος*, *Ὀλύμπιος*, *Δημήτριος*, *P-B* *Ἀποδήμιος*, *Περίσιος*, *Παχούμιος*, *Εὐστάθιος*, *Ἀρμένιος*, etc., were shortened to *Χρόμις*, *Βάκχης*, *Νύμφης*, *Κίκης*, *Κόννης*, *Ζεφύρης*, *Κλέοβης*, *Πυόνης*, *Γύλης*, *Ἀπολλώνης*, *Ἀφροδίτης*, *Διονύσης* (then *Διονύς*), *Ἀρτέμις*, *Θεοδότης*, *Ὀλύμπης*, *Δημήτρης*, *P-B* *Ἀποδήμης* or *-μης*, *Περίσης* or *-ης*, *Παχούμης* or *-μης*, *Εὐστάθης* or *-ης*, *Ἀρμένης* or *-ης* respectively (298) :—so *Ἀντώνιος* (*Antonius*), *Πετρώνιος*, *Αἰρήλιος*, *Ἰούλιος*, *Τιβέριος*, *Κλαύδιος*, *Μάριος*, *Ἰγνάτιος*, etc., became *Ἀντώνης*, *Πετρώνης*, *Αἰρήλης*, *Ἰούλης*, *Τιβέρης*, *Κλαυδίας*, *Μάρης*, *Ἰγνάτης* (then *-ης*, 298), etc. Again just as the class of feminine proper names which since *A* often appeared in the diminutive form *-ιον*, as : *Ἀρτέμιον*, *Ἐρωτίον*, *Καλλίστιον*, etc., were shortened to *Ἀρτέμιν*, *Ἐρωτίν*, *Καλλίστιν*, etc. (302), and then, taken in connexion with appellative neuters (303), affected the whole class of appellative neuters in *-ιον*, as : *ἡμωβέλιον*, *μαρτύριον*, *μελίτιον*, *στάδιον*, *ἀμφιδέξιον*, *κρηστίν*, *ζωιδίν*, *χοιρίδιον*, *ἐπιστόλιον*, *ψυχάρην*, etc. (App. iii. 7)—: in like manner shortened masculine proper names in *-ιος* (from *-ιος*) affected corresponding appellatives in *-ιος*, the more so as, in the course of *P-G* times, this class of nouns had greatly increased through the accession from Latin of numerous administrative and professional terms in *-ius* (chiefly *-arius*, as : *τροχαδάριος*, *χεράριος*, *νοτάριος*, *παθερνάριος*, etc. cp. 011. 022). The direction and extent of this process of abbreviation may be illustrated by the following particular cases :

A. *-άριον* *-άριον* × *-arius* : *-άριος*, as : *χεράριος*, *ἀρχάριος*, *τροχαδάριος*, *ἀποθηκάριος*, *ἀκτουάριος*, *δρακονάριος*, *καβαλλάριος*, etc.

*-άριν* : *-άρις* or *-άρης* (298-301), as : *χαρτάρης* or *-ρης*, *διφθεράρης*, *ψωράρης*, *ἀκτουάρις*, *δρακονάρις*, *καβαλλάρις*, *δαιμονιάρης* (*Vita SA* 13\* E).

B. *-άκιον* *-άκιον* : *-άκιος* (current since *T*), as : *Βασιλάκιος*, *Σταυράκιος*, *Στεφανάκιος*, *Ἀρσάκιος*, *Ἰσάκιος*, *Σισινάκιος* (identical with *Σισίνιος*, as *Theoph.* 414, 31).

a. *-άκιν* : *-άκις* or *-άκης* (298-301 ; cp. 1041), as : *Θεοδοτάκης* or *-κης*, *Μαρτινάκης*, *Μαρινάκης*, *Βασιλάκης*, *Ἀπλάκης*, *Ἰωαννάκης* (*Theoph.* 385, 10). (Cp. *Ἀρσάκης*, *Ραϊνάκης*, *Ἰωαννάκης* [*Dig. passim*], *Χρυσοϊαννάκης* (*ib.* 6, 415).—So now *Ἀντανάκης*, *Νικολάκης*, *Δημητράκης*, etc. etc. (with the by-form *-άκος* [cp. 1040<sup>b</sup>]), as : *Ἰαννάκος* or *Γιαννάκος*, *Θωδωρᾶκος*, *Δημητράκος*).

b. *-άττιον* : *-άττιος* (i.e. *-accio*), reduced to—

c. *-άττιν* : *-άττις* or *-άττις* (298-301), fem. *-άττις*, as : *Χορτάττις*, *κυράττις*, *Φαιδρόκττις*.

[1] Cp. English *Bat, Gad, Gus, Fred, Mat, Nell, Pat, Phil, Sam, Tim, Tom, Val, Will*.

C. **-ΙΚΙΟΝ** -ΙΚΙΟΝ : -ΙΚΙΟC, **as** : ἀπολυτίκιον, λιτανίκιον, ματρωνίκιον (from ἀπολυτικόν, λιτανικόν, ματρωνικόν), Καισαρίκια (Porph. Cer. 220, 17), συγχαρίκια (Dig. 3, 311).—Μαυρίκιος, Κουρτίκιος, Πατρίκιος, Οὐρβίκιος, Οὐρσάκιος, Σιμπλίκιος, Σίρικιος, Σπανίκιος, Ἰωαννίκιος (= Giovanni, GSpata 108 [A.D. 1141]).

a. -ΙΚΙΝ : -ΙΚΙC or -ΙΚΗC (298-301), fem. -ΙΚΑ, **as** : Κουρτίκης, Πατρίκης, Μαρίκα, Ἀννίκα.

b. -ΙΤΙCΙΟΝ : -ΙΤΙCΙΟC<sup>[1]</sup>, **as** : FTTrinch. 194 († 1149) πουλαδίτιον ; 225 († 1167) πορίτιον, χωραφίτιον ; Dig. 4, 234 & 235 κυδανίτιον.

c. -ΙΤΙCΙΝ : -ΙΤΙCΙC or -ΙΤΙCΗC (298-301), fem. -ΙΤΙCΑ<sup>[1]</sup>, **as** : FTTrinch. 19 († 1019) Βηκαρίτιον (Vaccaritia), besides Βακαρίτιον (ib.); 551 († 1112) κακαβίτιον ; 143 († 1130) γεφυρίτιον ; Prodr. νινίτιον, σταυρίτιον, καλογηρίτιον, προασίτιον, σπαθίτιον, παραβίτιον, καρυδίτιον, κρομμυδίτιον, λαχανίτιον, etc.; φακελίτιον (Dig. 6, 737); Λεστίτιον, Καλαμίται (places in Bova and Otranto); now κορίτσι—παπαδίτιον (JJeun. 1909 B); νιού Ἰωαννίτη (FTTrinch. 6 [† 981]), Βασιλίτης, Ἰακωβίτης (Theoph. Cont. 837, 9); Θεοφυλίτης, Καμυτίτης, Νικηφορίτης, Σκυλίτης, Διακονίτης ; Μελεμίτης (Dig. 6, 427, etc.), ἀγουρίτης (Dig. 4, 163 ; 320 ; 438), κυρίτης—Τριαδίτσα Ραμσαντίτσα, βαγίτσα (Dig. 4, 282), ψυχίτσα (ib. 2, 129, 4, 626 ; 778 ; 808), ὠρίτσα (ib. 4, 542)<sup>[2]</sup>.

D. **-ΟΥΚΙΟΝ** : -ΟΥΚΙΟΝ : -ΟΥΚΙΟC, then ΟΥΚΟC, **as** : Βαρνούκιος (1040<sup>b</sup>).

a. -ΟΥΚΙΝ : -ΟΥΚΙC or -ΟΥΚΗC, **as** : παλούκι, σουρτούκης.

b. -ΟΥΚΙCΙΝ : -ΟΥΚΙCΙC or ΟΥΚΗCΙC<sup>[1]</sup> (298-301), **as** : Ἀδρανούσης Βουσεβούσης.

1040<sup>b</sup>. The suffix -ούκιος, supported by Italian : -uccio, -uzzo (cp. -τρα, -τρα, 1017, and -άκος 1040, B, a), has led to Ν-ούτος, **as** : Αντρούτος, Πανούτος, Νερούτος ; then to the double diminutive adjective -ούτσικος, **as** : σγουρούτσικος (Dig. 6, 716), καλούτσικος (also in Bova GMorosi ii. 47) 'rather good'.—IStaph. 3 μανρούτσικα. 45 πούλιτιον γὰρ ἐνι μικρούτσικον<sup>[1]</sup>. ib. 52 δλιγούτσικον δλιγούτσικον. μικρούτσικος 'rather small', μεγαλούτσικος 'rather large', δλιγούτσικος 'rather little' (Prodr. 3, 231), ὀπτούτσικος 'sufficiently roasted' (Prodr. 3, 177), etc.

1041. To the above B-N suffixes we must add -πούλος, a both remarkable and popular diminutive. It appears in our texts ever since the close of T, and points to ancient πῶλος 'foal,' 'colt,' (Ν πούλαρ, like μουσκάρι, σκουλήκι, λουρί, etc.), a term which, like μόσχος, δάμαλις, πόρτις, was occasionally used also for *venias youth* (as Eur. Hec. 144 ; Ph. 947 ; Hipp. 546 ; Anacr. 75). The earliest example of this B-N formation known to me is Leont. Neap. V.J. 88, 2 ἀββαδόπουλον ; then Porph. Cer. Adm. 157, 2 & 11 (also Comn. i. 359 ?) ἀρχοντόπουλος ; Cedr. ii. 347, 3 ; 435, 1 κομητόπουλοι. In M and especially N speech it is a very common parallel to (-άκιος) -άκης designating the *young one*, then the *son*. During M it was transferred also to inanimate beings, and so has since become a regular adjective ending : -πούλος, -πούλον, -πούλα (this -πούλα serving also as feminine to -άκης 1040, B, a), **as** : παπαδόπουλος 'son of a priest,' παπαδοπούλα 'daughter of a priest,'

<sup>[1]</sup> In B-M texts often misspelt -ΙΤΙCΙΟΝ, -ΙΤΙCΙΟC, -ΙΤΙCΙΝ, -ΙΤΙCΙC, -ΙΤΙCΗC, -ΙΤΙCΑ, -ΟΥΤΙCΙΝ, -ΟΥΤΙCΙC, -ΟΥΤΙCΗC, -ΟΥΤΙCΙΚΟC, -ΟΥΤΙCΟC,—a form apparently suggested by -ιζίο, -ιζα, -ιζο, but misleading, since τζ = dz, as τζάμι 'window-glass,' and τή = ts, as τσάμι 'pine-tree.' (203, 205.)

<sup>[2]</sup> Among other scholars, G Meyer maintains (Akad. Wiss. Wien cxxx [1893] 3) that the N ending -ίτσα is due to Slav influence, adding that this is the only Slav suffix that has been productive in N. But since it made its appearance, as he admits himself and the above references testify, first in the Greek of South Italy (also in Cyprus !), and at a time when -ίκιος or -ίσιος had become -ισίσιος, -ισίσιος (-ισίσιος, -ισίσιος)—a connexion moreover corroborated by the agreement of the accent—the contention surely needs more solid proofs. (202 [1].)

## SUBSTANTIVES FROM ADJECTIVES. [1041-1045.]

παπαδόπουλο 'τέκνον of a priest,' Φραγκοπούλα 'European girl,' Τουρκόπουλα 'young Turks,' ὀρνιθόπουλο 'chicken,' γουρουνόπουλο 'sucking pig,' etc. [1].

**1042.** The opposite sense of that expressed by diminutives is conveyed by the so-called *augmentative nicknames* formed by means of the following suffixes:

΄ων, ονος (ὅ): γάστρων 'pot-bellied,' κεφάλων 'thick-skull.'—*Not common.*

΄ας, ακος (ὅ): στόμφαξ 'bouncer,' πλούταξ 'rich churl.'—*Rare.*

΄ας, ᾶ (ὅ): φαγάς 'glutton,' ᾶ hog,' κορυζάς.—*Fairly common.*

**1043.** Of these suffixes, -ων does not survive in *N* (338 f.), whereas -ας has a parallel (if not direct survival) in the *N* augmentative ending ΄ακος (1039), as: χάρακος ('big stone') 'rock,' χίχλακος 'big pebble,' ἀθρόπικας 'huge man,' βιάστακος 'big sprout.'—As to the perispomenon in -ας (287), it has remained in common use since *A* times, each succeeding period having added to its popularity. It is therefore very common now in *N* and has a corresponding feminine in -ου (1067): *P-B* Γοναῖας (Antigonos), κεραταῖας, δεικναῖας, τραχηλαῖας, κεφαλαῖας, σαλιβαράς, Φωκάς, Γρηγοράς, Μιχαηλάς, Βασιλάς—*N* μυζᾶς, κοιλάς & κοιλαράς (= γάστρων), μυταῖας & μυταράς, ὀδονταῖας, γλωσσᾶς, χερᾶς, φωνιαλᾶς & φωνακλᾶς, βρακκάς, etc.—*N* ἡ φαγοῦ, γλωσσοῦ, μυταροῦ, μυζοῦ, κεφυλοῦ. (Pul. 325 τσαπεροῦ, 326 τὴν ἐμπαλωτοῦν.)

**1044.** Identical in form, but different in meaning, are the still more numerous appellatives in -ας current since *G*, which denote a *trade* or *profession* and have now a feminine in -ου, as: ὑαλᾶς (jalās 151) 'glass inaker or dealer,' ἐλφᾶς 'oil merchant,' κρατᾶς 'wine merchant,' προβαταῖας 'shepherd,' ὀψαράς, ἀσβεσταῖας, κτεναῖας, πεταλαῖας—ἡ κοσκινού, μυλωνού, μεταξοῦ, φουρνιάρου, further ἡ κλωσοῦ. In point of fact, these formations correspond in meaning to those Greco-Latin appellatives in -arius (or -ārius) or -āpis (1040) from which they may proceed by contraction suggested by the preceding class in -ας (cp. *B* νοτάριος with *N* νοταράς).—Cp. also 287.

## C. FROM ADJECTIVES.

**1045.** Denoting the *QUALITY* or *abstract* nature—

΄ια (ἡ): σοφία 'wisdom,' κακία 'badness,' μωρία }  
'folly,' πενία 'poverty,' φιλία 'friend-ship,' ἀπιστία 'unfaithfulness' } *Very numerous.*

΄ωδ (ἡ): ἀλήθεια 'truth,' εὐγένεια 'nobility.'—*Numerous.*

\*-της, ητος (ἡ): νεότης 'youth,' ἰσότης 'equality.'—*Numerous.*

΄υνη (ἡ): δικαιοσύνη 'justice,' σωφροσύνη 'prudence.'—*Numerous.*

\*-ος, ους (τό): μήκος 'length,' βάρος 'weight,' μέγεθος }  
'size,' ψευδος 'lie,' ᾶ fib,' τάχος 'speed.' } *Numerous.*

[1] A different view advanced, for aught I know, first by EASophocles (Gram.<sup>2</sup> 51; also Lex. 37\*) and adopted by more recent scholars (GHatzidakis in Παρνασσός 1Z' 561-574), is that the ending -πουλος—or as they propose to write ΄πουλλος—is the Latin *pullus*. These authorities however have omitted to adduce parallels to the effect that Latin *pullus* was ever used in the above (diminutive) sense, and that it was in early *B* times a term already familiar to the Greek masses in the form ποῦλλος or even πουλλίον. They moreover forget that the word πῶλος, πωλίον, πωλάριον (cp. also its many compounds), *N* πωλάρι, has been at all times in popular use, both in a proper and metaphorical (complimentary) sense ('colt,' then 'youth' or 'lad'), and that *pullus* in Latin meant at all times *chicken* and had hardly been familiar to the Greek masses, when the terms in question were first coined: ἀββαδόπουλος, ἀρχοντύπουλος, κομητόπουλος, αὐθεντόπουλος, etc.

## 1046-1052.] COMMON ADJECTIVES FROM ADJECTIVES.

1046. Mark that abstract feminines in *-ia* are paroxytone, and come mostly from adjectives in *-os* (2nd declension), whereas abstract feminines in *-eia* are proparoxytone, and come mostly from adjectives in *-ης* (3rd declension), as: σοφία from σοφός, κακία from κακός, ἀλήθεια from ἀληθής, εὐγένεια from εὐγενής. (Cp. 1013.)—For a paroxytone *-eia* see 1018 f.

1047. All above five suffixes are still preserved in *N*, the only difference being that *-ia* has generally become oxytone (155. c-d.), and *-της* has changed to *-τη* or *-τητα* (338): φιλία, κακία—νεότη(τα), ὁλότη(τα)—but ἀλήθεια—δικαιοσύνη ‘justice,’ θεωσύνη ‘godliness,’ ἐλεημοσύνη ‘charity,’ ἀγιοσύνη ‘sanctity,’ ‘reverence,’—βάθος, βάρος, ἔτος, etc.

1048. Another mode of forming abstract feminines from adjectives is sometimes resorted to by simply using the feminine of the adjective with recessive accent, as:

(αἴτιος, αἰτία) ἡ αἰτία ‘cause’	(ἀνδρείος, ἀνδρεία) ἡ ἀνδρεία ‘braveness’
(ἐχθρός, ἐχθρά) ἡ ἐχθρά ‘hostility’	(θερμός, θερμή) ἡ θερμή ‘heat’
(γαλήνιος, γαλήνη) ἡ γαλήνη ‘calm’	(κακός, κακή) ἡ κακή ‘badness’

1049. So still in *N*, as: (ζεστός, ζεστή) ζέστη ‘heat,’ (χλωρός, χλωρή) χλώρα ‘greenness,’ (ξερός, ξερά & ξερή) ξέρα & ξερή ‘shore,’ ‘land,’ (στεγνός, στεγνή) στέγνη ‘dryness,’ (φοβερός, φοβερά) φοβέρα ‘threatening,’ (μαδαρός, μαδαρά) μαδαρά ‘mountainous country,’ (ψυχρός, ψυχρά) ψύχρα ‘cold weather,’ etc.

## II. ADJECTIVES.

1050. Adjectives are derived from verbs or substantives (also from adverbs) and may be divided into *common* and *ethnic*.

1050<sup>a</sup>. From *A* down to *B* times, the *neuter* of any adjective, especially common, is used as an *abstract* substantive (cp. 1182), as: τὸ σῶφρον (sc. εἶναι ?) for σωφροσύνη ‘prudence,’ τὸ ἀνανδρον for ἀνανδρία ‘cowardice,’ τὸ ἐλεύθερον for ἐλευθερία ‘liberty.’ This usage is foreign to *B-N* speech, except in a few cases inherited from antiquity, as: τὸ ἐλεύθερον ‘freedom’ (ἐλευθερία, now λευτεριά ‘deliverance’).

### a. COMMON ADJECTIVES.

1050<sup>b</sup>. Common adjectives are formed by means of one of the following suffixes:—

°-τός 3 denoting *necessity* (Latin *-ndus*): γραπτός *scribendus*, ἀσκητός ‘to be exercised.’—*Fairly common*.

-τός 3 { denoting *possibility* or *susceptibility* (Latin *-bilis*); also, an  
 -τός 3 { action accomplished, as: ὁρατός ‘visible,’ δυνατός ‘possible,’  
 -τός 2 { νοητός ‘conceivable,’ κινητός ‘movable’—αἰρετός=ἡρημένος  
 -τός 2 { ‘conquered,’ ἄψαντος ‘untouched,’ ἀπρακτος ‘undone,’ ἀπιστος ‘unfaithful.’—*Very common*.

1051. In *P-N* both these suffixes have lost their *verbal* force. In particular *-τός* is peculiar to *A* and has hardly outlived that period. At least neither the *NT* writers nor their unsophisticated successors make a use of it, save in the neuter or adverbial form *-τόν*, and that very rarely (only once Luke 5, 38 βλητόν; cp. AButtmann 190); its work being performed by the more perspicuous and emphatic analysis: δέι, πρέπει, ἀνάγκη (or χρεία) ἐστί, and the like, with the infinitive or its analysis by *ῖνα* (App. vi. 13-18).

1052. Regarding the suffix *-τος*, two cases are to be distinguished: as a means of expressing *possibility* or *susceptibility*, it appears also in

*P-B* compositions, though much more rarely than in *A* (in *NT* only *παθής* Acts 26, 23), its place now being supplied partly by the suffix *ιμος* (1054), partly by the finite verb (1837). It is therefore difficult to ascertain how far the suffix *-τος* was current in *G-B* speech as a verbal noun; at all events *M-N* diction shows no trace of it.—On the other hand, as an ordinary adjective equivalent to the perfect participle passive—accomplished action—it has been at all times in common use, but since *G* it has gained a far wider popularity, partly through the influence of Latin *-tus* (especially *-atus*), partly in consequence of the retreat of the reduplicated participle (736), as well as of the participle of manner and means (2162). It is therefore now very common in *N* speech, as: *ανοικτός* 'open,' *κλειστός* 'closed,' *διαλεκτός* 'picked,' *βραστός* 'boiling,' *γελαστός* 'laughing,' *χωριστός* 'separate,' *κρεμαστός* 'hanging,' *χυτός* 'moulded,' 'cast,' *σηκωτός* 'carried,' *βιρβατός* 'not castrated,' *γεμάτος* 'full,' *φευγάτος* 'fugitive,' *τρεχάτος* 'running,' *μυρωδάτος* 'fragrant,' *ἀφράτος* 'fresh.' It even appears as an elliptical neuter substantive, as: *τὸ ἀψινθᾶτον* (Orib. i. 435, 6) 'absinthiated wine,' *συκωτός* (sc. *ἥπαρ*) 'liver,' *κυδωνᾶτος* 'quiddany,' *παγωτός* 'ice cream,' etc.

1053. As a variety of *-τός*, the suffix *-ωτός* deserves special mention here, first because it means *supplied with*, as: *ὀδοντατός* 'dented,' *δικτυωτός* 'reticular,' *θυσανωτός* 'with fringes,' *πτερωτός* 'winged,' *Νφουντατός* 'with a tassel,' or 'like a tassel,' *καμαρωτός* 'arched';—and then because its feminine form *-ωτή* appears since *G* sometimes as an elliptical substantive, as: *ἡ καμηλωτή* (sc. *δωρά*) 'coat made of a camel skin,' *ἡ μηλωτή* 'coat of a sheep skin,' *Ν ἡ πτερωτή* (*φτερωτή*) 'paddle-wheel,' *ἡ πινακωτή* 'a tray with cavities serving as bread-pans.'

1054. *ιμος* 3 (& 2) denoting a *susceptibility* (Latin *-ndus*, English *-ble*); also a *lasting quality*: *μαίχιμος* 'fit for fighting,' *ἀγώγιμος* 'transportable,' *ἐδώγιμος* 'eatable,' *χρήσιμος* 'useful.'—*Fairly common*.

1055. So too in *P-N*: *πράξιμος* 'that can be collected,' *πλεύσιμος* 'navigable,' *ἐορτάσιμος* 'festal,' *κλόπιμος* 'stolen,'—*Ν* *φα(γ)ώσιμος* 'eatable,' *χρήσιμοι* 'respectable,' *φρόνιμος*, *γνώριμος*, *ὕψιμος* 'late,' *πρώιμος* 'early,' etc.

1056. By superadding to *ιμος* the ending *-αῖος* (1081 f.), an amplified form *-μαῖος* is obtained, especially in *P-N*, denoting a *lasting quality*, as: *κλοπιμαῖος* 'stolen,' *ὑποβολιμαῖος* 'supposititious,' *ἐπιστολιμαῖος* 'epistolar,' *ἀναδειγμαῖος*, *ἐφορισμαῖος*. In *N* this ending naturally appears as a contracted oxytone *-μαῖός* [*-μῖός*] (1082), as: *φανησιμαῖός* (*-μῖός*) 'prominent,' *ἀποραξιμαῖός* 'abject,' 'despicable,' *ρίζιμαῖός* 'rooted.'

1057. Denoting a *CHARACTER* or *feature*—

*ι-ύς* 3: *ἡδύς* 'sweet,' *βαρύς* 'heavy,' *ταχύς* 'swift.'—*Common*.

*ι-νός* 3: *δεινός* 'formidable,' *ικανός* 'sufficient,' *σεμνός* 'venerable,' *ὄρεινός* 'mountainous,' *ταπεινός* 'low.'—*Very common*.

*ι-λός* 3: *καλός* 'beautiful,' *δειλός* 'timorous,' *σιγηλός* 'silent,' *ὑψηλός* 'high,' *ἀπαλός* 'soft,' *παχυλός* 'rather thick.'—*Very common*.

*ι-ρός* 3: *ἐχθρός* 'hostile,' *ψυχρός* 'cold,' *φανερός* 'manifest,' *ἐχυρός* 'fortified,' *λυπηρός* 'grievous,' *πονηρός* 'bad,' *φθονερός* 'invidious.'—*Very common*.

*-ης* 2: *ψευδής* 'false,' *λυσίτελής* 'profitable,' *πλήρης* 'full,' *ἀήθης* 'unwont,' *εὐγενής* 'noble,' *δυστυχής* 'unhappy.'—*Very common*.

1058. The four suffixes *-ύς*, *-νός*, *-λός*, *-ρός*, are still fully preserved in *N*, as: *γλυκύς* 'sweet,' *βαρύς* 'heavy,' *ταπεινός* 'modest,' *στενός* 'narrow,' *σκοτεινός* 'dark,' *ὑψηλός* 'high,' *χαμηλός* 'low,' *δρῶσερός* 'fresh,' *κημητέρος* 'cultivated,' 'tame,' *φωτερός* 'light,' *πενεχρός* 'poor';

# 1058-1067.] COMMON ADJECTIVES FROM ADJECTIVES.

— while *-ής*, owing to its inconvenient inflection on the one hand, and its identification with substantives in *-ης* on the other, has been changed to *-ος*, as : *ἀκριβός*, *ψευδός*, *ἀληθινός*, *ἄνηθος* (cp. 430. 439 f. 1149).

1059. The suffix *-ύλος* deserves especial notice here, because such ancient diminutive adjectives as : *παχύλος* 'rather thick,' *μικκύλος* 'rather small,' 'small and dear,' *δριμύλος* 'rather sharp,' taken in conjunction with Latin diminutives in *-ulus*, have served as patterns for a whole class of *N* diminutive formations in *-ούλος*, as : *παχούλος* = *παχύλος*, *μικρούλος* = *μικκύλος*, *μακρούλος* 'largish,' *βαθούλος* 'rather deep,' *νερούλος* 'rather watery,' etc. Furthermore these adjectives, taken in conjunction with Italian *-ullo*, gave rise to a parallel class of diminutive nouns in *-ούλης*, fem. *-ούλα*, as : *ὁ μικρούλης*, *ἡ μικρούλα* 'small and pretty,' 'darling'; *ὁ κοντούλης*, *ἡ κοντούλα* 'rather short'; *ὁ κυρούλης* 'grand papa,' *ἡ κυρούλα* 'grand mamma'; *ὁ Κυριακούλης* 'dear Κυριάκος,' *ἡ Κυριακούλα* 'dear Κυριακή,' *ὁ καψούλης*, *ἡ καψούλα* 'poor thing,' *περδικούλα*, *καρδούλα* (in Bova G.Morosi ii. 42), etc.—In all these formations the penult complex *-ou-* is unmistakably Latin, while the ending and the accent are decidedly Greek.

1060. Denoting the *MATERIAL* (*μετουσιαστικά*)—

*°(-εος) -οός* 3 : *χρυσούς* 'golden,' *ἀργυρούς* 'of silver,' *έρεούς* 'woollen.'—*Fairly uncommon.*

*ἔ-ινος* 3 : *ξύλινος* 'wooden,' *λίθινος* 'of stone.'—*Very common.*

1061. The suffix *-ίνος* still fully survives in *N*, as : *πέτρινος* 'of stone,' *ξύλινος* 'wooden,' *πέτσινος* 'of leather'—but since *H* appears often in the modification *-έινος* (now commonly pronounced *-ένιος*), as : *στυπείνιος* (Phryn.), *πεσσίεινος* (Porph. Cer. 670, 15), *σιδερέινος*, *μολιβείνιος* (now commoner *σιδερένιος*, *μολιβένιος*), etc.—As to *-(εος) -οός* see 320 f.

1062. Denoting *TIME*: *ἔ-ινός* 3 : *ἐσπερινός* 'evening-,' *νυκτερινός* 'night-,' *εαρινός* 'spring-.'—*Very common.*

1063. So still in *N*, as : *νυκτερινός* 'night-,' *σημερινός* 'to-day's,' *καθημερινός* 'every-day,' *ἄλλοτ(εσ)ινός* 'of former times,' *περσιανός* 'last year's,' *ταχινός* 'to-morrow's,' *ταχυτερινός* 'morning-,' *καλοκαιρινός* 'summer-.'

1064. Denoting *FULNESS* or *ABUNDANCE*—

*ἔ-ας* 3 : *ἰχθυόεις* 'full of fish,' *ὕληεις* 'woody,' *χαρίεις* 'graceful,' *ἀνεμόεις* 'windy.'—*Not common.* (1067.)

*°-ώδης* 2 : *πετρώδης* 'rocky,' *θηριώδης* 'full of beasts,' 'beastly,' *εὐώδης* 'fragrant,' *λυσσώδης* 'raging.'—*Common.*

1065. The suffix *-ώδης* denotes also *similarity*, as : *σιληνώδης* 'Silen-like,' *σφηκώδης* 'wasp-like.'

1066. Both these suffixes (*-έας* & *-ώδης*) have become extinct in *N*, in consequence of their inconvenient inflection (439 f. 451 f. 1058).

1067. Preceded by *-ο-*, the suffix *-εις* becomes *-όεις* and admits of contraction to *-οός*, as : *μελιτόεις*, *μελιτοός*, *μελιτούν*, *μελιτούσσα* 'melliferous.' The feminine form *-ούσσα*, owing to its convenient inflection (1st declension), maintained itself through *P-B* times, particularly as an elliptical substantive, as : *μελιτούσσα* [sc. *ζύμη*], *οἰνούσσα*, *Τειχιούσ(σ)α*, *Ἑρμονούσσα*, *Ἀργεινούσσαι* (cp. *αἰθαλούσσα*, *πετρούσσα*, Kühner-Blass i. 529 f.), and still survives in a few *N* nouns, as : *Ῥοδούσσα*, *Ἄ[ν]θούσ(σ)α*, cp. *βρωμούσ(σ)α*, 'a stinking insect,' also 'ladybird,' *λεχούσ(σ)α*, *πετούσ(σ)α* 'flying.' Whether this *-οός(σ)α* is the lineal parent of the rather common *N* *-οῦ* (1043), remains still to be investigated.

## ETHNIC ADJECTIVES FROM ADJECTIVES. [1068-1077.

### 1068. Denoting a *PECULIARITY* or *APPURTENANCE*—

**ἱ-ικός** 3: ἵππικός 'equestrian,' κωμικός 'comic,' τραγικός 'tragic,' πολεμικός 'hostile,' πολιτικός 'civil,' βασιλικός 'royal,' μουσικός 'of the Muses,' 'musical.'—*Very common.* (1070.)

**1069.** The feminine ending *-ική* is often used elliptically (for *-ική τέχνη*) to denote an *art, profession* or *trade* (thus corresponding to its English progeny *-ic* or *-ics*), as: ἡ μουσική (sc. τέχνη) 'music,' ἡ ῥητορική 'rhetoric,' ἡ λατρική 'medicine,' γυμναστική 'gymnastics.'

**1070.** So still in *N*, as: πολεμικός 'warlike,' ἀδερφικός 'brotherly,' φιλικός 'friendly,' πατρικός 'paternal,' ψυχικός 'concerning the soul,' νηστικός 'fasting,' νυκτικός 'night-', etc.—ἡ βοσκική (sc. τέχνη or ἐπιστήμη) 'the trade of a shepherd,' ἡ ψαρική or ψαρευτική (=ἀλιευτική) 'fishing,' ἡ κολογερική 'monasticism,' etc.

**1071.** In *N* the neuter plural *-τικά* (rarely singular *-τικό*), which comes from *-της*, often denotes the *fee* for some service, as: τὰ ἀλειστικά 'fee for grinding,' τὰ πλυστικά 'washing money,' τὰ σκαπτικά 'digging money.'

**1071<sup>b</sup>.** For the proparoxytone suffix *-ικος* see 1077.

**1072.** **ἱ-ιος** 3 (which, when preceded by *α ε ο ω*, either becomes *-ίος, -εος, -οιος, -ωος* respectively; cp. 1081), as: οὐράνιος 'heavenly,' πλούσιος 'rich,' ἀναγκαῖος 'necessary,' σπουδαῖος 'eager,' οἰκεῖος 'domestic,' βασιλεῖος 'royal,' less commonly αἰδοῖος 'venerable,' πατρῶος 'paternal,' ἑωσος 'morning-', 'easterly,' ἀρκτῶος 'northerly';—or drops *ι* and thus leads to the endings *-ας, -εας, -οας* [-ους], *-ως* [20<sup>6</sup>].—*Very numerous.*

**1073.** This suffix is still preserved in *N*, and that in all its *A* varieties except *-ως*. However, it is less common in present speech than in *A*, and usually undergoes synizesis (155, c), as: ἄγριος 'wild,' ἀξίως 'capable,' δεξιῶς 'right,' πλούσιως 'rich,' ὡραῖος 'beautiful' (also ὡραῖως, and always πανώρως 'very beautiful,' 1134), ἀραιός 'thin,' 'rare,' παλαιός 'old,' βέβαιος 'sure,' δίκαιος 'just,' ὁμοῖος 'similar,' καθάριος 'pure,' περίσσιος 'abundant,' κούφιως 'empty,' γαλάζιος 'blue.'

**1074.** **ἔμωον, μωον**: τλήμων 'suffering,' μνήμων 'mindful,' ἐπιλήσμων 'forgetful.'—*Rare.*

**1074<sup>b</sup>.** As an adjectival suffix, this item is extinct in *N*. Cp. 469 f.

## b. ETHNIC ADJECTIVES.

**1075.** *ETHNIC* or *gentile* adjectives are derived from ethnic substantives (1030). They are formed by means of one of the following suffixes—

**1076.** **-κός** (-ικός, -ακός) 3: Λακωνικός, Περσικός, Κορινθιακός, Κρητικός, Θηβαῖκός, Εὐβοικός, Σπαρτιατικός, Πλαταῖκός.—*Very numerous.*

**1077.** In this *oxytone* form, *-ικός* is no longer current in *N* [Κρητικός, Τηνιακός etc. are rather substantives], popular speech having substituted for it, since *B* times, a *proparoxytone* form *-ικος* derived from the kindred ethnic substantives (1030), as (Σμυρναῖος) Σμυρναῖκος, (Σιφναῖος) Σιφναῖκος, (Ῥωμαῖος) Ῥωμαῖκος, Τούρκικος, Ἀρβανίτικος, Μωραϊτικος, Πιλιτικός, Βλάχικος, Φράγκικος, etc. This phenomenon points to the influence of Latino-Italian *-icus, -ico* (cp. Porph. Adm. 72, 2 Πάρδικος, if correctly accented), and has attracted, since



## 1077-1088.] VERBS DERIVED FROM NOUNS.

*M*, also a number of common adjectives, as: ψεύτικος (=ψευδής), γέμικος 'old,' νέικος 'young,' 'new,' αντρίστικος 'manly,' 'brave,' τραγί(σ)τικος 'of a buck,' σκυλί(σ)τικος 'canine,' etc.

1078. \*-NOC (-IANOC, -ηNOC) 3: Ασσανός, Σαρδιανός, Άγκυρανός, Κυζικηνός. — *Common*.

1079. So too in *N*, as: Ψαριανός, Σφακιανός, Άνωγειανός (see 1031, 2 f.).

1080. \*-INOC 3 (1031, 2 ff.): Λεοντίνος, Άκραγατίνος, Ταραντίνος, Άλεξανδρινός, Βυζαντίνος, Μεταποντίνος. In *N* it is preserved only in substantives (1031, 5), while the corresponding adjectival suffix is either -ινός 3 (1031, 3) or -ίνικος (1077), as: Πατρινός, Καστρινός, Άλεξαντρινός, Τριεστίνικος, Ναπολιτάνικος.

1081. \*-IOC 3 (used also as substantive 1030): Κορίνθιος, Σαλαμίνιος. When preceded by α ε ι ω, -ιος becomes -αίος -ειος -ίος -φός (1072), as: Άθηναίος, Θηβαίος, Λαρισσαίος, Κερκυραίος, Μυτιληναίος, Άργεῖος, Κεῖος, (Χίος) Χίος, Κῶος. — *Very common*.

1082. This suffix is still preserved in *N*, but only in the variety -αῖος which properly applies to substantives (1030). It is now commonly contracted to -αῖός or -ίός (155, c), and has even succeeded, owing to its frequency since ancient times, in attracting adjectives from other classes, including appellatives (cp. 1056), as: Μυτιληναῖός, Συμυρναῖός, Σαλονικεός (= Θεσσαλονικεός 126), Σιφναῖός.

## III. VERBS.

1083. Verbs, as appearing in the present tense, are derived either from nouns (*denominative*), or from verbs (*postverbal*), sometimes also from adverbs. (1008.)

### a. FROM NOUNS.

1084. *Denominative* verbs are formed by means of one of the following suffixes, synoptically grouped according to their meaning:

1085. 1. Denoting an *ACTION* or *CONDITION* (transitive or intransitive)—

ἱ-άω: τιμῶ 'honour,' βοάω 'shout,' ἡθάω 'am in the prime of youth,' αἰτιάομαι 'accuse,' μασάομαι 'chew.' — *Numerous*.

1086. This suffix not only survives in *N*, but has even attained a very wide extension (854 f.), as: ἀγαπάω 'like,' 'love,' γεννάω 'bear,' κυβερνάω 'govern,' βροντάω 'thunder.' — For *P-N* examples see 854. For middle forms see 1000 ff.

1087. 2. Denoting mostly a *BEING* of what is implied by the stem, sometimes also an *action*—

ἱ-έω: φιλέω 'am a φίλος (friend),' στρατηγέω 'am a στρατηγός (general),' 'command,' εὐτυχέω 'am εὐτυχής (happy).' — *Very numerous*.

ἱ-εύω: βασιλεύω 'am βασιλεύς (king),' 'reign,' δουλεύω 'am δούλος (slave),' παιδεύω 'educate,' θεραπεύω 'attend to.' — *Very numerous*.

1088. Both these suffixes obtain also in *N*, but -έω has considerably retreated before -άω (854 f.), while -εύω appears also in the by-form -εῖγω (861), as: θαρπέω 'believe,' φιλέω 'kiss,' καλέω 'invite,' βασιλεύω 'set' (of stars),

## VERBS DERIVED FROM VERBS. [1088-1097.

δουλεύω 'serve,' 'work'—but βοηθάω 'help,' πολεμάω 'fight,' δουλεύ(γ)ω, βασιλεύ(γ)ω.

**1089. 3<sup>a</sup>.** Denoting a *CAUSING* or *MAKING* (*causative verbs*)—

\*-όω: δουλόω ('make a slave of') 'enslave,' δηλόω ('make manifest') 'declare,' χρυσόω ('make golden') 'gild,' ζημιόω 'punish.'—*Common*.

\*-αίνω: θερμαίνω 'make warm,' 'warm,' κοιλαίνω 'hollow out,' σημαίνω 'signify.'—*Common*.

\*-ύνω: βαρύνω 'burden,' ἡδύνω 'sweeten,' ὀξύνω 'sharpen.'—*Common*.

**1090. 3<sup>b</sup>.** Of these three suffixes -αίνω and -ύνω still survive in *N*, -αίνω having even gained ascendancy over -ύνω (900 ff.).—On the other hand, -όω has been changed to -ώνω (775. 853).

**1091. 4<sup>a</sup>.** Denoting a *FURNISHING WITH*; also the *practice* of the function implied in the noun—

ἱ-άζω: ὀνομάζω 'name,' παρασκευάζω 'prepare,' δικάζω 'judge,' ἐργάζομαι 'work.'—*Numerous*.

\*-ίζω: ὀπλίζω 'arm,' πλουτίζω 'enrich,' μακαρίζω 'deem happy,' ἐλπίζω 'hope,' χαρίζομαι 'gratify.'—*Very numerous*.

**1092.** Annexed to *proper names* and *ethnics*, the above suffixes denote an imitator of or sympathizer with the person or nation implied in the noun (1093), as: δωριάζω 'imitate the Dorians,' φιλιππίζω 'side with Philip,' ἑλληνίζω 'imitate the Greeks.'

**1093. 4<sup>b</sup>.** Both suffixes still fully survive in *N*, as: ὁμοιάζω 'resemble,' κτίζω 'build,' γνωρίζω 'know,' μαυρίζω 'make black,' χαρίζω 'make a present of' (cp. 1098). But they are never annexed to *proper names* and *ethnics* in the sense of 1092.

### b. FROM VERBS (also adverbs).

**1094.** Verbs are formed from primitive verbs (also from adverbs) by means of one of the following suffixes—

**1095. 1.** Denoting a *STRENGTHENING* or *REPETITION* of the primitive notion and called *intensive* or *frequentative* respectively—

ἱ-άζω: ῥιπτάζω 'toss,' 'jerk,' στενάζω 'groan,' 'moan.'—*Common*.

ἱ-ίζω: αἰτίζω 'beg,' ὠστίζω 'push to and fro,' οἰμώζω 'lament.'—*Very common*.

ἱ-ύζω: ἐρπύζω 'crawl about,' βαῦζω 'bark.'—*Uncommon*.

**1096.** All these three suffixes are still common in *N*, but characterize also *inceptive verbs* (868-870. 1097 f.), as: κρυάω (from κρῆ) 'crow,' φωνάω 'shout out,' διψάω 'become thirsty,' σιωπάω 'become silent,' ἀγαπίζω 'become fond of,' κρατίζω 'keep back,' δακρύζω 'shed tears,' γανυζόω 'bark.'

**1097.** Denoting the *INCEPTION* of an action or condition (*inceptive* or *inchoative verbs*); often also acting as mere *causatives* or *intensives* (1089)—

-σκω: γηράσκω *senesco*, 'grow old,' ἡβάσκω *pubesco*, 'attain manhood,' μεθύσκω 'intoxicate,' γενειάσκω 'get a beard.'—*Fairly common*.

1098. With the exception of a few specimens, as : χάσκω 'gape,' πάσκω (i.e. πάσχω 177<sup>b</sup>) 'endeavour,' βρίσκω (i.e. εύρίσκω 723) 'find,' πρήσκω 'swell,' 'inflamm,' βόσκω 'pasture,'—the above suffix has become extinct in *N*, its inceptive, causative, or intensive function having been taken up by -ζω (867 ff. 880). It is true that -σκω is now common in several chiefly northern dialects (Pontos, Cappadocia, Cyprus, Thrace, Macedonia, Thessaly, cp. GHatzidakis 135), as : μνίσκω or μνήσκω (μνέσκω) 'remain,' βορίσκω 'hurt'; particularly in the middle and imperfect form (-σκομαι, -σκον or -σκα; cp. GHatzidakis 415 & 417)—a circumstance which has led some scholars to take it for an Ionic remnant—but before connecting it with classical Greek, we should ascertain whether foreign influence (particularly Italian -sco) has been or not at work.

1099. Denoting a *DESIRE* for action (*desiderative* verbs)—

°-οείω : πολεμησηώ, γελασειώ 'wish to fight, to laugh.'—*Uncommon* <sup>[1]</sup>.

°-ιδέω : στρατηγιώ, κλαυσιώ 'wish to command, to weep.'—*Rare*.

1100. The suffix -ιάω points also to a bodily or mental *affection*, as : οφθαλμιάω 'have sore eyes,' σπληνιάω 'am splenetic.'

1101. Neither -σειώ nor -ιδώ can be traced in *N*, their place having been taken (and that probably since *H* times) either by their paraphrase by means of θέλω (βούλομαι) νά, as : θέλω (ζητώ) νά γελάσω κλάψω,—or by the ordinary middle form, as : χέζομαι = *A* χεζητιάω, κατοικειοῦμαι = *A* οὔρητιάω.

#### IV. ADVERBS.

1102. Adverbs are formed from adjectives, less frequently from substantives and verbs, by means of one of the following suffixes. (See also 523.)

##### a. FROM ADJECTIVES.

\*-ωσ, *N*-a, for which see 516-522<sup>b</sup>.

°-κίς for which see 648-652.

##### b. FROM SUBSTANTIVES AND VERBS.

°-δόν : ἀγγελδόν 'in flocks,' διακριδόν 'separately,' ἀναφανδόν 'openly.'

°-δην : σποράδην 'here and there,' βάδην 'step by step.'

°-τί : νεωστί 'recently,' ὀνομαστί 'by name,' ἀμαχητί 'without striking a blow,' Αἰολιστί 'in Aeolic.'

°-εί : πανδημεί 'in a body,' νηποινεί 'with impunity.'

°-θεν

°-θι, -α, -ι

°-δε, -α, -ε, -ζε

} see 434 f.

1102<sup>b</sup>. To the *N* adverbs of manner in -α, treated in 522 f., we may add here the participial suffix -οντα(ς), current since *T* times (823). It first appears in the form -οντα, then takes final -ς and becomes -οντας, and its preservation in *N* is due to the parallel use of the Italian gerundive (-ante, -ente, as parlante, credente). This adverbial suffix is now added chiefly to the *present* stem of verbs and denotes *manner*, less commonly *time* (synchronous action) and thus corresponds to the Romanic (and English) gerundive, as : έφυγε τρέλοντας 'he went off running,' έσηκώθηκε φωνάζοντας 'he got up shrieking'; πηδώντας, περιπατώντας, θωρώντας, βλέποντας, θέλοντας καί μή έλποντας, 'willy nilly.'—For *T-M* examples see 823.

[1] Cp. Moeris 189 κησείειν 'Αττικῶς, κηστικῶς έχειν 'Ελληνικῶς.

## B. COMPOSITION.

1103. Composition is the blending together of two separate words which otherwise would stand to each other in the syntactical relation of either *subordination* (dependence), or *co-ordination* (1702). In the former case, it is called *composition proper*, in the latter *copulative composition*. (Cp. 1110.)

1104. As early as Homeric times the Greek language possessed a singular aptness to form compound words, and so relegated to *A* a very rich and manifold supply of such complexes, which thus served as patterns for subsequent formations. Accordingly compound words dating since historical times are, for the most part, analogical productions or unconscious imitations, similar to those observed in phonopathy (124<sup>b</sup>). That this is actually the case appears also from the fact that in many instances the constituent parts, though obsolete or extinct as early as *A*, nevertheless continued—some continue even to the present day—to serve as popular prefixes or suffixes for new formations. Thus in *A* *ἀ-* or *ἀν-*, *δυσ-*, *ἀρι-*, *ἐρι-*, *νη-*, etc. no longer appeared as independent words, nevertheless they still continued to serve as first constituents for many new formations. In the same way *δέμα*, *πέλα*, *ώψ*, etc. were foreign to ordinary *A*, yet *A* *οἰκοδόμος*, *ὄνειροπολέω*, *μονώψ*, *ἀμβλυωπής*, *εὐωπός*, *N* *χαρῶπις*, *μικρῶπις*, *μεγαλωπός*, etc.—So even to this day: *κιτρινωπός*, *μεγαλωπός*, *στρογγυλωπός*, *βούκολος* (*A* *βουκόλος*), *τυροκόμος*, *γεροκομῶ*, *ἐγγαλιονόμος*, *συκολόγος*, *πουλλολόγος*, *πετριβολῶ*, *βλαστολόγος*, *ζευγολάτης*, *γαίδουρολάτης*, *κύψυχος*, *κυφάμελος*, etc., though *ὄπ-*, *κολ-* or *πολ-*, *κομῶ*, *νέμω*, *βάλλω* ‘*throw*’, *λέγω* ‘*gather*’, *ἐλαύνω* ‘*drive*’, *σύν*, have long become extinct.—See also 1110.

## I. COMPOSITION PROPER.

1105. A compound word consists of two parts, called components or constituents, the second of which contains the principal idea, while the first generally serves as a qualifying adjunct.

1105<sup>b</sup>. This holds good for *N* also. Here, however, the two constituents in a few cases appear interchangeable, as: *λαιμόπονος* and *πονύλαιμος* ‘throat trouble,’ *ὀμμάτοπονος* & *πονόμματος* ‘sore eyes,’ *ὀδοντόπονος* & *πονόδοντος* ‘toothache,’ *κεφαλόπονος* & *πονοκέφαλος* ‘headache,’ *ὁ ποδύγυρος* & *τὸ γυροπόδι* ‘hem (of a skirt),’ *ψωμότυρο* or *ψωμοτύρι* & *τυρόψωμο* ‘bread and cheese,’ *ὀρυζόγαλο* (& *γαλоруζο*) ‘milk rice.’

## A. FIRST CONSTITUENT.

1106. The first constituent which is commonly a noun, rarely a verb, is prefixed to the second constituent by means of a compositional (thematic, connective) vowel, chiefly *ο*, sometimes also *α*, *η*, rarely *ε*, *ι*—or *none*. (See 1110. 1116.)

- Ο**: *λογογράφος* ‘prose writer,’ *οἰκονόμος* ‘manager,’ *φιλότιμος* ‘emulous,’ *ἡμεροδρόμος* ‘courier,’ *ξίφοκτόνος* ‘slaying with the sword,’ *τειχομαχία* ‘siege,’ *ἰχθυοφάγος* ‘eating fish,’ *σωματοφύλαξ* ‘bodyguard,’ *λιποταξία* ‘desertion,’ *μισόγυνος* ‘hating women,’ *ισόρροπος* ‘balancing’  
**α**: *ἀγορανόμος* ‘clerk of the market,’ *βιβλιαγράφος* ‘writer of books’  
**η**: *ἐλαφιβόλος* ‘shooting deer,’ *λαμπαδηφόρος* ‘torch-bearer’  
**ε**: *δακτύλιος* ‘annoying,’ *ἐχέφρων* ‘sensible,’ *ἀρχέλαος* ‘ruler’ (1116)  
**ι**: *πυρίπνους* ‘fire-breathing,’ *ἀρχιτέκτων* ‘master-builder’ (1116)  
**none**: *πολυ-τελὴς* ‘costly,’ *πολυ-πράγμων* ‘meddlesome,’ *ναυ-μαχία* ‘sea-fight’

1107. The compositional -ο- is absolute in *N* (1110), as : χαροκόπος 'epi-curean,' ὠρολόγι 'watch,' μαρόπιστος 'credulous,' κακόγνωμος 'spiteful,' ξενόφιλος 'hospitable,' κοιλιόδουλος 'gluttonous,' ψαμοζήτης 'begging for bread,' νυκτοκυράκας 'night-raven,' κοκκινογένης 'with a red beard'—but also στεναχωρῶ (though commoner στενο-χαρῶ) 'force' (cp. 1108).

1108. The compositional vowel is dispensed with in particular when the first constituent ends in -υ, -υς, or when it consists of πολὺς, βούς, ναὺς, ἡμισυς, also καλός which last appears then in the comparative form καλλί- (though καλο- since *G* 1133), as : πολλί-πορθος 'sacking cities,' λεξι-θνήω 'hunt after words,' ἄστυ-νόμος (plebeian *N* ἄστο-νός) 'guardian of the city,' ἰχθυ-βόλος (beside ἰχθυο-βόλος) 'catching fish,' εὐθύ-φρων 'straightminded,' γλυκύ-θυμος 'good-natured,' ἡδύ-φρωνος 'sweet-voiced,' βαρύ-θυμος 'sullen,' ὀξύ-θυμος 'quick-tempered,' βαθύ-ρριζος 'deep-rooted,' πολυ-κέφαλος 'with many heads,' πολυ-λόγος 'loquacious,' ἡμι-ὄλιος 'half as much again,' ἡμι-ὠβελιον 'a half-obel,' καλλί-παις 'with beautiful children';—*G-B* καλογνωμων 'well-minded,' καλό-γηνος ('good γέρων'), 'monk,' etc. (1133).

1109. Also in this class *N* follows the general rule (1106 f.), except in the case of πολὺς (μακρύς, rarely βαρύς), where the *A* practice is still observed, as : γλυκόφρωνος 'sweet-voiced' (so even in Caesarius, IMigne 38, 1072), πολυ-λόγος 'loquacious,' πολυ-καιρία 'long time,' μακρυ-λαίμης (μακρο-λαίμης) 'with a long throat,' μακρυ-γένης 'long-bearded,' μακρομάλλης & μακρυμάλλης 'with long hair,' μακροχέρης & μακρυχέρης 'long-armed,' βαροκαρδίζω (βαρυκαρδίζω) 'become despondent.'

1110. Originally composition was apparently effected by parathesis, that is by affixing the second constituent directly to the character of the first. Now as -ο- was the commonest character owing to its presence in all the multitudinous nouns forming the 2nd declension, it soon affected other classes and gradually became the normal compositional vowel, to the restriction of the remaining α, η, ε, ι. As a consequence, *N* knows of no other compositional vowel than -ο- (1107) and in some cases -υ- (1109), a result which, however, seems to apply also to *G-B* speech (cp. 1108. 1133).

1111. As expected, the compositional vowel is suppressed when the second constituent begins with a sonant, as :

αἰχμ-άλωτος 'captive'	ψευδ-ώνυμος 'under a false name'
ἀνδρ-αγαθία 'bravery'	λοχ-αγός 'leader of a section'
ψευδ-ενέδρα 'sham ambushade'	κεφαλ-αλγής 'causing headache'
μύν-αρχος 'ruling alone'	φιλ-άνθρωπος 'humane.'
μεγαλ-ηγροῖω 'vaunt'	

Cr. νομ-άρχης	παιδ-αγωγός	σωματ-έμπορος	ταξι-αρχος
with νομοθής	παιδοτρίβης	σωματοφύλαξ	φυσιολόγος.

1112. So too in *N* with the difference that the phonodynamic principle (146-154) is brought to bear upon composition, as : (ξύλο-άγγυρ.) ξυλόγγυρο 'kind of cucumber,' (παλαιο-άθρωπος) παλαι-άθρωπος 'scamp,' καλ-ακούω 'hear well,' (ἀγριο-ελαία) ἀγριο-λαϊά 'wild olive(-tree).'

1113. Sometimes, however, the compositional vowel is retained notwithstanding that the second constituent begins with a sonant. This is particularly the case with ἔπος, εἶδος, ἔρκος (which are believed to have originally began with *f*, 11. 209 ff.), and still more with ἔργον, ἔτ-ς, ἔχω, since these words as second constituents undergo normal contraction to -ουργ-, -ουτ-, -ουχ- (cp. 714<sup>b</sup>. 726, as :

φερέ-οικος 'carrying his own house,' ἁμαρτο-επής 'erring in speech,' ὀρθο-επεία 'correctness of diction,' μηνο-ειδής 'crescent-shaped,' θυμο-ειδής 'high-spirited,' πολι-ορκέω 'besiege,' ἀγαθο-εργός & ἀγαθουργός

'doing good,' *κακο-εργός* & *κακούργος* 'doing evil,' *τριακοντα-έτης* & *τριακοντούτης* 'thirty years old,' *ραβδόχος* 'judge,' 'beadle,' *δαδούχος* 'torch-bearer.'

1114. The preceding observations (1113) do not apply to *N*, save in a few inherited cases *ραβδόχος*, *κακούργος*, *καινούργιος* (i.e. *καινουργής*).

1115. Sometimes instead of composition we have a merely close union, under one accent, of the two words which otherwise would stand in a syntactical relation (*syntactical composition*), as *νέωσ-οικος* (for *νηὸς οἶκος*) 'ship-house,' 'docks,' *Πελοπόν-νησος* (for *Πέλοπος νῆσος*) 'Pelops' island,' 'Peloponnese,' *δορί-ληπτος* (for *δορί ληπτός*) 'caught by the spear,' *ναυσί-πορος* 'traversed by ships,' *ὁδοί-πόρος* 'wanderer,' 'traveller.'

1115<sup>b</sup>. This mode of composition is foreign to *N*. (Cp. *Κωνσταντινούπολη*, *χερσιστάς*, etc.)

PECULIARITIES OF THE FIRST CONSTITUENT.

1116. When the first constituent is a *verb* the compositional vowel *-o-* is often replaced by—

ε: *ἐχέ-φρων* 'sensible,' *δακέ-θυμος* 'heart-vexing,' *φερέ-πονος* 'bringing toil,' *ἐκε-χειρία* 'armistice' (1106).

α or ι: *λυα-γελέω* 'avail,' 'pay,' *πλησ-ιστίος* 'filling the sails,' *πλήπ-ιπ-πος* 'striking horses,' *μεμψί-μοιρος* 'querulous,' *ῥαψ-ωδός* 'rhapsodist.'

1116<sup>b</sup>. For *P-N* see 1110.

1117. When the first constituent is a *particle*, its connexion with the second constituent is looser, being effected without compositional vowel. Such particles are either *separable* or *inseparable*.

A. *Separable particles* are—

1118. 1. *Prepositions* (1137f.) as: *προ-βάλλω*, *διά-λυστις*, *ἐκ-παλαι*.

1119. So too in *N*: *προ-βαίνω*, *περί-γελῶ*, *περί-πλουτος*, *εἴν-τεκνος*, *ἀνά-βλεμμα*.

1120. 2. *Certain adverbs*, viz. \**εἰ* 'well,' \**πλὴν* 'without,' \**ἄγχι* 'near,' \**ἄρτι* 'recently,' \**ἱπάλιν* 'again,' \**οὔπαλαι* 'long since,' \**οὔδς* 'twice,' \**οὔτρίς* 'thrice,' \**χαμαί* 'on the ground,' and (chiefly in *P-B*) \**ἀεί*, as:

*εὐ-τυχής* 'happy,' *πλημ-μελής* 'discordant,' *ἀγχι-μαχος* 'close fighting,' *ἀρτι-θαλής* 'just budding,' *παλαιί-φυτος* 'old-planted,' *χαμαι-κέρασος* 'dwarf-cherry,' *δισ-μύριοι* 'twenty thousand,' *ἱδι-στομος* 'two-edged,' *τρι-σκελής* 'three-legged,' *ἀεί-ζωος* 'evergreen,'—*P-B* *ἀει-κίνητος* 'ever-moving,' *ἀει-πάρθενος* 'ever-virgin' (1132).

1121. So too in *N*, so far as the compounds in question are preserved, as: *εὐ-κόλος* 'easy,' *δι-στομος* 'two-edged,' *τρις-κατάρατος* 'thrice-cursed,' except *χαμαι* which has become *χαμο-* (1110), as: *χαμόκλαδο* 'shrub,' *χαμομήλι* 'camomile.' (Cp. *χαμοκιστῶν* Cleemans 91, 30 [II-III<sup>g</sup>†], & 133, 26.)

1122. In consequence of the association and affinity, manifested as early as A, between *εἰ* and *καλός* on the one hand, and *δυσ-* and *κακός* on the other, not only in meaning but also in composition [cp. *εἰ-* with *καλλι-*, and *δυσ-* with *κακο-* in lexicon], popular speech began in *G* to substitute for *εἰ-* (1126) and *δυσ-* the said adjectives, as more expressive representatives (cp. *εὔροος* with *καλλίρροος*, *εὐζωνος*

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with καλλίζωνος, εὐγνώμων with καλογνώμων, εὖ ποιῶ with καλοποιῶ, εὐτυχής with καλότυχος, etc.—further Δύσπαρις with Κακοῖλιος, δύσφημος with κακόφημος, δύστροπος with κακόςτροπος, δυσειδής with κακοειδής, δύσφρων with κακόφρων, δυσπρόσωπος with κακοπρόσωπος, δυστυχής with κακότυχος [Acta Tho. 62, 24], etc.). In process of time, when the identity of meaning had become complete, εὖ- and δυσ- disappeared altogether as formative prefixes (cp. 1123), their place having been taken by καλο- (1133) and κακο- respectively. Accordingly *N* prefixes the latter representatives to any noun or verb, as :

καλο-σύβαστος 'compliant,' καλο-χώνευτος = εὐπεπτος, κακο-σύβαστος 'intractable,' κακοχώνευτος = δύσπεπτος, καλοσυβάζομαι 'comply easily with,' καλοπερνῶ 'live well,' κακοπερνῶ 'live poorly,' καλοπλεραττής, κακοπλεραττής ('one who pays regularly, irregularly'), 'good, bad customer,' etc.

1123. Another mode of expressing *facility* or *difficulty* in composition is effected in recent *N* speech by prefixing εὐκολο- and δυσκολο- to any adjective or verb, as : εὐκολοκάματος 'easily done,' 'feasible,' δυσκολόπιαστος 'difficult to catch,' εὐκολοπερνῶ, δυσκολοπερνῶ 'pass with ease, difficulty.' This alternative, however, rather savours of literary influence, in that *N* scribes are anxious to discriminate between *good* and *easy* contained in καλός, and *bad* and *difficult* contained in κακός.

## 1124. B. Inseparable particles are—

1125. 1. *Intensive* : ἀρι-, ἐρι-, za- or θα- (from δια or δια, 155, α) 'very,' —all proper mostly to *A* poetry and foreign to *P-N* speech, as : ἀριπρεπής 'very conspicuous,' 'magnificent,' ἐρι-βῶλας 'big-clodded,' ζάκοςτος 'very angry,' δά-σκιος 'very shady.'—*Uncommon*.

1126. 2. δυσ- 'difficult to,' 'mis-,' 'un-,' as : δυσ-πόρευτος 'difficult to pass,' 'impassable,' δυσ-τυχής 'unfortunate,' δύσ-θυμος 'despondent,' δύσ-μαχος 'unconquerable.'—*Very common*.

For *P-N* see 1122 f.

1127. 3. ἡμι- (from ἡμισυς) 'half,' as : ἡμι-βρωτος 'half-eaten,' ἡμί-ονος ('half-ass'), 'mule,' ἡμι-τελής 'half-finished.'—*Common*.

1128. When ἡμισυς had become (ἡμισος) μῶσος (401<sup>b</sup>), ἡμι- naturally made room for μσο-, as : μσοφαγωμένος 'half-eaten,' μσοτελειωμένος = ἡμιτελής, 'half-finished.' Now as the notion of *half* and *middle*, then the forms μῶσος and μέσος, are naturally associated, μσο- is very often confounded with μεσο-, as : μεσο-φαγωμένος, μεσο-τελειωμένος, μσο-, μεσο-γραμμένος 'half-written.'

1129. 4. ἀ- or (before a sonant) αν- *privative*, very frequent : 'un-,' 'in-,' 'less,' as : ἀ-δύνατος 'impossible,' ἀ-δικος 'unjust,' ἀ-παις 'childless,' ἀν-όμοιος 'unlike,' ἀν-ήκεστος 'incurable.'—*Most common*.

1130. So still in *N*, as : ἀ-κακος 'guileless,' ἀ-δουλος 'slothful,' ἀ-γέννητος 'unborn,' ἀ-πλutos 'unwashed,' ἀ-πάντρευτος 'unmarried,' ἀν-άξιος 'incapable,' ἀν-εργος 'inactive,' 'idle,' ἀ-παστρος 'unclean,' etc., etc.

1131. 5. ἀ- *collective* or *intensive* : ἀ-λοχος 'bed-fellow,' ἀ-θρόος 'collected,' ἀ-τενής 'intent.'—*Rare*.

1132. This prefixal δ- was apparently even in *A* mistaken for a constituent part and so *P-N* speech shows no actual trace of it. [The *N* adjective δ-πάρθενος for παρθένης is a phonopathic contraction of δει-πάρθενος (1120, 150, δ), a term applied chiefly to the Holy Virgin and therefore familiar to the people through the church.]

## 1133. As first constituent of a compound word—

\*Καλός appears in the form καλλι-, *G-N* καλο- (suggested by κακο-, 1108), as : καλλίνικος 'with glorious victory,' καλλίκομος 'beautiful-

## SECOND CONSTITUENT IN COMPOSITION. [1133-1141.]

haired,' καλλίρρους 'beautiful-flowing';—*G-N* καλοσύμβουλος 'giving good advice,' καλόχρως IDamasc. 95, 244 A (Imigne), καλογνώμων (*N* καλόγνωμος) 'noble-minded,' καλόγηρος or ἑγερὸς 'good γέρων,' 'monk.'

†1134. Πᾶς usually appears in the form παν- (*P* also παντα-), as: Παν-αθήναια, παν-ῶλης & παν-ῶλεθρος 'utterly ruined,' 'all-destructive,' παν-ουργία 'roguery,' πᾶμ-πολυς 'very numerous,' παρ-ρησία 'openness,' πάγκαλος 'all-beautiful'; παντοδύναμος, παντοκράτωρ 'omnipotent';—*N* παν-ώραιος 'very beautiful.' (1073.)

\*1135. Γῆ appears commonly in the form γεω- (but *P* also γη-), as: γεωμέτρης 'land-measurer,' γεώλοφος (γῆλοφος) 'hillock,' ἱγεωργός 'husbandman.'

†1136. Κρέας appears in the form κρεο- (*P* κρεω-), as: κρεοφύγος 'eating flesh,' κρεοκοπέω 'cut in pieces.'

## B. SECOND CONSTITUENT.

1137. Generally speaking, in all classes of compounds the second constituent retains its nature and form when the FIRST CONSTITUENT is a *preposition* (cp. 1117 f.).

This is moreover the only case of direct composition admitted by verbs. (Cp. 1154.)

σύμ-πραξις διά-ταξις ἐκ-λυσίς ἐπί-μετρον δια-γνώμη ἀπο-ρρώξ σύγ-γραμμα πρό-δηλος σύν-δουλος ὑπό-λευκος ἐπί-παν πρό-παλαι ἐκ-τοτε ἐπι-τροχάδην ἐκ-βαίω ἐκ-βάλλω συν-αγείρω ἀπ-έχω ἀπ-αίρῃ προ-έχω περι-ελαύνω.

1138. In reality this is not composition but juxtaposition or *parathesis*, which syntactically may be compared with *tonoclis* (94. 106<sup>b</sup>. 1110). Hence in archaic Greek the prepositions are generally treated as adverbs and thus can be separated from their verb (*imesis*, *anastrophe*), a disjunction systematically practised also in *A* Greek in the case of the augment and reduplication (741).

1139. Analogous, but without historical connexion with this phenomenon, is the occasional adverbial use in *N* of μετὰ: sometimes *ματᾶ*, by assimilation) and ξανά in the sense of αὖθις 'again.' This is, however, rather rare and peculiar to northern speech, as: (μετα-εἶδα, ξανα-εἶδα 'saw again') εἶδα μετὰ (ματᾶ) or ξανά, ἦρθα μετὰ (ματᾶ) or ξανά 'came again.'

1140. Very frequently, however, the nature of the preposition is lost sight of (746. 750 f.) and the compound is shaped after the analogy of some other formation having as first constituent an adverbial or other prefix. Thus—

σύν-, ἀντι-δικος	from	δικη	is due to the analogy of	ἀ-δικος.
ἐγ-κρατής	"	κράτος	"	"
ἐπ-ήκοος	"	ἀκούω	"	"
περι-ώνυμος	"	ὄνομα	"	"
συν-πάθης	"	πάθος	"	"
ὑπερ-βαρής	"	βάρος	"	"
ἀμφι-γνοίω	"	ΓΝΩ	"	"
κατ-ηγoreίω	"	ἀγείρω	"	"
				ἀ-κρατής
				αὐτ-ήκοος, ἀν-ήκοος.
				ἀν-ώνυμος
				ἀ-παθής
				ἀ-βαρής
				ἀ-γνοίω
				δημ-ηγoreίω

1141. Conversely, adverbial and other non-prepositional prefixes are occasionally, since *G* times, identified with prepositions, and thus leave the second constituent unaffected (*parathesis*). Examples in 1155.



1142. Irrespective of the nature of the first constituent, the initial vowel of the SECOND CONSTITUENT, if metrically short, is generally formed from the augmented stem, as: στρατ-ηγός (ἄγω) 'general,' ὑπ-ήκοος (ἀκούω) 'obedient,' κατ-ήγορος (ἀγορεύω) 'accuser,' ἀν-ώνυμος (ὄνομα) 'anonymous,' ἀν-ώδυνος (ὀδύνη) 'painless.'

So too in *N*: ἀρχ-ηγός 'chief,' κατ-ηγῶ 'blame,' etc.

1143. When the first constituent is *not* a preposition, the second constituent is generally liable to some terminal modification in order to indicate the gender and nature of the resulting compound (cp. 748). In particular—

1144. *A*. If the second constituent is a *substantive* the resulting compound can be either a fresh substantive or an adjective.

*a*. It becomes a fresh *substantive*, in which case it retains also its former ending, as:

ἡμί-ονος 'mule,' ἀκρό-πολις 'citadel,' πλαγί-αυλος 'transverse flute,' ἱππό-δρομος 'chariot-road,' ῥακέ-χοιρος 'wild boar,' λεοντο-κεφαλὴ 'lion's head,' ψευδ-ενίδρα 'sham ambuscade.'

1145. This class of compounds is not numerous in *A*, but spreads, in the course of *P* times [see ἀγρο- in lexicon, and cp. Phryn. 172 μεσοδάκτυλα ἐναντίασα τοῦτο ἀκούσας τοῖνομα. λέγομεν (or λέγαμεν?) τὰ μέσα τῶν δακτύλων] and eventually appears in *N* as the most popular group, as: ἀντρο-γυναικα (cp. *A* γυναικάνηρ) 'masculine woman,' ἀνεμό-μυλος 'wind-mill,' μελισσό-κηπος 'apiary,' ξερό-τοπος 'dry soil,' κεφαλό-ποντος (CGL 296, 62 ὁδοτοπονία) 'head-ache,' παλαι-άθρωπος 'scamp,' χιονό-φερο 'snow-water,' μοναχοῦς 'only son,' ψυχο-παῖδι 'adopted child,' κοκκινύ-χαιμα 'red earth,' ἀπανώ-γραμμα 'address' (of a letter), etc. (Cp. 1155.)

1146. *N* diminutives in -ι, when they serve as second constituent, generally assume the ending -ο-, as (παῖδι) παλαιό-παιδο, 'naughty child,' 'urchin,' (διδί) ἀγρι-ἀπίδο 'wild pear,' (ἀγγούρι) ξυλό-άγγουρο, (κρασί) νερό-κρασο.

1147. *b*. It becomes an *adjective*. In this case which is by far commoner, the second constituent undergoes, if necessary, such a terminal modification as to clearly indicate the gender of the resulting adjective. The endings thus resorted to are most commonly -ος (rarely by-form -ως), very often -ης, sometimes -ων, rarely -ωρ, -υς, -ις, as:

-ος (-ως): εὐθύ-δικος (δίκη) 'just,' ἀ-τεκνος (τέκνον) 'childless,' ἀ-τιμος (τιμή) 'dishonoured,' ἀ-στομος (στόμα) 'mouthless,' ἄν-οιμος 'bloodless,' μεγαλό-ψυχος 'magnanimous,' κακό-βουλος (βουλή) 'ill-advised,' λεπτό-γεως (γῆ) 'of a poor soil,' ἀ-γήρως (γῆρας) 'undecaying.'

-ης: εὐ-ήθης (ἥθος) 'simple-minded,' ἀν-ωφελής (ὄφελος) 'useless,' κακο-σκελής (σκελος) 'with bad legs,' δυσ-τυχής (τύχη) 'unfortunate,' ἀ-ηδής (ἡδός) 'disagreeable' (1148).

-ων: σά-φρων (φρήν) 'of sound mind,' πολυ-πράγμων (πράγμα) 'officious.'

-ωρ (-τήρ becoming -τωρ): φιλο-πάτωρ 'loving his father,' ἀ-μήτωρ 'motherless' (1148).

-γς: ἀ-δακρυσ (δάκρυ) 'tearless.'

-ις: ἀν-αλκίς (ἀλκή) 'impotent.'

So further: ἀ-παις 'childless,' μακρό-χειρ 'long-armed,' δι-πους 'biped,' etc.

1148. Compounds in -ης generally have as second constituent a neuter in -ος or an adjective in -υς, as: εὐ-ήθης ἥθος, ἀ-ηδής ἡδός, —while compounds in -ωρ have as second constituent a masculine in -ήρ, as: φιλο-πάτωρ πατήρ.

1149. The above rule 1147 applies substantially to *N* also, with this difference that the number of words coming under this head has been reduced, and that the only endings now admissible are chiefly -ος (then -ης as substantive with fem. in -α) (430. 1058), while -ων, -ωρ, -υς, -ις have become extinct (469-475), as: ἀ-δικος 'unjust,' ἀ-τεκος 'childless,' στρογγυλο-πρόσωπος 'round-faced,' κοιτο-γόνατος 'short-legged,' μαυρο-μούστακος 'with black moustaches,' λιγυροδό-καρδος 'easily scared,' τίμωρος 'timorous,' μονο-κόμματος 'of one piece,' δι-πατος 'of two stores,' τρι-κατάρτος 'with three masts,' ἑφτά-ψυχος ('with seven souls') 'very tenacious,'—στραβο-πόδης 'with crooked legs,' ἱερακο-μύτης 'with a roman nose,' σφιχτο-χέρης 'close-handed,' κοντο-λαίμη 'short-necked,' μαυρο-γένης 'with a black beard,' etc.

1150. B. If the second constituent is a *verb*, or contains a verbal notion, the resulting compound is a verbal *noun*, chiefly adjective, ending mostly in -ος, frequently in -ης, sometimes also in the substantival suffix -ης (-ας), rarely in -ς, as:

1. -ος: ἀ-τροφος 'unfed,' λιθο-βόλος 'throwing stones,' εὐθυ-πόρος 'going straight,' δύσ-μαχος 'unconquerable,' λογο-ποιός 'prose-writer,' στρατ-ηγός 'general,' ναυ-πηγός 'ship-builder,' ναύ-αρχος 'admiral,' ναυ-βάτης 'seaman.'

1<sup>b</sup>. So too in *N*, as: μαυρο-φόρος 'dressed in black,' χορτο-λόγος 'gathering greens,' συκο-φάγος 'fig-eater,' ὀριόλη 'oriole,' χορο-κόπος 'epicurean,' κακό-βολος = δυσπρόρετος, ὑπνο-μάχος 'tremendous sleeper.'

2. -ης, -ες: θεο-φιλής 'loved by God,' εὐ-μαθής 'quick at learning,' ἀ-μαθής 'ignorant,' αὐτ-άρκης 'sufficient.'

1151. In *N* this and the preceding group of verbal adjectives (1-2), which are mostly passive in sense, have become either regular adjectives in -ος, as: ἀ-βαφος 'undyed,' ἀ-βλαβος 'uninjured,' ἀ-πρεπός 'unseemly,' ἀμελός & ἀν-άμελος 'negligent,' κακο-μάθητος 'difficult to learn' (1122);—or, more commonly, the second constituent has been replaced by the past participle in -μένος, as: κακο-μαθημένος 'ill-bred,' νεο-φερμένος 'newly arrived,' νέο-μενος 'new-comer,' βαρο-φορτωμένος 'heavy laden,' πολυ-παινεμένος 'much-praised,' μαυρο-φορεμένος 'dressed in black.'

1152. c. ἱ-ης (subst.) and rarely -ας (gen. ου), as: νομο-θέτης 'legislator,' οἶνο-πότης 'wine-drinker,' μυρο-πώλης 'perfumer,' γεωμέτρης 'geometer,' κωμ-άρχης 'chief of a village,' βουργο-μαστέρης 'fowler.'

1152<sup>b</sup>. So too in *N*, as: νερο-κράτης 'turn-cock,' χαρτο-παίχτης 'gambler,' κρασο-πιωτής 'wine-drinker,' μαχαιρο-βγάρτης 'rowdy,' κληρο-νομήτης 'churchwarden,' ἀνεμο-γάμης, peregrine falcon.

1153. 3. -ης rarely: βου-πλήξ 'ox-goat,' κναμο-τρώξ 'bean-eater.'

In *N* extinct. (338.)

1154. It is only from or through the above verbal nouns (1144-53), either actual or implied, that compound verbs, chiefly in -έω, and abstract feminines chiefly in -ία (ἐμᾶ from -ης 1046), can be obtained, as:

ἵππους τρέφω	ἵππο-τρόφος	ἵππο-τροφέω	ἵππο-τροφία
θεοὺς σέβομαι	θεο-σεβής	θεο-σεβέω	θεο-σεβεία
πῆλ μάχομαι	ναυ-μάχος	ναυ-μαχέω	ναυ-μαχία
εὖ ἐργάζομαι	εὖ-εργέτης	εὖ-εργετέω	εὖ-εργεσία
νόμον τίθωμι	νομο-θέτης	νομο-θετέω	νομο-θεσία
πᾶν ἐργάζομαι	παν-οὔργος	παν-ουργέω	παν-ουργία
ὁδοὺ πορεύομαι	ὁδο-πόρος	ὁδο-πορέω	ὁδο-πορία
λέξεις θηράω	λεξι-θήρας	λεξι-θηρέω	λεξι-θηρία
λιπεῖν τῖξιν	λεπο-τάκτης	λιπο-τακτέω	λιπο-ταξία

1155. In this particular case (1154), *G-N* speech shows a signal departure from *A* usage. For although in several cases the ancient pattern is still followed in *N*, as : *πετρο-βολῶ* 'throw stones,' *χορτο-λογῶ* 'gather greens,' *ξύλο-κοπῶ* 'cut wood,' 'beat,' *ἄγκο-μαχῶ* 'pant,' *ψυχο-μαχῶ* 'am dying' (though even here the derived verbs end mostly in -ᾶω 850 & 854)—on the whole *G-N* treats each constituent as an independent word, so that the compound appears to form not synthesis, but *parathesis* (1138. 1141).

Thus *ἀμπελοτίμων* Gr. Pap. Br. Mus. p. 181, 375 & 182, 422 (†78-79), *θρυοκίπων* ib. p. 172, 8; 173, 105; 177, 245. ib. *θρυοτίλλω* often; *λειοτριβεται* Alchem. 319, 6;—*now* *μοσχομυρίζω* (Dig. 2, 279 *μοσχομυρισμένην* 1151); *καλο-μαθαίνω* (= *καλὰ μαθαίνω*) & *κακο-μαθαίνω* (= *κακὰ μαθαίνω*) 'get spoiled,' *κακο-γράφω* (= *κακὰ γράφω*) 'write badly,' *συχνο-τρώγω* (= *συχνὰ τρώγω*) 'eat frequently,' *στραβο-κντάζω* (= *στραβὰ κντάζω*) 'look askance,' *ξeno-δουλεύω* (= *ξένους δουλεύω*) 'work for other people,' etc.—So further substantives in -μα (τό), also -μός (ύ), for -σις, as : *καλο-μάθημα*, *κακο-μάθημα* (or -μός) 'getting spoiled,' *κακό-γραμμα* 'bad writing,' *συχνο-φάγωμα* 'frequent eating,' *στραβο-κίταμα*, *ξeno-δούλεμα*, etc.

## II. COPULATIVE COMPOSITION.

1156. *Copulative composition* is the combination or union, under one dominant accent, of two independent words—chiefly nouns—which, considered from a syntactical point of view, would stand to each other in a paratactic relation (co-ordination) and be linked by *καί* 'and.' This kind of composition which sometimes goes by the name of *dvandva*, is uncommon in *A*, but in *P* becomes frequent and since *T* very popular (641. 1193. 1729<sup>b</sup> f.).

*A* *κλανσί-γελως*, *λατρό-μαντις*, *ὄξ-ἄλμη*, *πλουθ-υγίεια*, *οἰνό-γαλα*, *ἀνθρωπο-δαίμων*, *ἐν-δεκα*, *δω-δεκα*, *δεκα-πέντε*, *γλυκύ-πικρος*, *δξύ-γλυκυ*.

*P-G* *εὐρό-νοτος*, *λιβό-νοτος*, *Κελτ-ιβηρες*, *πειθ-ανάγκη*, *φαγησι-πόσια*, *αὔξο-μείωσις*, *συχθ-ἡμερον*, *φύ-γαλα*, *ρίγο-πύρετος*, *ἀρτό-κρεας*, *ἀρτό-τυρος*, *ισχαδο-κάρνα*, *μυλο-κυδώνια*, *ιστιο-κώπη*, *κροτο-θόρυβος*, *ἀριστό-δειπνον*, *γαρ-έλαιον*, *οἰνό-γαρον*, *οἶν-έλαιον*, *ὕδρ-έλαιον*, *κηρό-πισσος*, *μυρο-πισσό-κηρος*, *βατραχο-μυο-μαχία*, *μαρό-σοφος*, *ἀκριβο-δίκαιος*, *θρασύ-δειλος*, *λευκ-έρυθρος*, *ἐρυθρό-λευκος*, *λευκό-πυρρος*, *ὤχρο-μέλας*, *λευκο-μέλας*, *μαρό-κυμψος*, *μικρο-γλάφυρος*, *ὑψηλο-τάπεινος*, etc.

*T-N* τὰ *ἀνδρό-γυνα*, *γυναικό-παιδα*, *ποδο-κέφαλα*, *ἄξιν-ορύγια*, *ἵποκαμμο-βράκια*, *σιτλο-λίκανα*, *σέλλο-χάλινα* (Dig. 4, 239; 791; 901. 6, 555), *σέλλο-σκαλο-χάλινα* (Corn. B 2275), *χειρό-ψελλα*, *χαρτο-καλαμάρια*, *τοφο-φάρετρα*;—*ἡ* *δοσο-ληψία*, *ληψο-δοσία*, *τετραδο-παρασκευή*, *γαλεο-μυνο-μαχία*, *Περσο-αρμενία* (Theoph. 311, 10), *ἀνωγο-κατάγειον οἰκημα* (FTrinch. 11 [†1000]; 25 [†1032], etc.);—*μαρο-πλούσιος*, *μαρο-κακοήθης*, *λευκο-πόρφυρος*, etc.

*N*: *ἀντρώ-γυνος*, *ρυζό-γαλός* & *γαλό-ρυζος*, *τετραδο-πάρασκο*, τὰ *λαμπερο-χριστό-γεννα*, τὸ *σαββατο-κύριακος*, *ἀγγο-λέμονος*, *λαβδό-ξειδος* & *ξειδὸ-λαβδος*, *σταρο-κρίθι*—τὰ *ματό-φρυδα*, *μαχαρο-πήρουνα*, *καρυδό-σκα*, *ἀμπελο-χώραφα*, *εφαλά-ποδα*, *χειρο-πόδα*, *παιδὸ-γγονα*, *νερό-λαβδα*, etc.—*Ἡπειρο-θεσσαλία*, *Μολδο-βλαχία*—*γλυκό-ξινος*, *στενρό-μακρος*, *κοντό-χοντρος*, *μαυρο-κύκκινος*, *κουτο-πόνηρος*.

1157. *N* speech goes still further in this direction and sometimes joins even two verbs which either by usage or meaning can be associated together, as : (*περὶ* & *διαβαίνω*) *περῶ-διαβαίνω*, *ἀνεβῶ-κατεβαίνω*, *πηγαίνω-έρχομαι* (Chron. Mor. 3741 *ὑπεγενοίρχετον*), *πηγαίνω-γαγίρνω* (Corn. B 348), *ἀνοίγω-σφαλίζω* or *-σφαλῶ*, *στρίφω-γυρίζω*, *κλεβῶ-γυρίζω*, *παίζω-γελῶ*, *πασσ-αλείφω* (i e. *πᾶσσω καὶ ἁλείφω*), etc.

1157<sup>b</sup>. GMeyer (in KZ xxii 1-31), and with him several other philologists, deny point-blank the existence of dvandva compounds in ancient Greek with the possible exception of *νυχθ-ήμερον* of the NT (2 Cor. 11, 25). They argue that A-P formations like *κλαυσι-γελως*, *λατρό-μαντις*, *ρίγο-πύρετος*, *πλουθ-υγίεια*, *βατραχο-μυο-μαχία*, *ὀξύ-μελι*, *πειθ-ανάγκη*, *ἐρυθρό-λευκος*, *λευκ-ἐρυθρος*, *ἐρυθρο-μέλας*, and all the rest, denote *one* resultant or mixture, one intermediate item, not two items. This argument, however, as well as the subtle interpretations foisted into each individual case, are far too elaborate and artificial to apply to any actual language like that spoken by the ancient Greek nation. It is also hard to conceive how a *κλαυσι-γελως* can be 'ein lächeln unter thränen' where either constituent points to a *loud* expression of feeling: 'crying followed by laughter.' Equally untenable is the interpretation of *λατρόμαντις* as an 'λατρός μάντις; λατρός ist attributiv wie etwa λατρικός'—instead of the simple and only correct interpretation: a man who is both *λατρός* καὶ μάντις. So too *ρίγο-πύρετος* (or *-πύρετον*) cannot be a mixture, 'ein fieber mit heftigem frostschauder,' since *ρίγος* and *πυρετός* never come simultaneously, but *ρίγος* precedes and *πυρετός* follows, hence *ρίγο-πύρετος* = *ρίγος καὶ πυρετός*. Further *ἐρυθρό-λευκος*, *ἀκριβο-δίκαιος*, etc. do not express one intermediate quality, but *two* qualities applying to one item. Nor is *βατραχο-μυο-μαχία* a *μάχη τῶν βατραχομύων* or a *μυο-μαχία τῶν βατράχων*, since this would be an inconceivable monstrosity, but a *μάχη τῶν βατράχων καὶ μύων*, like *πόλεμος τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ Πελοποννησίων*.—As a matter of fact, if GMeyer's argumentation be accepted as correct, we might as well deny altogether the existence of any dvandva formation in any period of the Greek language, including N speech. For in this manner even *νυχθ-ήμερον* might be explained away as a unit, or 'one period consisting of a night and a day' (*νυχθήμερον χρόνον*), *φαγησι-πύσια* 'one banquet where people eat and drink,' *ἰσχαδο-κάρυα* 'one mixture of figs and nuts,' *γυναικό-παιδα* 'one group of women and children' (not two separate groups); *ἀμπελο-χώραφα* 'one estate consisting of ἀμπελία καὶ χωράφια'; *Ἡπειρο-θεσσαλία* 'one (or at least conceived as one) administrative district consisting of Ἡπειρος and Θεσσαλία,' and so on all the rest.

# PART THIRD.

## SYNTAX.

### GENERAL REMARKS.

#### COLLOCATION OF WORDS.

1158. As nearly all parts of speech are inflected in Greek (having special endings for each individual case, cp. 32<sup>c</sup>, 1), and so of themselves indicate their mutual relation in a sentence, the syntactical position of words is not tied down to fixed and definite rules, as is the case with English and other modern languages (cp. 2034). Therefore a sentence like *the father loves his son* may be expressed in Greek, according as the stress lies on this or that word, by—

ὁ πατήρ φιλεῖ τὸν υἱόν—or φιλεῖ ὁ πατήρ τὸν υἱόν—or τὸν υἱόν φιλεῖ ὁ πατήρ.—Φιλεῖ ὁ πατήρ τὸν υἱόν; ὁ πατήρ φιλεῖ τὸν υἱόν; τὸν υἱόν φιλεῖ ὁ πατήρ;—Cp. Th. 2, 2 ἐπηγάγοντο δὲ τοὺς Θηβαίους καὶ ἀνέφξαν τὰς πύλας Πλαταιέων ἄνδρες, Ναυκλείδης καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ.

So still in *N*.

1159. An adjective or participle may refer to a noun either as an *attribute* or as a *predicate*. In the former case it commonly stands between the noun and its article, if any, and the association is direct and close; in the latter it stands after or before the articular noun (1236) and the association is effected by means of a copulative verb (εἶναι, etc. 1249) either actually supplied or understood (1236).

*Attributive relation:* σοφὸς ἀνὴρ or ἀνὴρ σοφὸς 'a wise man.' ὁ σοφὸς ἀνὴρ or ὁ ἀνὴρ ὁ σοφὸς 'the wise man.' χώρα οἰκουμένη or (ἡ) οἰκουμένη χώρα 'the (an) inhabited land.'

*Predicative relation:* ὁ ἀνὴρ (ἐστι) σοφός or σοφός (ἐστιν) ὁ ἀνὴρ 'the man is wise.' ἡ χώρα ἐστιν οἰκουμένη or οἰκουμένη (ἐστιν) ἡ χώρα 'the land is inhabited.'

1159<sup>b</sup>. A noun or pronoun is often defined or described by means of another noun put in the same case without any connective particle. Σωκράτης ὁ φιλόσοφος, ἡμᾶς τοῦς Ἕλληνας. (1211). This descriptive co-ordination, as well as the noun so co-ordinated, is called *apposition*.

1160. The *subject* of a finite verb stands in the nominative (cp. 1313): Κῆρος ἀρχεῖ.—So still in *N*.

1160<sup>b</sup>. For the subject of the infinitive see 2064

*The Subject Omitted.*

1161. The subject of a finite verb is usually omitted in the following cases:—

1162. *a.* When it is a pronoun of the 1st and 2nd person, in which case it is sufficiently indicated by the ending of the verb (1158):—γράφω 'I write'; ἵστηκας 'thou standest'; ἀκούσατε 'hear ye.'—So still in *N*.

1163. But it is added whenever an emphasis or antithesis is implied (cp. 2066):—ὧς τε Ἕλληνας εἰ καὶ ἡμεῖς. ἐγὼ μὲν λέγω, σὺ δὲ γράφεις.—So still in *N*.

1164. *b.* When it is implied from the context (cp. 2065):

Xen. An. 1, 4, 5 Κύριος τὰς νύκτας μετεπέμψατο ὅπως ὀπλίτας ἀποβιβάσειεν (sc. ὁ Κύριος). So still in *N*.

1165. *c.* When it refers to *people* generally (cp. 1182, *a.* 2070), or when it is impersonal and indeterminate:

φασί 'they say.' εἰρηται 'it has been said.' ὅψις ἦν τῆς ὥρας 'it was late.' εὖ ἔχει 'it is well.' δεῖ 'it must.' ἔξεστι 'it is possible.' μέλει 'it is a matter of concern.' καλῶς ἔχει 'it is well.'

So still in *N*: εἴνε γλῆγορα 'it is (too) early.' φαίνεται 'it appears.' χρειάζεται 'it is necessary.'

1166. *d.* When it refers to the state of the weather or to natural phenomena:

ῥεῖ 'it rains.' ἀστράπτει 'it lightens.' ἐβρόντησε 'it has thundered.'

So still in *N*: βρέχει, χιονίζει, βροντᾷ. φυσᾷ 'it is windy.'

1166<sup>b</sup>. Such natural phenomena being regarded as actions of God (*Ζεὺς, θεός*), the agency was in *A* occasionally expressed in the form of subject: Ζεὺς ῥεῖ, 'Zeus rains.'

*The Verb Omitted.*

1167. Whenever it is not emphasized, the *verb* of a sentence is or can be omitted:—

*a.* If it is readily implied from the context, as: ἐγὼ μὲν τήμερον ἐλήλυθα σὺ δὲ χθές (sc. ἐλήλυθας).

*b.* If it should be the copula *ἐστί*, a case very common especially in proverbial sayings, then after nouns like ἀνάγκη, ὥρα, and verbals in -τίον, as: Eur. Or. 397 σοφὸν τοι τὸ σαφές οὐ τὸ μὴ σαφές. Pl. Rep. 435 C χαλεπὰ τὰ καλὰ.

1167<sup>b</sup>. So too in *P-N*, as: NT Rom. 8, 6.—*N* ἐγὼ ἦρθα σήμερον κ' ἐσὺ ἐψῆς. ἀβουλος ὁ ποὺς διπλὺς ὁ κόπος 'your head will never save your legs.'

CONCORD.

1168. A finite verb conforms to its subject in person and number: ἡμῖς ἐπαινούμεν 'we approve.' οὗτος ἐγέλacen 'this man laughed.'—So still in *N*.

1169. But when the subject is a *neuter plural*, the verb usually stands in the singular:

Trag. Frg. ad. 462, 1, *N* τὰ μεγάλα δῶρα τῆς τύχης φόβον ἔχει. Pl. Alcib. 115 *A* πάντα τὰ δίκαια καλὰ ἔστιν.

1170. This peculiarity, however, refers chiefly to *A*, hence it is called *σχήμα Ἀττικόν*. Nevertheless it is not rigidly adhered to even by *A* writers, as:

Xen. An. 1, 7, 17 *φανερὰ ἦσαν καὶ ἵππων καὶ ἀνθρώπων ἵχνη πολλά*. Th. 5, 62 *ἐγένοντο ἐξ αὐτῶν εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν τάλαντα*. Lys. 25, 2 *ἂ ὑπὸ τῶν τριάκοντα γεγέννηται τῇ πόλει* (Il. B 135 *σπάρτα λείνυνται*). CIA ii. 467 (I<sup>st</sup> B.C.), 23 *καθὼς ἐπέταττον αὐτοῖς τὰ ψηφίσματα τῆς βουλῆς*. (Cp. Dem. 18, 218.)

1171. As a matter of course *P* writers, except Atticists, follow the common language which in their time had established a uniform standard of agreement between subject and verb (1168), and this general norm has been relegated to *N*.

1172. In the case of one subject in the *dual* or two subjects in the singular, the verb may stand either in the dual or in the plural.

Xen. Mem. 1, 2, 14 *τῷ ἀνδρὶ τούτῳ φύσει φιλοτιμοτάτῳ πάντων Ἀθηναίων ἐγενέσθην*. An. 4, 3, 10 *Ἀριστῶντι τῷ Περικλέει προσέειπεν ὁ Δῖος Νεανίσκος*. Mem. 1, 2, 33 *καλέσαντες ὁ τε Κριτίας καὶ ὁ Χαρκλῆς τὸν Σωκράτην, τὸν τε νόμον ἐδείκνυν ἑαυτῷ καὶ τοῖς νέοις ἀπειπέτην μὴ διαλέγεσθαι*.

1173. In the absence of a dual (229. 633. 668), *N* naturally always uses the plural.

1174. A *collective subject* in the singular *may* have its verb in the plural:

Th. 1, 20 *Ἀθηναίων τὸ πλῆθος οἴονται Ἱππαρχὸν τύραννον εἶναι ἀποθανεῖν*.

So too in *P-N*, as: Evang. Tho. 15, 2 *ὄχλος δὲ πολλὸς παρεϊσκήκεισαν ἀκούοντες*. Callin. 130, 1 *ἡ χώρα φυλάττουσα οὐκ ἐζήρχοντο*. So 104, 26. Apoc. Mar. 119, 26.—*N*: *ἦρθαν*<sup>6</sup> *πολὺ λαός*, 'there came crowds.'

1175. Two or more subjects connected by *καὶ* 'and,' require the verb or the predicate (1159) in the plural: *Εὐρύμειδων καὶ Σοφοκλῆς ἐστράτευσαν*<sup>6</sup> *ὁ ἀδελφὸς καὶ ὁ φίλος εἰσὶν ἀγαθοί*—and if they are of different persons (1st, 2nd, 3rd), the verb is put in the predominant person, the 1st taking precedence over the 2nd and the 2nd over the 3rd.

Pl. Theaet. 154 D *δεινοί τε καὶ σοφοί ἐγὼ τε καὶ σὺ ἡμεν*. Legg. 888 B *οὐ γὰρ οὐδὲ οἱ σοὶ φίλοι πρῶτοι ταύτην (τὴν?) δόξαν ἔσχετε*.

So still in *N*: *ἐγὼ καὶ σὺ θὰ περιμεινώμε ὀλίγο*<sup>6</sup>. *σὺ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐφωρᾷετε*.

1175<sup>b</sup>. The place of *καὶ* is very rarely taken by *μετὰ* with genitive or by some of its synonymous participles (2161 f.), as: Th. 3, 109 *Δημοσθένης μετὰ τῶν ξυστρατῆγων Ἀκαρνάνων ἐπένδονται Μαντινεῦσαι*. Luc. D. D. 12, 1 *Ῥέα παραλαβούσα καὶ τοὺς Κορύβαντας τὴν Ἰδην περιπολοῦσιν*. This construction, which is common in Latin with *cum* (as Nep. 19, 2, 2 Demosthenes *cum caeteris* in exilium *erant* *expulsi*), reappears in *G B*, though rather as a Latinism, in that *ὅν* is mostly used for *cum* or *μετά*, as: Callin. 71, 19 *ὅν Τωάτιο: σὺν τῷ Τιμοθέῳ ἐπέτειναν τὴν δασκίαν*. 75, 3 *ὁ κουβικουλάριος σὺν τῷ δομοστικῷ ἐδόξασον καὶ ἠσπάζοντο*. 69, 11 *ὁ δὲ Τιμόθεος σὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις κλαίοντες ἐζήτουν*.—Cp. *N*: *ὁ Ἰάννης μετὰ τὸν ἥλιο κυνορίζονταν*.

1176. Often, however, the number of the verb is determined by the nearest or most prominent among the subjects.

Xen. An. 2, 1, 16 *σὺ τε Ἑλλήν εἰ καὶ ἡμεῖς*. 7, 7, 16 *ἐγὼ λέγω καὶ Σείθη τὰ αὐτά*. Ath. Pol. 1, 2 *Ἀθήνῃσι καὶ οἱ πέννγες καὶ ὁ δῆμος πλέον ἔχει τῶν γενναίων καὶ πλουσίων*. Dem. 18, 218 *οἱ ἐμοὶ πλάνοι καὶ ταραχωπαῖαι καὶ τὰ πολλὰ ψηφίσματα τοῦτο ἀπειργάσato*.

1177. Two or more nouns having a common predicate (1159) require it in the predominant gender, the masculine prevailing over the feminine, and the feminine over the neuter (cp. 1175):

Aeschin. 2, 118 ἡ τύχη καὶ ὁ Φίλιππος ἦσαν τῶν ἔργων κύριοι.

1177<sup>b</sup>. But in case they only denote *things*, their common predicate stands in the *neuter*:

Xen. Mem. 3, 1, 17 λίθοι τε καὶ πλίνθοι καὶ ξύλα καὶ κέρατοι, ἀτάκτως ἐρριμμένα, οὐδὲν χρησιμὰ ἐστίν.

So still in *N*, as: ξύλα καὶ πέτρες ἦσαν ἀνακατωμένα,—though it is commoner to sum them up by the plural of the neuter adjective ὅλα, as: αἶγες καὶ χοῖροι καὶ ὄρνιθες, ὅλα ἔτρεχαν φοβισμένα.

1178. Masculine and feminine appellatives are often conceived in their generality (as one abstract whole) and thus have their predicate in the *neuter singular*.

PL Rep. 5, 455 Ε ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἀσθενέστερον γυνὴ ἀνδρός. Xen. Mem. 2, 3, 1 οἱ τοιοῦτοι ἄνθρωποι χρησιμώτερον νομίζουσι χρήματα ἢ ἀδελφούς.

1178<sup>b</sup>. *N* generally supplies the word *πρᾶγμα* (also *καὶ* or *καὶ τι*), as: ἡ ἀλήθεια εἶνε καλὸ πρᾶγμα.

1179. A pronominal subject or object agrees in gender and number with its substantival predicate: ἀγῆτι ἄλλη πρόφασις ἦν.

Xen. An. 4, 8, 4 οἶμα ἐμὴν ταύτην πατρίδα εἶναι. Mem. 1, 2, 42 πάντες οἱ τοιοῦτοι εἰσὶν οὗς τὸ πλῆθος συνελθὼν καὶ δοκιμάσαν ἐγραψε φράσον ἃ τε δεῖ ποιεῖν καὶ ἃ μὴ. Pl. Phil. 40 Α λόγοι μὴν εἰσὶν ἐν ἐκάστοις ἡμῶν ἀς ἐλπιδας ὀνομάζομεν.

So still in *N*, as: ἀγῆτι εἶνε ἀνοησία. ἀγὰ εἶνε λόγια τοῦ ἀέρα.

1180. Sometimes the *neuter* (singular or plural) is used by way of dissimilation, as in English: Xen. An. 1, 3, 18 ἐγὼ γε φημι ταῦτα φλυαρίας εἶναι. This is always the case in definitions, as: Pl. Men. 71 D τί φῆς ἀρετὴν εἶναι;

So still in *N*: ἀγὰ εἶναι ἀνοησίες. τοῖτο φαίνεται ποταμός.

## ADJECTIVES.

1181. An adjective or participle, whether serving as an attribute or predicate (1159. 1236), must conform to its substantive in gender, number, and case:—

δίκαιος ἀνὴρ, καλὴν γυναῖκα, μέγιστα ἔργα.—ἀνδρας νοῦν ἔχοντας, τέκνων φιλοῦντων, ἔργα θαυμαζόμενα.

1181<sup>a</sup>. So still in *N* as regards (parisyllabic) adjectives, as: καλὴ κόρη, μικρὰ παιδιά, πολλοὶ ἄνδρες.

1181<sup>b</sup>. But when the imparisyllabic declension began to retreat from popular speech (338. 1208. 2166-70), a confusion inevitably followed during the period of the struggle, as: Acta Tho. 8, 11 αἱ δύο χεῖρες σημαίνουσι κηρύττοντες (PQ). 41, 39 πάντων τῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν (P). 48, 19 ἐχόντων ψυχῶν. 52, 28 γυναῖκες ἀναπέμποντες. 66, 17 πάντων γυναικῶν. 70, 30 πάντων τῶν ἡβονῶν. 72, 15 Μυθονία ἀναστάς. 75, 19 αὐτῶν ἐπανιόντα. (Cp. Acta Xanth. 84, 14 εὗρομεν τὰς παρθένους σὺν τῇ νεανίσκῃ ζητοῦντας πλοῦν.) Theophyl. 215, 15 πλῆθὺς κυρρεγμάτων δυνάμεων. 338, 11 ἐπ' ὅψει πάντων εἶναι δοκούντων τῶν βασιλικῶν συμφορῶν.



1182-1187.] ADJECTIVES, HOW CONSTRUED.

1182. A substantive qualified by an adjective or participle is often omitted; the omission then raises the adjective to the position of a substantive (cp. 1050<sup>a</sup>. 1207). This is the case notably—

a. When the substantive, if supplied, would generally be the word *man* or *thing* (cp. 1165):

ὁ σοφός 'a wise man,' οἱ σοφοί 'the wise,' ὁ πλούσιος 'a rich man,' οἱ πλούσιοι 'the rich,' οἱ πολλοί 'the masses,' τὸ καλόν 'the beautiful,' τὰ καλά 'beautiful things,' τὸ δίκαιον 'justice,' τὸ λεγόμενον (=the thing said) 'the common saying,' τὰ (i.e. πράγματα) τῆς πόλεως 'the affairs of the city.'—Th. 3, 82, 4 τὸ σῶφρον τοῦ ἀνάνδρου πρόσχημα. (Cp. 1207.) So still in *N* (but see 1225 ff.).

b. When it serves as regular accompaniment of the adjective, and so can be readily supplied from the nature of the case, as:

ἡ δεξιὰ (sc. χεὶρ) 'the right hand,' ἡ ἀριστερά 'the left hand,' ἡ μουσική, γραμματική, ῥητορική (sc. τέχνη, 1069), ἡ οἰκουμένη (sc. γῆ), ἡ ἐπιούσα (sc. ἡμέρα), ἡ ὑστεραία, ἡ πεπωμένη (sc. μοῖρα), ἡ εὐθεία (sc. ὁδός), etc.

So in *N*: ἡ δεξιὰ, ἡ οἰκουμένη 'the world,' ἡ δευτέρα, τρίτη, ταχυνή (sc. ἡμέρα)—ἡ βοσκική, ψαρική (sc. τέχνη or ἐπιστήμη), etc.

1183. Designations of *place*, *time*, *manner*, *sequence*, and *frame of mind*, which English expresses mostly by means of adverbial turns, are usually expressed in Greek by predicative adjectives (1159) agreeing in every point with their respective nouns (1181). Among such predicative adjectives temporal numerals ending in -αῖος (1072) are the commonest:—

Xen. An. 5, 5, 21 σκηνοῦμεν ὑπαίθριοι ἐν τῇ τάξει. Th. 2, 49 διεφθείροντο οἱ πλείους ἐνάταιοι καὶ ἐβδομαῖοι ὑπὸ τοῦ ἱντὸς καύματος. 1, 63, 3 τοὺς νεκροὺς ὑποσπώντοσιν ἀπέδωσαν. Xen. An. 4, 1, 10 κατέβαινον εἰς τὰς κώμας ἤδη σκοταῖοι. 1, 2, 25. 6, 2, 4. 6, 3, 24 ἄσμενοι εἶδον ἀλλήλους καὶ ἡστέζοντο ὥσπερ ἀδελφοὺς.

1184. *N* also uses these turns, but less frequently, and hardly in designations of place: ἔρχεται πρῶτος, πεζός, βασιτικός, etc.

1185. Neuter adjectives, particularly in the plural, are often used as adverbs, especially in connexion with intransitive and passive verbs (1266 f.):—

ἄλλομαι ὑψηλά, θαυμαστὰ ἐκπλήττομαι. μέγα (ὀζύ) φθέγγομαι, βοῶ, λέγω. ἡδὺ (κακόν) ὀΐειν, μέγα φρονεῖν.

1186. In the course of *P* times this usage met with ever increasing popularity in the common language, and eventually ended by becoming the regular mode of forming adverbs of manner in *N*. See 522.

1187. Comparative adjectives and adverbs require, for the second member of the comparison, either the particle ἢ or a genitive (1328; cp. 1615). The former expedient is necessarily resorted to when the second member must stand in the nominative or accusative (cp. also 1189):—

μείζων εἰ καὶ πλείω ἔχεις ἢ ἐγώ. τίμιν ἂν μᾶλλον πιστεύσαιμι ἢ σοί; μείζων ἐμοῦ ἐστὶν ἐκείνος. Pl. Rep. 1, 338 D τοῦτο καὶ ἡμῖν τοῖς ἥττοσιν ἐκείνοιο συμφέρον. Th. 1, 8 ἔξιστιν ἡμῖν μᾶλλον ἐτέρων καθ' ἡσυχίαν βουλεύειν. 7, 77 ἥδη τινὲς καὶ ἐκ δεινότερων ἢ τοιῶνδε ἐσώθησαν.

**1188.** Instead of *ἡ* or its equivalent genitive, a preposition (such as *παρά*, 644 & 1615 ff.; *ἀντί*, 1501; *πρό*, 1647) is sometimes used. This practice has gradually resulted in establishing in *N* *παρά* as the regular means of expressing the second member of the comparison, especially between two clauses (1615 ff. 1734).

**1189.** When two properties referring to the person or thing are compared with each other (*rather—than*), they both stand in the comparative:—

*στρατηγοὶ πλείονες ἢ βελτίονες*, ‘rather numerous than good.’ *κύντο-μώτερον ἢ σαφέστερον διαλεχθῆναι*.

**1190.** Sometimes the comparative denotes simply a relatively or somewhat high degree (*rather*):—Th. 8, 84 *ἀγαθέστερόν τε ἀποκρίνεσθαι*.

**1191.** The superlative denotes the highest degree either among a class of more than three representatives, or absolutely (490). In the former case it is usually preceded by the article (*the most*—‘relative superlative’); and followed by a partitive genitive (1307 f.); in the latter, it stands without article (*most or very*—‘absolute or elative superlative’ 490):—

*ὁ σοφώτατος τῶν Ἑλλήνων*, ‘the wisest of the Greeks.’ *Κῦρος φιλομαθέστατος ἦν. κάλλιστα λέγεις*.  
So still in *N*.

**1192.** Since *G* times the elative superlative, especially of adverbs, is often formed, in less cultivated diction, by repeating the positive with or without intervening *καί* (513. 521), as:

CIG 4697, 19 *Ἐρμῆς ὁ μέγας καὶ μέγας* (= *ὁ μέγιστος*). For more illustrations see 513 & 521.

**1193.** This is commoner in *N*, and that without *καί* (cp. 1156): *πολλὰ πολλὰ = πλείστα. οἱ μεγάλοι μεγάλοι = μέγιστοι*.

**1194.** The elative superlative is raised to the highest possible degree by placing before it *ὡς*, *ὅτι*, *ἥ*, also *ὅλος*, and sometimes *ἐν τοῖς*. This peculiarity seems to have originated in the dropping of *δύνασθαι* or *ὅλος τε*:—

*ὡς (sc. οἶον τε ἦν οἱ ἐδύνατο) τάχιστα. ἄνδρας ὅτι πλείστους. χωρίον οἷον χαλεπώτατον*. Pl. Leg. 812 *εἰ δὲ ὅτι μάλιστα εὐμαθεῖς εἶναι τοὺς νέους*. Th. 1, 6, 2 *ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι τὸν σίδηρον κατέθειντο*.

Similarly in *N*: *ὅσον τό (or τὰ) μωρεῖς γληγορότερα*, ‘as quickly as you can.’

## THE ARTICLE.

### Introductory.

**1195.** ‘Originally the article *ὁ*, *τό*, *ἡ*, was a demonstrative pronoun [236. 558 f.], as is shown by the Homeric poems, where it is almost exclusively so used. On the other hand, its articular force and use appear fully established in all subsequent dialects without exception. Nevertheless, its final development becomes apparent only in *A* prose, and particularly in Plato’s philosophical language, where its presence or absence shows the finest differentiation and distinction

between individual and general notions. As to the language of *A poetry* the case is different. For the higher its class or kind, and the higher above ordinary speech, the less common is the use of the article. Conversely, in proportion as the character of the diction stands in closer relation to common life, the use of the article becomes more and more frequent. Hence the usual phenomenon that the higher strata of *lyric* poetry, as well as the tragedies (in particular their lyric parts), rarely employ the article, whereas in all other kinds of poetry, which take their subject from actual life or stand in closer connexion with it—a case especially applicable to *comedy*—the use of the article is analogous to that of Attic prose.' (RKühner<sup>2</sup> ii. 551 f.)

1196. The preceding remarks also hold good substantially for all *P* periods down to the present time, inasmuch as Atticistic style adheres more or less rigidly to the norm established by *A* prose, whereas unscholarly compositions and popular speech make a still more liberal use of the article.

## FUNCTION OF THE ARTICLE.

### I. Demonstrative use of the Article.

1197. In its original or demonstrative force (236. 559) the article still appears in *A*, as well as *P-B* compositions (sometimes accented *ὁ*, *τό*, *ἡ*), in the four following combinations :

a. *ὁ μὲν—ὁ δέ* (also *ὁ μὲν—ὁ δέ*) 'this—that,' 'the one—the other,' through all the cases. Also adverbially *τὸ μὲν—τὸ δέ*, *τὰ μὲν—τὰ δέ*, 'partly—partly,' 'on the one hand—on the other,' *πρὸ τοῦ* 'formerly.'

Xen. An. 3, 3, 7 *οἱ μὲν ἐτόξευον, οἱ δ' ἐσφενδόνων.* 4, 1, 14 *ἐπορεύθησαν τὰ μὲν τι μαχόμενοι, τὰ δέ καὶ ἀναπαυόμενοι.*

b. *ὁ δέ* (*ὁ δέ*), *ἡ δέ* (*ἡ δέ*), *τὸ δέ*, 'but he, she, it,' introducing a new sentence with a new subject.

Xen. An. 1, 1, 9 *Κύρος δίδωσι Κλεάρχῳ μυρίους δαρεικοὺς· ὁ δέ λαβὼν τὸ χρυσίον στράτευμα συνέλεξεν ἀπὸ τούτων τῶν χρημάτων.*

c. *καὶ τόν, καὶ τήν, καὶ τοὺς*, or *τὸν δέ, τήν δέ, τοὺς δέ*. These are personal accusatives serving as the subject of an infinitival clause (2064 ff.) having the above *ὁ δέ* and *καὶ δέ* (1437) for their nominatives.

*καὶ τὸν εἰπεῖν. τὸν δέ γέλασαι.* Xen. Cyr. 4, 2, 13 *καὶ τὸν ἀποκρίνασθαι λέγεται.*

d. *τὸν καὶ τόν, τὸ καὶ τό, τὰ καὶ τά*, 'so-and-so,' 'this and that,' used to avoid the specific name of someone or something.

Lys. 19, 59 *καὶ μοι κάλει τὸν καὶ τὸν.* Dem. 9, 68 *ἔδει γὰρ τὸ καὶ τὸ ποιῆσαι καὶ τὸ μὴ ποιῆσαι.*

1198. The demonstrative force of the article still survives in *N* in the expressions: *τὸ καὶ τό, τὰ καὶ τά*, 'this and that,' and *πρὸ τοῦ* or rather *πρὸ τοῦ*, 'before,' 'previously.'

1198<sup>b</sup>. On an elliptical and a relative use of the article see 1225-9 and 1438.

### II. Ordinary use of the Article.

1199. In its ordinary or articular force the article marks either an *individual* item or a *generic* class.

1200. The *individualizing* article singles out a particular item: *ὁ παῖς* ('the one boy in question'), '*the* boy'; *τὸ δένδρον* ('the one

tree under consideration'), 'the tree'; ἡ δικαιοσύνη τοῦ βασιλέως, 'the justice of the king.'

Cr. πολλοί 'many'	οἱ πολλοί 'the masses' (1207)
ὀλίγοι 'few'	οἱ ὀλίγοι 'the few' (1207)
πλείονες 'more'	οἱ πλείονες 'the majority'
πλείστοι 'a great many'	οἱ πλείστοι 'the great majority'
δούλος σου 'a slave of thine'	ὁ δούλος σου 'thy slave.'

So still in *N*.

1201. The *generic* article raises its item to a representative of a whole class. Hence it is put, contrary to English usage, before nouns denoting a *species*, *family*, or *class* of any of the kingdoms of nature; further before abstract nouns of *virtues*, *vices*, *sciences*, and the like:

ὁ ἄνθρωπος 'man,' 'mankind'; ἡ γυνή 'woman (as a class)'; ὁ ἱατρός 'a physician (as a typical representative of his class)'; ὁ ἵππος 'a horse' (i.e. every horse); ὁ σίτος 'corn'; ἡ ἀρετή 'virtue'; ἡ σοφία 'wisdom'; ἡ μέθη 'drunkenness'; ἡ ἀλήθεια 'truth'; ἡ γεωμετρία 'geometry'; ἡ πενία 'poverty.'

So too in *N*.

1202. But abstract nouns, including those of virtues and vices, often dispense with the article:

Xen. Mem. 4, 3, 14 ἀνθρώπου ψυχῇ τοῦ θείου μετέχει. Th. 2, 87, 4 φόβος μνήμην ἐκπλήσσει, τέχνην δὲ ἀνευ ἀλακῆς οὐδὲν ὠφελεῖ.

So too in *N*: φοβέρα τὸν ἐπίσσε, κακὸν γὰρ σοῦ ῥθην, πόνος με κρατεῖ.

1203. The article is further used—

a. Before appellatives in order to indicate a proper or usual connexion otherwise expressed by the possessive pronoun (1415):

αἰδοῦμαι τὸν πατέρα 'my father'; μηδένα ἡγοῦ φίλον. Xen. An. 2, 5, 38 Κλέαρχος ἐπεὶ ἐπιωρκῶν ἐφάνη ἔχει τὴν δίκην 'his due punishment.' I, 8, 3 Κύρος καταπηδῆσας ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄρματος τὸν θώρακα ἐνεδν καὶ ἀναστὰς ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον τὰ παλὰ εἰς τὰς χεῖρας ἔλαβε.

1204. b. Commonly before *geographical* names:

ἡ Ἑλλάς, ἡ Ἀττικὴ, τὴν Αἴγυπτον, τὴς Κρήτης, αἱ Θῆβαι, τὰ Μέργαρα.

So too in *N*.

1205. c. Before *proper* names already referred to, generally known, or standing in the *plural*:

Xen. An. I, 14, 7 τοὺς στρατιώτας αὐτῶν παρὰ Κλέαρχον ἀπελθόντας εἰς Κύρος τὸν Κλέαρχον ἔχειν. ὁ Πλάτων '(the well-known) Plato.' οἱ Πλάτωνα (men of the stamp of Plato) 'the Platons.'

1206. In *N* the article is put before every proper name, whenever the indefinite *ένας*, *κάποιος* 'a (certain)' would be out of place. (See 237, 594-7, 622-4, & 1448-53.)

1207. d. Before adjectives or participles used substantively (1182 f. 1241, a):

ὁ δίκαιος, τὸ ἀγαθόν, οἱ δίκαιοι, τὰ ἀγαθά. οἱ πολλοί 'the masses.' οἱ ὀλίγοι (the minority), 'the oligarchical party.' ὁ βουλούμενος 'whoever wishes.' ὁ λέγων 'the speaker.' οἱ πρῶτοι ἐρχόμενοι 'those coming first.' οἱ κινδυνεύσαντες 'those who incurred a danger.'

**1208.** So too in *P-B*, as: Callin. 119, 17 οἱ διώκοντες. 137, 16 πάντες οἱ φιλοῦντες αὐτόν. 107, 8 τὸ ἀποβησόμενον. So further in *N* as far as adjectives, also participles in *-os*, are concerned (1181<sup>b</sup>). For the remaining participles see 2166.

**1209.** That the article before the participle reappears when the latter is resolved to a finite clause, will be seen in 1219 & 2103-5.

**1210. e.** Before *possessive* pronouns:

ὁ ἐμὸς πατήρ or ὁ πατήρ ὁ ἐμός. ἡ ὑμετέρα οἰκία or ἡ οἰκία ἡ ὑμετέρα.  
So too in *N*, as: τὰ δικά του χωράφια or τὰ χωράφια τὰ δικά σου.

**1211. f.** After *personal* pronouns specified by an apposition (1159<sup>b</sup>. 1255); as: ἡμεῖς οἱ Ἕλληνες, ἐγὼ ὁ τλήμων.—So too when the pronoun is understood, as: Xen. An. 2, 5, 25 εἰ βούλεσθέ μοι (sc. ὑμεῖς) οἱ τε στρατηγοὶ καὶ οἱ λοχινοὶ ἐλθεῖν, λέξω. (Cp. 1250 f.)

So too in *N*, as: ἐγὼ ὁ καῦμένος, ἐσεῖς οἱ ἀντρεωμένοι, ἀκούσετέ μου οἱ φρόνιμοι.

**1212. g.** After the demonstrative pronouns οὗτος, ὅδε, ἐκεῖνος, *P-N* αὐτός (= οὗτος), then after ἀμφω, ἀμφότερος, and ἐκάτερος:

οὗτος ὁ ἄνθρωπος or ὁ ἄνθρωπος οὗτος. ἐκεῖνος οἱ χρόνοι or οἱ χρόνοι ἐκεῖνοι. ταῦτα τὰ βιβλία or τὰ βιβλία ταῦτα. ἀμφω τῷ παιδε. ἀμφότερα τὰ στρατόπεδα.

**1213.** So too in the *N* representatives: ἐκεῖνος ὁ 'that,' αὐτὸς ὁ 'this.' Mark further: καὶ οἱ δύο 'both,' καὶ ὁ ἕνας καὶ ὁ ἄλλος 'both.'

**1214.** In *A* rarely, but in *G-B* compositions often, ἀμφότεροι is also preceded, instead of being followed, by the article, after the analogy of οἱ δύο with which it is identified:

Pl. Theaet. 203 c τὰ ἀμφότερα στοιχεῖα (bis). NT Acts 23, 8 ὁμολογοῦσι τὰ ἀμφότερα. Eph. 2, 14 τὰ ἀμφότερα. Narr. Zos. 98, 5 τὰ ἀμφότερα δένδρα. Theoph. 171, 28 ταῖς ἀμφοτέραις πόλεσιν. Vita SA 6\* b τὰ ἐκάτερα μέρη. ib. 8\* b οἱ ἀμφότεροι. 51\* b μεταξὺ τῶν ἀμφοτέρων.

**1214<sup>b</sup>.** So also before αὐτὸς in *T-B*, where ὁ αὐτὸς = οὗτος ὁ (1420), as Mal. 39, 25, et passim.

**1215. h.** Before cardinal numerals denoting a part or fraction of a known quantity:

Th. 2, 10, 1 ἐξυψέσαν τὰ δύο μέρη 'two-thirds.' 3, 15 ἔφραζον ἵνα εἰς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν τοῖς δύο μέρεσιν. Xen. Hell. 7, 5, 10 ἀπήσαν τῶν λόχων δώδεκα ὄντων οἱ τρεῖς.

**1216.** In *N* this relation is expressed by an analogous turn, as: ἀπὸ τῶ (or ἀπὸ κάθε) πέντε (μερτικῶ) τὰ δύο ('two parts out of the five') 'two-fifths,' ἀπὸ τῶ (or ἀπὸ κάθε) δεκαπέντε τὰ τέσσαρα '4/15,' ἀπὸ τῶ (or ἀπὸ κάθε) τριᾶντα τὰ τέσσαρα '4/30';—but a shorter designation is more common: ἀπὸ (κάθε) πέντε δύο '2/5,' ἀπὸ τρία ἓνα, 'one-third.'

**1217. i.** Sometimes before the interrogative pronouns τίς, τί, πῶς, either in direct questions asking for a specification of a preceding term, or in indirect questions introducing a whole proposition:

Pl. Phaedr. 277 A νῦν δὲ ἐκεῖνα ἤδη, ὦ Φαῖδρε, δυνάμεθα κρίνειν. ΦΑΙ. τί ποῖα; Lach. 193 E βούλει οὖν ᾧ λέγομεν περὶ ὧμεθα τό γε τοσοῦτον; ΛΑ. τὸ ποῖον δὲ τοῦτο καὶ τίνι τρόπῳ; Euthyph. 12 E περὶ ᾧ καὶ σὺ ἐμὲ οὕτω διδάξαι τὸ ποῖον μέρος τοῦ δικαίου ὁσίον ἐστίν. Crat. 388 C, D.

**1218.** So still in *N*: ὁ ποιός; τὸ τί; For a further extension of this use of the article since *G*, see 2041.

**1219.** When relative pronouns came to be misused for demonstratives (2038), the article naturally found a place before relatives also. This was moreover suggested by the presence of the article before relative participles representing as they did relative clauses (1207 ff. 2103 ff.; cp. 612).

Aristid. 34, 643, 125 τῶν ἅπερ ἠβούλεσθε. Men. 295, 10; 429, 3; 430, 3 τὰ ὅσα. id. 293, 15; 298, 16; 320, 22; 321, 9; 323, 7 τοὺς ὅσοι. Zos. 44, 18 τῶν ὅσοι. Agathl. 1275 Δ τῶν ὅσα. 1305 Δ τὰ ὅποσα. Leont. Neap. V. J. 12, 15 τὸν οἰονοῦν μισθὸν οὐκ ἔσχεν. 29, 13 τὴν οἰονοῦν. Mal. 102, 3 f. ἀπέκρυψεν αὐτὴν δ' Ἀχιλλεὺς μετὰ τοῦ (add οὗ) ἐφόρει κοσμίον . . . διότι ἐπιώρκησε διὰ τὸν (ὄν) εἶχε πρὸς αὐτὴν ἔρωτα. 422, 17 τὴν οἶαν δῆποτε ἀταξίαν. Agathl. 1270 D. 1275 Δ τῶν ὅσα ἐπράχθη. 1305 Δ τὰ ὅποσα ἐτύγχανον ὁμολογηκότες. Cedr. i. 299, 13 τὸν ὅνπερ. 561, 23 τοὺς ὅσοι (thrice). 605, 10 τῶν ὅσοι. Anna Comn. i. 265, 5 τῶν ὅσοι. FTrinch. 34 (†1034) τὰ χωράφια τὰ ἅπερ καὶ ἔχομεν. 150 (1133 A. D.) τὰ ἅπερ ἐποίησεν κλέψιν. Belis. i τὸν ὄν τύχῃ ἐφύλασεν ἐτύφλαν δ' φόβος. 765 τὸν ὄν ἡγάπας.

**1220.** In process of time the frequency of this usage led to the convenience of dropping the relative and transferring its force to the preceding article. This phenomenon, which appears in compositions since *T*, enjoyed a great popularity in *M* Greek, but is now obsolescent (657-8; cp. ΔΜαυροφρύδης 660), except in proverbial expressions: τὰ φέρνῃ ἡ μέρα, ὁ χρόνος δὲν τα φέρνει. For more examples see 1438.

**1221. k.** Before the infinitive or any other indeclinable word, even before a whole proposition, conceived as a substantive (1241):

τὸ λέγειν 'speaking,' τὸ κολάζεσθαι 'being punished.' τὸ ὑμεῖς 'the word ὑμεῖς,' ἡ περὶ (sc. πρόθεσις). τὸ γινώθι σαυτὸν 'the saying "know thyself".' Xen. Oec. 7, 3 Ἰσχύμαχος ἐγγέλασεν ἐπὶ τῷ τί ποιῶν καλὸς κἀγαθὸς κέκληται. Pl. Rep. 352 D οὐ περὶ τοῦ ἐπιτυχόντος ὁ λόγος ἀλλὰ περὶ τοῦ ὅτινα τρόπον χρῆζην. Aristid. 45, 12, 20 ἡγεμόνες τοῦ τί δεῖ ποιεῖν. ib. 65, 84 οὐ φεύγει τὴν τοῦ Ποῦ ἀττ' ἐστὶν ἃ βούλεται βάσανον. Pallad. 1042 D ἡ ὅστις (read οἷος τις) δῆποτε εἰ, πιστεύω εἰς τὸν ἐν ᾧ λατρεύω. Callin. 55, 27 τὸ ἀνάπαλιν. 56, 24 τῶν πρὸ ἐμοῦ. 58, 20. 68, 2 τὰ ὧδε. 68, 4 τῷ σὺν αὐτῷ.

**1222.** So too in *N*: μὲ τὸ σήμερον καὶ μὲ τὸ αὔριο, τὸ ἀνέβα καὶ κατέβα, τὸ ἄμε κ' ἔλα, τὸ ἐγώ, — ἄλλο τὸ νὰ μὴ μπορῇ καὶ ἄλλο τὸ νὰ μὴ θέλῃς. As to infinitives, they are, of course, resolved into their respective subjunctives or indicatives by νὰ or πῶς (2072. App. vi. 13 f. 25 ff.): μὲ τὸ νὰ σε πιστεύω ἐξημώθηκα 'by trusting you I have incurred losses.' (See 2072 [2].)

**1223. l.** Before an adverb of place or time, also before a preposition with its case, to indicate persons or things associated with these items (1241):

οἱ νῦν (sc. ὄντες) 'those of the present time.' οἱ ἐνθάδε, οἱ ἐκεῖ, 'those here, there.' τὰ ἐνθάδε 'affairs here.' οἱ ἐγγυτάτω 'the next of kin.' τὰ εἰς τὸν πόλεμον 'things belonging to war.' τὰ ἐφ' ἡμῖν 'what lies in our power.' οἱ ἐν τῇ πόλει 'people in the city.' οἱ παρὰ Νικίου 'those coming from N.' οἱ ἐφ' ἡμῶν 'our contemporaries.'

Mal. 125, 15 οἱ σὺν τινι. 273, 6 τα περὶ τοῦ πολέμου. 79, 14 τὰ κατὰ Ἰάσονα καὶ Γλαυκῆρ.

1224. This does not apply to *N* speech, except in the case of a few adverbs of place (cp. 1225), as: τὰ ἔξω 'outer parts,' τὰ μέσα 'the inside,' τὰ κάτω 'the parts below';—though even here either the noun referred to is generally supplied, as: τὰ ἔξω (μέρη), or the adverb is turned to a substantive, as: δ (κατεπάνω) κατεπάνος or καταπάνος (FTrinch. 5 [+975] 'captain'). So 17; 19; etc.

### III. Elliptical use of the Article.

1225. The *neuter* article is very often put elliptically before a *genitive*. It thus supplies a general notion of whatever is associated with or concerns a person or thing:

τὰ τῶν πολειμίων, τὰ τῆς πόλεως, 'the affairs of the enemy, of the city.' τὰ τῆς τύχης 'the dispensation of fortune.' τὰ τῶν Ἀθηναίων φρονεῖν 'to side with the Athenians.' τὸ τοῦ Δημοσθένους 'the saying of D.' ἀόηλα τὰ τῶν πολέμων. Pl. Parm. 136 E δοκῶ μοι τὸ τοῦ Ἴβυκειοῦ ἵππου πεπονθέναι 'what befell the horse of Ibykos.' Eur. Phoen. 1202 καλῶς τὰ τῶν θεῶν καὶ τὰ τῆς τύχης ἔχει.

1225<sup>b</sup>. This usage is unknown in *N*. Cp. 1228.

1226. When an articular noun should be repeated with a different adjunct (*the . . . and that of or on, in, at, etc.*), in Greek it is sufficient to repeat merely the article which thus corresponds to the English *that*:

ὁ ἐμὸς φίλος καὶ ὁ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ σου. τὸ ἐμὸν συμφέρον καὶ τὸ τῇ πόλει. Xen. Symp. 8, 12 πολλοὶ κρείττων ἐστὶν ὁ τῆς ψυχῆς ἢ ὁ τοῦ σώματος ἔρως.

1227. In *T-N* ecclesiastical diction the title of a dignitary (ἐπίσκοπος, ἀρχιεπίσκοπος, μητροπολίτης, πατριάρχης, πάπας) is generally omitted, and the article ὁ stands elliptically with the genitive of the city, province, or diocese.

ὁ Ἀλεξανδρείας 'the patriarch of Alexandria.' ὁ Ρώμης 'the Pope of Rome.' ὁ Σιναίου 'the archbishop of Mount Sinai.' ὁ Σμύρνης 'the metropolitan of Smyrna.' Carth. 1256 ο τοποτηρητῆς τοῦ Ρώμης. Pallad. Vit. Chrys. 12 F τὸν Ἀλεξανδρείας Θεόφιλον. Socr. 153 Δ Εὐσέβιος ὁ Νικομηδείας. Theod. iii. 888 Α ὁ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας Ἀλέξανδρος. Theoph. 21, 18 Μακάριος ὁ Ἱεροσολύμων καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος Ἀλεξανδρείας (read δ Ἀλ- or at least ΑΛ-). 22 Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ τοῦ Βυζαντίου. 77, 8 ὁ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως.

In present common speech the title noun is generally supplied, as: δ μητροπολίτης τῆς Κρήτης.

1227<sup>b</sup>. Or, less commonly, with the omission of the article δ:

Athan. ii. 808 B Εὐσέβιος πόλεως Βιργίλλαν τῆς Γαλλίας, Ἀστέριος Πατρῶν τῆς Ἀραβίας. Socr. 1, 6 ἐπιστολὴ Ἀλεξάνδρου Ἀλεξανδρείας. 153 Δ Θεόγνις Νικαίας, Μάρτις Χαλκηδόνος.

1228. On a similar principle, Byzantine parlance used τὰ (sc. μέρη) with the genitive of a name given to a certain quarter of Constantinople after some resident, as: Chal. 1409 c τῶν Προκοπίου. Stud. 1073 Α τὰ Ἀγαθοῦ. Theoph. Cont. 442, 2 ἐν τοῖς Ἀμαστριανοῦ. So 688, 5; 824, 24 836, 8 τὰ Ἀνθεμίου, τὰ Ψαμαθίου. This practice gradually extended to other parishes and boroughs, so that many abodes mansions and villages at present bear analogous appellations, as: Prodr. 4, 572 τὰ Βγενίου (i.e. τὰ Εὐγενίου); so now (in Crete) τὰ Θωαροῦ, τὰ Νεροκούρου, τὰ Συμπραγοῦ, τὰ Ἀλικιανοῦ. The article τὰ can also be dispensed with (by dissimilation), as: τοῦ Ἀποδοῦλου, τοῦ Καμπάνη, τῶν Καλαγκάδων. Hence the alternative practice (in Crete) of forming from the proper name a topographical

adjective in *-ανά*, 'quarters,' 'neighbourhood': τὰ Πανπαδιανά 'the priest's quarters,' τὰ Θεοδοριανά 'Theodore's quarters.'

1229. Likewise in *N*, speaking of a saint's day—a very frequent method of designating a date (1276)—the term *ἡμέρα* (or *ἡμέραν*) is dropped (cp. 650) and the genitive stands elliptically: τοῦ ἁγίου Βασιλείου (commonly τ' ἁγίου Βασιλείου 'on Saint Basil's Day,' τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰωάννου (τ' δι' Ἰωαννίου), τοῦ ἁγίου Δημητρίου (τ' ἁγίου Δημητρίου), τοῦ ἁγίου Κωνσταντίνου, τοῦ Χριστοῦ, τῆς Παναγίας. In the case of feminines, however, the omission of *ἡμέρα* is rather uncommon, as: (τὴν ἡμέραν) τῆς ἁγίας Παρασκευῆς, τῆς ἁγίας Τριάδας, τῆς Πεντηκοστῆς.—See also 1276.

#### IV. Peculiar use of the Article.

1230. Contrary to English usage, the article is omitted—

##### 1. Before the predicate (1159)

Men. 449 πολλῶν ὁ καιρὸς γίγνεται διδάσκαλος. 275 κάλλιστόν ἐστι κτήμα παιδεία βροτοῖς.

So still in *N*: αὐτὸς εἶνε ξένος, ἔγινε στρατιώτης, εἶμαι πρῶτος.

1231. But, agreeably to English, the article precedes the predicate when the latter stands as the item principally referred to, or when it is a relative participle (1209. 2103); also in the expression ὁ αὐτὸς 'the same':

Pl. Menex. 248 Α οὗτος ἐστὶν ὁ σώφρων, οὗτος ὁ ἀνδρεῖος καὶ φρόνιμος. Xen. An. 3, 2, 18 οἱ ἄνδρες εἰσὶν οἱ ποιοῦντες ὅ,τι ἂν ἐν ταῖς μάχαις γίγνηται. Th. 2, 61, 2 ἐγὼ μὲν ὁ αὐτὸς εἰμι, ὑμεῖς δὲ μεταβάλλετε.

So still in *N*: ἐγὼ εἶμαι ὁ ἀδελφὸς τοῦ φίλου σου. ἔκαμε τὰ μαθημένα του 'he did as usual.' For participles see further 2103-5 & 2166.

1232. 2. Before abstract nouns and the like. For illustrations see 1201.

1233. 3. In general statements of *measure*, *origin*, and *name* (cp. 1269 f.), such as—

μέγεθος 'in size,' βάθος 'in depth,' εὖρος 'in width,' πλῆθος 'in number,' γένος 'by birth,' ὄνομα 'by name.'

1233<sup>b</sup>. But in *P-B* Greek the article is generally added here, as: Callin. 117, 8 λάκκον δύο ὀργυῶν τὸ βάθος. So too in *N*, but of *measure* only: τρεῖς ὀργυεῖς τὸ βάθος, πλάτος, ψῆλος, μέκος (1270. 1305).

1234. 4. In standing adverbial expressions, like the following:

νυκτός 'by night,' ἡμέρας 'by day,' ἄμ' ἔφ 'early in the morning,' ἄμ' ἡλίου ἀνίσχοντι 'at sunrise,' ἄφ' ἑσπέρας 'in the evening,' μέχρι δεῖλης 'till late in the afternoon,' ἐκ παιδός 'from childhood,' μέσαι νύκτες 'midnight,' κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θαλάσσαν 'by land and by sea,' ἐν δεξιᾷ 'on the right,' ἐν ἀριστερᾷ 'on the left,' παῖδες καὶ γυναῖκες 'wife and children.'

1235. So too in many corresponding *N* expressions: ἀποσπέρας = ἄφ' ἑσπέρας, παῖδι καὶ γυναῖκες, ἀπὸ παιδὶ = ἐκ παιδός, etc.

1236. When an *articular* substantive is accompanied by an adjective, the latter may stand either between the article and its substantive, or, in case of emphasis, after the substantive



with *repeated* article. In either case the adjective is *attributive* (1159). On the other hand an *anarthrous* adjective following its articular substantive is *predicative* (1159).

a. ὁ ἀγαθὸς ἀνὴρ } 'the good man': *attributive*;  
ὁ ἀνὴρ ὁ ἀγαθός }

b. ὁ ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός 'the man (is) good': *predicative*.

1236<sup>b</sup>. So too in *P-N*, as: Callin. 69, 5 τὸν ἀνθρωπον τὸν λαβέντα. 70, 11 τοῦ κυρίου τοῦ λαλήσαντος. 91, 12 ἡ βρώσις ἡ ἀμετρος.—*N* ἡ πέτρα ἡ μεγάλη. ὁ Γιάννης ὁ ἀντρεϊωμένος.

1237. This attributive position may be taken in Greek by any adjunct (adjective, participle, adverb, a genitive, a preposition with its case, cp. 1223. 1241):

ἡ μακρὰ ὁδὸς	ἡ ὁδὸς ἡ μακρὰ
ἡ ἀνω ὁδὸς	ἡ ὁδὸς ἡ ἀνω
οἱ τότε ἄνθρωποι	οἱ ἄνθρωποι οἱ τότε
τὴν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀρετὴν	τὴν ἀρετὴν τὴν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς
ὁ τῶν πολέμιων φόβος	ὁ φόβος ὁ τῶν πολεμίων
ἡ ἐν τῷ παρόντι σωτηρία	ἡ σωτηρία ἡ ἐν τῷ παρόντι.

For *N* compare 1223 f.

1238. The attributive genitive may precede or follow without a repeated article, as: ἡ τῶν Περσῶν ἀρχή or τῶν Περσῶν ἡ ἀρχή or ἡ ἀρχὴ τῶν Περσῶν.

So too in *N*, as: τὰ καμώματα τοῦ Στεφανῆ or τοῦ Στεφανῆ τὰ καμώματα 'Stephen's deeds.'

1239. The adjectives ἄκρος, μέσος, ἔσχατος, μόνος, also αὐτός, and πᾶς, have a different—but never a predicative—sense, according as they hold an attributive or predicative position:

- a. τὸ ἄκρον ὄρος, 'the high or projecting mountain.'  
τὸ ὄρος ἄκρον or ἄκρον τὸ ὄρος, 'the top of the mountain.'
- b. ἡ μέση πόλις, 'the middle town,' 'the town between.'  
ἡ πόλις μέση or μέση ἡ πόλις, 'the central part of the city.'
- c. ἡ ἐσχάτη νῆσος, 'the furthest island'  
ἡ νῆσος ἐσχάτη or ἐσχάτη ἡ νῆσος, 'the extreme part of the island.'
- d. ὁ μόνος υἱός, 'the only son.'  
ὁ υἱὸς μόνος, μόνος ὁ υἱός, 'only the son.'
- e. ὁ αὐτὸς βασιλεὺς, 'the same king.'  
ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐτός or αὐτὸς ὁ βασιλεὺς, 'the king himself' (540. 1419).

In *N*: (a) τὸ ἀκριμαῖο βουνόν—ἡ ἄκρα (or κορυφή) τοῦ βουνοῦ. (b) ἡ μεσαιακὴ πολιτεία—ἡ μέση τῆς πολιτείας. (c) τὸ ἀκριμαῖο νησί—ἡ ἄκρα τοῦ νησιοῦ. (d) ὁ μοναχοῦνός—ὁ ὑ]γιὸς μοναχός. (e) ὁ ἴδιος βασιλεὺς—ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐτός του.

1240. Πᾶς (strengthened ἅπας and σύμπας), also ὅλος have the following meaning:

A. *With article*: 'all,' 'whole':

1. *Predicatively*:

πᾶσα ἡ πόλις or ἡ πόλις πᾶσα } 'the whole city.'  
also ὅλη ἡ πόλις or ἡ πόλις ὅλη }  
πᾶσαι αἱ πόλεις or αἱ πόλεις πᾶσαι, 'all cities.'

In *N*: ὅλη ἡ χώρα or ἡ χώρα ὅλη, 'the whole town.'

2. *Attributively* 'all counted together,' 'in all:'

ὁ πᾶς, οἱ πάντες 'in all.' οἱ πάντες ἑκατόν 'a hundred in all.'

ὁ πᾶς ἀριθμός 'the sum total.'

ἡ πᾶσα πόλις 'the city taken as a whole.'

In *N*: τὴν πᾶσαν ἀλήθεια or δλη τὴν ἀλήθεια, 'the whole truth.'

B. *Without article: every:*

πᾶσα πόλις or πόλις πᾶσα, 'every city.'

πᾶσαι πόλεις, 'whole cities'; 'all kinds of cities.'

In *N* πᾶσα πολιτεία or χώρα, 'every city.'

1241. Every word or group of words can be raised to a substantive by prefixing the article to it (1223). In this way there are substantivized—

a. Adjectives and participles (1181 f. 1207 f.):

τὸ ἀγαθόν, οἱ πλούσιοι, οἱ παρόντες, οἱ δυνάμενοι, οἱ πλείονες, ἡ δεξιὰ, ὁ λέγων, οἱ βουλόμενοι.

For *N* see 1208 and 2166.

b. Infinitives (1221):

Men. 387 νεοῖς τὸ σιγᾶν κρείττον ἐστὶ τοῦ λαλεῖν.

For *N* see 1222, 2072, and App. vi. 20 ff.

c. Adverbs and prepositional constructions (1223):

ὁ πῆλας, οἱ νῦν, οἱ πάλαι, οἱ περὶ Ἀραιοῖν, οἱ ἐν τῇ ἄστει, οἱ ἐν τέλει, τὰ πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον.

d. Whole clauses, especially indirect questions (1221. 2041):

Men. 584 τὸ γινῶθι σαυτὸν πᾶσιν ἐστὶ χρήσιμον. Dem. 3, 10 ὅτι δεῖ βοηθεῖν ἐργάκαμεν, τὸ δὲ ὅπως, τοῦτο λέγε.

So too in *N*: ἀκούσε τὸ τί μου εἶπε.

## THE CASES.

### Introductory.

1242. A parallel examination of ancient and modern Greek shows that of the five cases used in *A*, the nominative and vocative still fully obtain in *N*, while the oblique cases exhibit considerable changes. This difference consists in the total loss of the dative, in the extension, in a large measure, of the accusative at the expense of the dative and genitive, and in the restriction and partial modification of the genitive. The process which has brought about this result is not of recent date, but started in classical antiquity itself. Indeed, a comparative study of the history of this chapter shows that whenever in *A* the accusative chanced to be more or less equivalent to either or both of the other oblique cases, it gradually gained ascendancy over them and ultimately succeeded in dislodging them from common speech. Thus the temporal accusative gradually prevailed over the corresponding temporal dative and genitive (1274 f. 1287. 1342. 1392 f.). Similarly, verbs which in *A* were neuter (1455 ff.) or governed the genitive or dative, but also admitted, in a more or less synonymous sense, of the accusative, such as:

ᾠφελέω, βλάπτω, ὑβρίζω—λαμβάνω, ψάω, θιγγάνω—λαγχάνω, τυγχάνω, κληρονομῶ—ὀρέγομαι, τρέφω—καρπέομαι, ἐσθίω, πίνω, ἀπολαύω, ἀπαντάω,

ὑπαντιάω—αἰσθάνομαι—μνησκόμαι, μνημονεύω—φροντίζω, ἐπιμελέομαι, ἀμελέω, καταφρονέω—κρατέω, τυραννέω—ἀρχομαι, etc.—λοιδορέω, πολεμέω, ἐνεδρεύω, ἔπομαι, λατρεύω—μέφομαι, ἐπανέω, ἐπιπλήσσω, ἐνοχλέω—στέργω, ἀγαπάω, etc. (For many more examples from subsequent times see ΔΜαυροφρύτης 502-523 and GHadzidakis 220-222.)

such verbs made, in process of time, more concessions to the accusative and finally resulted—so far as they still survive—in transferring to it all their syntactical constructions. (Cp. 1286-1395.)

**1243.** An analogous phenomenon is exhibited by prepositions constructed, in a synonymous sense, with the accusative and one or both of the other oblique cases, inasmuch as the accusative gradually superseded its rivals (cp. *ἐπί* 1583; *περί* 1633-43; *ὑπό* 1687-99).

**1244.** Meanwhile other classes of verbs, which in *A* were regularly associated with either the genitive or dative, or with no case (neuter verbs, 1457), were drawn, one after another, into the transitive or accusative construction, so that the domain of the genitive and dative respectively has been gradually reduced. Compare *P-N*:

1 ἀλόγῳ, διαφέρω, ἐντρέπομαι, ἐπιβαίνω, κληρονομέω, προτερέω, διακρατέω, καταγωνίζομαι, κατίσχυνω, καταπονέω, καταστρατηγέω, παρακρατέω, παρατρέχω, πλεονεκτέω, δακρύω (after κλαίω IGB 581, 3), etc.

2. ἐνεδρεύω, προσέχω.

3. ἀποληρέω τινά, ἐνεργέω τι, ὀφθαλμῶν τι, παρασπονδέω τινά, προνομέω τι, στρατεύω τινά, χορηγέω τινά τι, ὑπερφηανέω τινά, etc.

**1245.** But the greatest impulse—the impulse which most effectively promoted the cause of the accusative—was given by the alternative, open to numerous verbs, substantives, adjectives and adverbs, of taking, besides the genitive or dative, a preposition with its case:

Cp. γίγνομαι τινος and ἀπό τινος, ἐλευθερώω or σφάζω τινός and ἀπό or ἐκ τινος, ἀρχομαι τινος and ἀπό or ἐκ τινος—μάχομαι τινι and πρὸς τινά, ἀκολουθεῖω or ἔπομαι τινι and σύν τινι, χαλεπαίνω τινι and ἐπὶ τινι, τιμωροῦμαι τινος and περί τινος—ἐκπῶμα ξύλου and ἀπό or ἐκ ξύλου (1331), etc.

**1246.** For such a prepositional construction, whether it served as a complement to a verb, substantive, etc., or whether it stood independently in the sense of a loose adverbial expression (cp. *ἐξ* or *ἀπ'* ἀρχῆς, *ἐκ* παιδων, *ἐν* δεξιά, *ἐπὶ* τοῦτ'α, *διὰ* μέσου, etc.), sooner or later led to the elimination of all varieties of construction, and finally to the absolute predominance of the simple accusative (1242. 1256-85). Thus it came to pass that the accusative gradually succeeded, one way or the other, in extruding the other two cases altogether from the domain of the prepositions (1493<sup>b</sup>), and for the most part from the government of verbs. Its work with regard to the verbs has not yet reached its completion, since many still cleave tenaciously to their ancient construction. (Cp. 1295. 1327.)

**1247.** The final outcome, then, of the long struggle among the oblique cases was that the accusative, as the commonest and most familiar case, has gradually dislodged the genitive from well-nigh all its usages excepting those of the genitive proper (subjective and objective genitive, 1286 ff.). As to the dative, notwithstanding its long record in written composition, especially in connexion with *ἐν*, it has been completely effaced from the living and popular language, except in a very few crystallized phrases (233), as: *δύξα* *οὐ* *ὁ* *θεός* (due to church influence), *σταυρὲ* *βοήθει* *μαί* (a school

term), etc. One reminiscence of it, however, seems to still linger in a *N* phenomenon: namely wherever the dative denoted a person, especially an indirect or remote object, and its change into the accusative would necessitate a double accusative (thus causing a confusion of direct and indirect object), the process followed was a double one: insular and continental Greek (the former always, the latter generally) turned the indirect object representing the ancient dative into genitive (*datical genitive*), whereas Levantine (Constantinople and Asia Minor) and northern *N* resorted to both alternatives, with a decided preference for the double accusative. This total or partial indication of the indirect or remoter accusative accounts for the phenomenon that the *personal* accusative of the classical double accusative (*διδάσκω τί τινα*, 1279 f.) appears in *N* sometimes in its seemingly ancient form, sometimes in the form of a genitive (τόν *ἐμαυτε* γράμματα and τοῦ *ἐμαυτε* γράμματα).

## NOMINATIVE AND VOCATIVE.

**1248.** The nominative is used—

1. As *subject* of a finite verb: ΔΗΜΟΘΕΝΗΣ λέγει, ἔστι θεός.

So too in *N*.

**1249.** 2. As *predicate* (1159) of copulative verbs, namely—

εἶναι 'to be'; ὑπάρχειν 'to exist'; γίγνεσθαι 'to become'; φαίνεσθαι 'to appear'; καλεῖσθαι, ὀνομάζεσθαι, λέγεσθαι, ἀκούειν 'to be named'; αἰρεῖσθαι, χειροτονεῖσθαι, 'to be elected'; νομίζεσθαι, κρίνεσθαι, 'to be considered,' etc. [But cp. 1552.]

So too in *N*: φαίνεται καλός, γίνεται φρόνιμος, ἀκούει Νικόλας.

**1250.** The nominative (commonly without the article) often takes the place of the vocative, especially in connexion with οὗτος:

Soph. Ai. 89 ὦ οὔτος Αἴας, δεύτερόν σε προσκαλῶ. Pl. Menex. 234 Α ἔξ ἀγορᾶς ἢ πόθεν Μενέξενος; Xen. An. 1, 5, 16.

**1251.** This vocative use of the nominative (with or without the article) is peculiarly frequent in the NT compositions and their subsequent imitations where the pronoun σὺ (*thúis*) seems to be understood, as:

Matt. 27, 29 χαῖρε ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων. Luke 8, 54 ἡ παῖς ἐγειρε. CWessely N. Zaub. 78 iii. δεῦρο μοι ὁ ἀκαταφρόνητος θεός. Acta Xanth. 60, 27 συγγνώμην εὑροίμι παρὰ σοῦ, ὁ θεός μου. Apophth. 420 Β ὁ θεός, δός μοι ἰσχόν. Vita Epiph. 49 D τί, ὁ μέγας Ἐπιφάνιος, ὁ μέγας ῥήτωρ, τί παρεγένου; Callin. 96, 18 ἀ ἔδωκάς μοι ὁ θεός. Leont. Neap. V. J. 6, 11 σὺ κύριε ὁ πλοῦσιος. 23, 11 κύριε ὁ πατρίκιος.—G-N δόξα σοι ὁ θεός 'glory to thee, Father,' 'thank God.

**1252.** The *vocative*—commonly preceded by ὦ (*N* αἰ or ἔ, 251 f.)—is used to denote a person (or thing) addressed: ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι—ἀκούεις, Αἰσχίνη;

So too in *N*.

**1253.** *A-N*, especially since *G* times, frequently dispenses with the interjection (ὦ, αἰ, ἔ, 251 f.), so that its presence in post-Christian compositions usually adds a certain solemnity or emphasis.

**1254.** Similar is in *N* the use of its substitutes αἰ (f) and μαρὲ (μ'ρὲ, ρὲ 136<sup>b</sup>, 251<sup>b</sup>): Γεώργη! αἰ Γεώργη! μαρὲ (μ'ρὲ, ρὲ) Γεώργη!

**1255.** If the vocative is followed by an adjunct in apposition (1159<sup>b</sup>), this is put in the nominative with the article :

ὦ ἄνδρες οἱ παρόντες. Xen. Cyr. 6, 2, 41 Πρύξενε καὶ (sc. ὑμεῖς) οἱ ἄλλοι οἱ παρόντες Ἕλληνες, οὐκ ἴστε ὅτι ποιεῖτε. Th. 2, 11 ἄνδρες Πελοποννήσιοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι.—So too in *N* : Κώστα Γιάννη καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι.

## ACCUSATIVE.

**1256.** The accusative still fully survives in *N* and has even gained a large extension at the expense of the dative and genitive (1242-7).

**1257.** The accusative represents the *direct object* of a transitive verb. Hence all transitive verbs govern the accusative :

σκάπτω τὴν γῆν, ἐσθίωμεν ἄρτον, φιλοῦσι τὸν ἐαυτῶν πατέρα. οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐνίκησαν τοὺς Πέρσας.

So too in *N* : γράφω γράμμα, βλέπω τοὺς ναῦτες.

**1258.** In many cases, however, Greek differs from English in that it often views as transitive many verbs which English conceives as intransitive, and so connects them with a preposition. Such are, e.g.

εὖ ποίεω	} τινά, 'do good to'	κακῶς ποίεω	} τινά, 'do evil to'	
εὐεργετῶ		κακουργῶ		
εὖ λέγω τινά,	'speak well of'	κακῶς λέγω,	κακολογῶ τινά,	'speak ill of'
	ἀμύνομαι τινά,	'defend myself against'		
	αἰσχύνομαι, αἰδέομαι τινά,	'stand in awe of'		
	σιγᾶω, σιωπᾶω τι	'keep silence about'		
	λανθάνω τινά	'escape the notice of'		
	φυλάττομαι τινά,	'guard myself against'		
	θαρρέω τινά,	'rely on'		
	πλέω θάλασσαν,	'sail over a sea.'		

Εὖ λέγε τὸν εὖ λέγοντα. Men. 582 οὐδεὶς ποῶν πονηρὰ λανθάνει θεῶν. Xen. An. 2, 3, 22 ἡσχύνθημεν καὶ θεοῦ καὶ ἀνθρώπων.

**1259.** Observe : ὀμνυμί τινά 'swear by' (as τοὺς θεούς). ὀμνυμι τι 'swear to,' 'affirm by oath' (as σπονδάς, θεῶν πίστει, ὄρκον). ἐπιορκῶ τινά 'swear falsely by,' as : Men. 253 θεὸν ἐπιορκῶν μὴ δόκει λεληθῆναι.

In *N* : ὀμνῶν (μνάγω) εἰς τὴν Παναγίαν, ὀμνῶν (μνάγω) ὄρκο.

**1260.** So too the swearing particles (1745 ff.) : *affirmatively* (also negatively), as : *νῆ* (ναὶ μὰ) Διὶ 'yes by Zeus'; *negatively*, as : οὐ μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς 'no by the gods.'

**1261.** *P-N* common speech always uses *μὰ* in either case (1746), as : Theoph. 99, 25 μὰ τὴν σωτηρίαν σου ἔφαγον αὐτό. So now ναὶ (ὄχι) μὰ τὸ θεό, ναὶ μὰ τὴν πίστιν μου, ναὶ μὰ τὴν ἀλήθειαν.

**1262.** For the occasional omission and replacement of *μὰ* see 1746<sup>b</sup> f.

**1263.** Many verbs, originally intransitive, have become transitive from being compounded with a preposition :—

διαβαίνω ποταμόν, παραβαίνω τοὺς νόμους, διέρχομαι τὴν χώραν, ἀποδιδράσκω τινά,—ὑφίσταμαι (κίνδυνον), διεξέρχομαι 'go through,' ὑπέρχομαι 'flatter.'

So too in *N*, as : διαβαίνω ποταμόν, ἀνεβαίνω (κατεβαίνω) τὴ σκάλα.

**1264.** In many cases, a Greek verb is used now in a transitive, now in an intransitive sense :

*αἰσθάνομαι* τι or τινός 'perceive.' *ἐνοχλέω* τινά or τινί 'trouble.' *ἐνθυμέομαι* τινος or τι (1294 ff.) 'consider.' *μέμφομαι* τινά or τινί 'blame.'

**1265.** Many verbs, which in other respects are usually intransitive, take an accusative of the same or kindred stem or meaning (1282), as : *φυλακὸς φυλάττω* 'stand sentry,' *φόρον φέρω* 'pay tribute.' This *cognate accusative* is mostly accompanied by an attributive adjunct :

ΚΑΛὸν ἔργον ἐργάζεσθαι, πᾶσαν ἐπιμέλειαν ἐπιμελείσθαι, τὸν ἱερὸν πόλεμον στρατεῦσαι. Men. 186 *ζήσεις* βίον κράτιστον ἣν θυμοῦ κρατῆς. Aesch. Pers. 748.

**1265<sup>b</sup>.** So too in P-N, as : Callin. 75, 13 *ὀδεῖν* ὁδόν. 122, 20 *δεινὴν παιδείαν* ἐπαιδεύθαι. — N : *κοιμᾶται ὕπνῳ βαθύ*, δὲν ἔφταιζε μεγάλο φταίσιμο, 'ρωτῶ πολλά' ρωτήματα.

**1266.** The cognate accusative is often omitted, and its attributive adjective then assumes the (adverbial) form of a neuter plural or singular (518 f. 1185) :

ἡδὺ (= ἡδὺν γελῶτα) γελᾶν δεινὰ (= δεινὴν ὕβριν) ὕβριζειν  
'Ολύμπια (= 'Ολυμπιακὴν νίκην) νικᾶν ταῦτα (= ταύτην τὴν ἀνάγκην) ἀναγκάζεσθαι.

So πάντα νικᾶν	οὐδὲν φροντίζειν
τὰ ἄλλα ἐπιμελείσθαι	οὐδὲν χρώμαι σοι
τὰ μέγιστα ὀφειλείσθαι	μέγα βοᾶν.

Men. Frg. 359 *ἅπαντα δουλεύειν ὁ δοῦλος μανθάνει*. 697 *οὐκ ἔστιν ὅστις πάντ' ἀνὴρ εὐδαιμονεῖ*.

**1267.** This usage is very common in N also, and has doubtless largely contributed to the formation of adverbs of manner from the neuter plural (518<sup>b</sup>-522. 1185) :

*φαντάζω* μεγάλα, γελῶ πολλά, πονῶ λυγράτα, σὲ χαιρετῶ πολλά καὶ ἀκριβὰ.

**1268.** Analogous are the A phrases—

*θύειν* τὰ Ἡράκλεια (= τὰς θυσίας τῶν Ἡρακλείων)—*θύειν* εὐαγγέλια, σωτήρια, διαβατήρια. *νικᾶν* γνώμην, *δίκην*—*τρέχειν* στάδιον, etc.

**1269.** The accusative is further used with verbs, adjectives, and substantives, to specify the particular part of a whole referred to (*accusative of specification or reference*, or *Greek accusative*) :

*κἄμνω* τὴν κεφαλὴν, τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς, 'have pain in the head, in the eyes.' 'Ἀθηναῖος τὸ γένος 'an Athenian by birth.'

**1270.** So too : (τὸ) *ὄνομα* 'by name,' (τὸ) *γένος* 'by birth,' (τὸ) *εἶδος* 'in appearance,' (τὸ) *εὖρος*, *ὕψος*, *βάθος*, *πλάτος*, *κάλλος* 'in width, height, depth, number, beauty,' etc. (Cp. 1233 f.)

Men. 75 *βέλτιόν ἐστι* σώμα γ' ἢ ψυχὴν νοσεῖν. Soph. O. T. 371 *τυφλὸς* τὰ τ' ὦτα τὸν τε νοῦν τὰ τ' ὀμματα' εἰ. Xen. Mem. 4, 6, 7 *πάντα σοφὸν οὐχ οἶον τε ἄνθρωπον εἶναι*.—Callin. 128, 18 *λατόμος τὴν τέχνην*.

**1271.** The specification or reference is sometimes, though rarely, expressed by the dative :

Xen. Cyr. 1, 3, 10 *ταῖς γνώμασι καὶ τοῖς σώμασι σφαλλομένοις*. (4, 1, 8

διεφθάρθαι τὰς γνώμας.) 2, 3, 6 ἐγὼ οὔτε ποσὶν εἰμι ταχὺς οὔτε χερσὶν ἰσχυρός. So often τῷ τρόπῳ, τῷ λόγῳ 'as regards manner, speech.'

°1272. This construction becomes uncommonly frequent in Biblical Greek and its subsequent imitations, as: 1 Cor. 14, 20 μὴ παῖδια γίνεσθε ταῖς φρεσὶν, ἀλλὰ τῇ κακίᾳ νηπιάζετε. Rom. 4, 20 ἐνεδυναμώθη τῇ πίστει. Luke 24, 25 βραδεὶς τῇ καρδίᾳ. Acts 4, 36 Κύριος τῷ γένει. 18, 3 σκηνοποιοὶ τῇ τέχνῃ. Callin. 60, 13 Ἀρμένιον τῷ γένει. 72, 16 ἡρρώσκει τῷ σώματι.

1273. Neither the accusative nor the dative of specification is known to *N*, their place having been taken either by *eis* or more frequently by a subject nominative, as: ἐβάρηκα 'c τῇ χέρᾳ, 'c τὸν πόδα (Cretan), 'I hurt my hand, my foot.' μέ ποιοῦν τὰ μάτια μοῦ (nom.)=ἀλγῶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς.

1274. The accusative serves also to denote *extent of space or time*, then *time generally*, thus answering to the questions *how far? how long? when?*—(1242).

Xen. An. 3, 1, 2 τῆς Ἑλλάδος οὐ μείον ἢ μύρια στάδια ἀπέιχον. Th. 6, 49 ναύστειθμον Μέγαρα ἔφη χρήναι ποιεῖσθαι, ἀπέχοντα Συρακουσῶν οὔτε πλοῦν πολλὴν οὔτε ὁδόν. Men. 547 ψευδόμενος οὐδεὶς λαμβάνει πολλὴν χρόνον. Xen. An. 5, 8, 24 τοὺς κύνας τοὺς χαλεποὺς τὰς μὲν ἡμέρας δεδέασιν τὰς δὲ νύκτας ἀφιάσι. Aeschin. 1, 9 ὁ νομοθέτης διαρρήδην ἀποδείκνυσιν ἢ ὥραν προσήκει λέγειν τὸν παῖδα τὸν ἐλεύθερον *eis* τὸ διδασκαλεῖον.—*G Philologus* 52, 161, 6 ὅσον ζῆς φαῖνον (read εὐφραίνον)<sup>[1]</sup>, μηδὲν ὅλως σὺ λυποῦ (ὅλως τι? cp. Acta Tho. 3, 16 f.).

So too in, as *N*: ἐπεράτησαν διακόσια μίλια. τὸ χωρίον εἶνε τρία μίλια μακρὰ. κοιμᾶται ὅλη\* τὴν ἡμέραν. ἔλειπα τρεῖς ἐβδομάδες. ἦρθε τὸ βράδυ. ἐξύπνησα τὰ μεσάνυχτα.

1275. This use of the accusative assumed, in the course of *H* times, a wider extension until it has ultimately established itself in *N* as the only means (besides adverbs) of expressing space and time in the sense of *how far? how long?* and then also simply *where? when?* (1528, cp. 1391).

Sept. 43, 15 μετ' ἐμοῦ γὰρ φάγονται οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἄρτους τὴν μεσημβρίαν. Ex. 7, 15 βάδισον πρὸς Φαραὸν τὸ πρῶν. Dion. H. i. 448, 15 *eis* λόγους ἐλθὼν ἐμοὶ τὴν τελεγταίαν ἐπὶ στρατοπέδου σῆνοδον. John 4, 52 χθὲς ὥραν ἐβδόμην ἀφῆκεν αὐτὸν ὁ πυρετός. Just. Apol. 1, 67 τὴν δὲ τοῦ ἡλίου ἡμέραν κοινῇ πάντες τὴν συνέλευσιν ποιούμεθα. Acta Tho. 3, 2 εἶδεν αὐτὸν περιπατοῦντα τὸ μεσημβρινόν. Const. Apost. 7, 30 τὴν ἀναστάσιμον τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμέραν, τὴν κυριακὴν φάμεν, συνίρχεσθε ἀδιαλείπτως. Callin. 79, 8 τὴν νύκτα ταύτην ἐθεασάμην σε. Mal. 405, 5 καὶ γίνεται ἐκεῖ ἡ ναυμαχία ὥραν τρίτην τῆς ἡμέρας.

So too now: ἦρθε τὸ μεσημέρι, τὸν εἶδα τὴν κυριακὴν, ζευγαρίζουν τὸ χεῖμῶνα, etc.

1276. In statements of time associated with a Saint's day—a very popular method of dating since *G* times owing to the great number of Saints—the accusative *τὴν ἡμέραν* is generally omitted, and the name of the Saint thus stands elliptically in the genitive with the article (1229).

αὔριο εἶνε τ' ἁγιοῦ Χαλαλάμπη, ἦρθε τοῦ Μιχαὴλ Ἀρχαγγέλου, πότε εἶνε τῶν πυχῶν; τῆς πεντηκοστῆς, τῆς σταυροπροσκύνησος, etc.—See also 1229.

[<sup>1</sup>] The inscription bears the meaningless reading φαῖνον, but εὐφραίνον is required by both the sense and the τρίσημος χρόνος of the musical notation.

1277. Observe further that the question 'how old?' is answered in A by γεγονώς with the accusative, while the question since when? is answered by the simple accusative of the ordinal numerals:

τριάκοντα ἔτη γεγονώς 'thirty years old'—N τριάντα χρόνῳ.  
ἐνάτην ἡμέραν 'eight days since'—N ἑνε (ἦταν) ὀχτώ ἡμέρες.  
ἐνάτην ταύτην ἡμέραν 'a week ago'—N σήμερ' ὀχτώ.  
τρίτον ἢ τέταρτον ἔτος τοῦτ' 'three or four years ago'—N τώρα καὶ δύο ἢ  
τρεῖς χρόνους or (ἀπ') ἐδῶ καὶ δυὸ ἢ τρία χρόνια. (Cp. 1834).

1278. A great number of accusatives of the cognate relation, limitation, and extent (1265, 1269, 1274), have crystallized to mere adverbs—*adverbial accusative*:

οὐδέν 'not at all.'	ἀρχὴν οὐ 'on the whole not,' 'not at all.'
ὀλίγον, (σ)μικρόν, βραχύ, 'a little.'	τὴν ταχίστην (sc. ὁδόν) 'the quickest way.'
πολύ 'by far.'	τὴν εὐθείαν 'straight.'
πολλά 'in many ways,' frequently.	τι 'somewhat.'
τὰ πολλά 'for the most part.'	τί; 'in what respect?' 'why?'
(τὰ) πάντα 'altogether.'	τίνα τρόπον; 'in what manner?'
(τὸ) πρῶτον, (τὴν) πρώτην, 'at first.'	τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον 'in this way.'
(τὸ) δεύτερον, τρίτον, 'in the second, third place.'	πάντα τρόπον 'in every manner.'
τὸ λοιπὸν 'for the rest,' 'in future.'	πρόφασιν 'ostensibly.'
τὸ τελευταῖον 'at length.'	δωρεάν 'gratuitously.'
τὸ πρὶν 'before.'	τυχόν (2125 f.) 'perchance.'
τὸ νῦν 'now.'	ὅσον 'as far as.'
τὸ μετὰ ταῦτα 'hereafter.'	δικὴν τινός 'in the manner of.'
τὴν ἀρχὴν 'at the beginning.'	χάριν τινός 'for the sake of.' τοῦ
τέλος 'at last.'	λόγου χάριν 'for the sake of argument.'
	ἐμὴν χάριν 'for my sake.'

1278<sup>b</sup>. So too in N: (τί ποτε) τίποτε 'for something.' μὲ θέλεις τίποτε; δέ σε θέλω τίποτε. πολλά σε φοβοῦμαι. τί γελᾷς; τί με βλέπεις; πάντα 'always.' τὴν πρώτην, δεύτερην, τρίτην (φορὰ), 'the first, second, third time.' ὅσα ὅσα 'for the lowest price,' 'almost for nothing.' τὲς προάλλες 'recently.' τὸ πρῶτ', τὸ μεσημέρι 'at noon,' τὸ βράδυ, τὰ μεσάνυκτα, τὴν αὐγὴν. τὸ γληγορύτερον = τὴν ταχίστην. τὸ πολὺ πολὺ 'at the very most,' etc.

## DOUBLE ACCUSATIVE.

1279. Two accusatives, usually one of the person and another of the thing (1247), are often required by verbs denoting *teaching*, *asking*, *reminding* (1297), *clothing*, *hiding*, *depriving*, and the like, as:

διδάσκω τινά τι, 'teach'	ἀμφιέννυμι, ἐνδύω, 'clothe'
παιδεύω 'instruct'	ἐκδύω, 'undress,' 'strip'
κρύπτω, ἀποκρύπτομαι, 'hide'	ἀφαιρέομαι, ἀποστερῶ, 'deprive'
ἀνα-, ὑπομνήσκω, 'remind'	(1321).
(εἰς)πράττω, (εἰς)πράττομαι, 'exact'	συνιέω 'despoil.'
ἐρωτάω, αἰτέω, τινά τι, 'ask'	

Xen. An. 3, 2, 11 ἀναμνήσω ὑμᾶς καὶ τοῖς τῶν προγόνων κινδύνους. Ar. Nub. 641 οὐ τοῦτ' ἐρωτῶ σε. Xen. Mem. 3, 1, 5 ἤρξατο σε διδάσκειν τὴν στρατηγίαν. Cyr. 1, 3, 17 τὸν ἐαυτοῦ χιτῶνα ἐκείνον ἡμίψισε. Lys. 32, 7 τὴν θηγάτερὰ ἐκρυπτε τὸν θάνατον τοῦ ἀνδρός.



1280. So too in *P-B*, as: Callin. 58, 10 *ἐπαίδευσαν αὐτόν τὰ γράμματα*. 94, 24 *ταῦτα ἐδίδασκεν ἡμᾶς*. 101, 19 *σάκκον αὐτὸν ἐνδύσας*.—So further in *N*, at least partially: *τί ᾗ ἐρώτησε; τὸν ἐντυσαν κόκκινα ρούχα, τὴν ἐπὶ σίσε φαρμάκι*.—For the most part, however, the personal or remoter accusative is now expressed by the dative genitive (1247).

1281. The above verbs, when used in the passive, retain the accusative of the thing, but the personal accusative becomes subject nominative (cp. 1285<sup>b</sup>. 1462), as:

Pl. Menex. 236 *ἡ μοῦσικὴν μὲν ὑπὸ Λάμπρου παιδεσθείς, ῥητορικὴν δ' ὑπ' Ἀντιφῶντος*. Xen. Mem. 4, 3, 14 *τὴν ὄψιν ἀφαίρειται*. Callin. 58, 12 *ἐδιδάσκετο παιδείαν*. 122, 20 *παιδείαν ἐπαιδεύθη*. See also 1283.

1282. Other transitive verbs may also take a second, cognate accusative (1265), as:

Pl. Apol. 19 *β Μέλητός με ἐγράφω τὴν γραφὴν ταύτην*. 'M. brought this impeachment against me.' Th. 8, 75 *ἔρκωσαν τοὺς στρατιώτας τοὺς μεγίστους ὅρκους* 'they made the soldiers swear the most solemn oaths.' Xen. An. 3, 1, 18 *ἡμᾶς τὰ αἰσχίστα αἰκίζεται*. Dem. 18, 28 *λακκεδαμόνιοι πολλὰ τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν ἰδικήκασιν καὶ μεγάλα*.

1283. When used in the passive, these verbs retain the cognate accusative, while that of the person becomes subject nominative, as:

Pl. Gorg. 520 *ο ἄλλην εὐεργεσίαν εὐεργετῆσθαι*. Phaed. 255 *ἡ πᾶσαν θεραπείαν θεραπευόμενος*. See also 1281.

1284. Two accusatives, one serving as the object and the other as its predicate, are required by verbs denoting to *call, declare, show, prove, make, choose*:

<i>ὀνομάζω, καλέω, λέγω τινά τι</i>	'call one something'
<i>νομίζω, ἡγέομαι, κρίνω</i>	'consider, deem'
<i>ἀποδείκνυμι, ποιέω, ποιέομαι</i>	'prove, make, render'
<i>αἰρέομαι, καθίστημι</i>	'choose', 'appoint'
<i>τάριχ' ἑμαυτὸν τι</i>	'make myself.'

Men. 673 *ἰδίας νόμιζε τῶν φίλων τὰς συμφοράς*. Xen. An. 1, 1, 2 *Δαρείος Κύρον σατρίῳ πῃ ἐποίησε καὶ στρατηγὸν ἀπέδειξε πάντων*. Th. 8, 82 *οἱ στρατιῶται Ἀλκιβιάδην στρατηγὸν εἶλοντο*. Xen. An. 3, 2, 5 *Ἀριαῖον ἠθέλομεν βασιλέα καθιστάναι*. Cyr. 2, 1, 22 *τὸν ἰδιωτῶν χρὴ ἐαυτὸν παρέχειν εὑρεῖσθαι τοῖς ἀρχουσιν*.

1284<sup>b</sup>. So too *P-N* in all above verbs or their substitutes, as: Callin. 65, 22 *οὐχὶ δούλον ἐαυτὸν ἔλεγεν ὁ Ὑπάτιος*; 70, 9 *κατεδέξαντο λατὸν ἔχειν πατέρα τὸν Ὑπάτιον*.—So too now: *λέγω* 'call'; *κρίνω*, *ἔχω*, 'consider,' 'deem'; *κάνω* 'make'; *κατασταίνω* 'render'; *διαλέγω* 'select,' 'choose,' etc., as: *τὸν εἶπε κλέφτην, ἔκαμ' ἐμε πλοῦσιον*.

1285. In Biblical compositions and their imitations, the second or predicative accusative is frequently expressed by the preposition *eis*. See 1552.

1285<sup>b</sup>. When turned to passive, the above verbs (1284) become copulative (1249), and thus change both accusatives to nominatives, one (the nearer or personal) to subject, and the other (the remoter) to predicate (cp. 1281. 1462), as: *Ἀλκιβιάδης στρατηγὸς ᾤμεθη*.

So too in *N*, as: *ὁ Νικόλας ἐγενε (ἐδιορίστηκε) δραγάτης*.

## THE GENITIVE.

**1286.** The Greek genitive has two fundamental functions: first it serves to determine a noun and the nominal notion inherent in a verb (*of*); and then to denote the emanation of an action *from* somewhere, considered in the proper or metaphorical sense. In the former case it is a *genitive proper* answering on the whole to the English *of*, in the latter it is an *ablative* answering to the English *from*.

**1287.** In its function as genitive proper, it still fully obtains in *N* (1242 ff. 1288-1315), while as an ablative genitive it has been replaced either by the accusative (1316-1346) *ε* by a prepositional construction (1245 f.).

## I. GENITIVE PROPER.

**1288.** The GENITIVE PROPER may be—

**A. Subjective genitive**, denoting the possessor or author in substantives, adjectives, and the copulative verbs *ε*ναι, γίνεσθαι, καλεῖσθαι, ποιεῖσθαι, etc. (1249).

ἡ Κήρυξ στρατιά—τὸ τοῦ Σόλωνος—τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων—ἱερὸς χώρος τῆς Ἀτέμιδος—Κίμων Μυλτιάδου—Περικλῆς ὁ Ξανθίππου.

Πενίαν φέρειν οὐ παντός, ἀλλ' ἄνδρὸς σοφοῦ—Xen. An. 2, 1, 12 βασιλεὺς ἡγείται ὑμᾶς ἑαυτοῦ εἶναι. Men. 121 δις ἐξαμαρτεῖν ταύτων οὐκ ἄνδρὸς σοφοῦ—ποιεῖσθαι τι ἑαυτοῦ.

So further: ἴδιος, οἰκείος, κοινός, ἀλλότριος τινος (but also τινι 1371), 'proper, pertaining, common, foreign to.'

So too in *N*, as: ὁ πατέρας τοῦ παιδιοῦ—ὁ κῆπος τοῦ δασκάλου—τινὸς εἶνε τὸ ἀμπέλι; (Ἑλένη δημητρίου.)

**1288<sup>b</sup>.** Associated with this genitive is the use in *N* of εἶμαι with a verbal substantive, chiefly in -μός, to denote that a person or thing *deserves* or *is about to suffer* the action implied by the substantive, as:

εἶμαι τοῦ σκοτωμοῦ 'I am or deserve to be killed.' εἶμαι τοῦ ἀποθασοῦ 'I am dying.' εἶμαι τοῦ σκιοινοῦ καὶ τοῦ παλογκιοῦ 'I deserve to be hanged.' εἶμαι τῆς καλοπεισίᾳς 'I am very tractable.'

**1289.** The subjective genitive often stands elliptically after the prepositions *ε*ις, ἐν, sometimes also after ἐκ. In that case it refers to something possessed by the genitive (generally *house, school, temple, place*, etc.), but omitted owing to its great frequency (1517<sup>b</sup> f. 1553<sup>b</sup> f. 1565<sup>b</sup>), as:

ἐν ᾧδου (sc. τόφῳ), εἰς ᾧδου (sc. τύπον)—φοιτᾶν εἰς διδασκάλου, εἰς φίλου (sc. οἶκον)—εἰς Ἀπόλλωνος, εἰς Διός (sc. ἱερὸν). 'into the temple of.' ἐν κηριαριστοῦ (sc. οἶκῳ). ἐκ διδασκάλου (sc. οἶκου) 'from the teacher's.'

**1289<sup>b</sup>.** So still regularly in *N* with *ε*ις (= *ε*ις and ἐν 1547) and ἀπό (= ἐκ 1506), as: (ἐπῆγα ξειμένα) εἰς τοῦ διδασκάλου. εἰς τοῦ γειτόνου, εἰς τοῦ Γίαννης, εἰς τοῦ πρματεγτη, εἰς τοῦ θειοῦ του—(έρχεται) ἀπό τοῦ διδασκάλου, ἀπό τοῦ δημητρη, ἀπο τῆς θειᾶς του.

**1290. B. Objective genitive** denoting the object affected by an action or emotion. This is common—

1. With verbal substantives:

ἡ τῆς πατρίδος σωτηρία—ἡ ἐπιθυμία ἡδονῶν—ὁ φόβος τῶν πολεμίων—ὁ θλιβένος τοῦ στρατοῦ—εὐνοια τῶν φίλων—ἀπορία citoῦ—ἀφορμὴ ἔργων.

**1291.** Though less common, this usage still substantially obtains in *N*: ἡ ἀγία τοῦ κρασιού—ὁ πόθος τῷ γραμμάτων—ὁ φόβος τοῦ πολέμου—τὸ σκίμμα τοῦ κήπου—τὸ παίημα τῆς νύκτος—τὰ καμώματα σου.

**1292. 2.** With verbs, substantives, and adjectives referring to judicial matters, to denote the *cause* or *crime*:

διώκω τινά τινος 'prosecute'	αἰτιῶμαι τινά τινος 'amuse'
κρίνω τινά τινος 'try'	γράφωμαι „ „ 'indict'
αἰρέω „ „ 'convict'	ἀλίσκομαι τινος 'am convicted'
φεύγω τινός 'am prosecuted'	ἀποφεύγω „ „ 'am acquitted'
ἡ δίκη, γραφή 'charge,' 'indictment'	τὸ ἐγκλημα 'crime'
αἷτιος, ἐνοχος, ὑπόδικος 'guilty'	ἀναίτιος 'not guilty'

Xen. Cyr. 1, 2, 7 οἱ Πέρσαι δικάζουσιν ἀχαριστίας. Lys. 27, 3 οἱ πρόσβεις δώρων ἐκρίθησαν. Xen. Cyr. 1, 2, 6 γίγνεται ἐγκλήματα καὶ βίας καὶ ἀπάτης. Eur. Frg. 633 πολλῶν τὰ χρήματ' αἰτ' ἀνθρώποις κακῶν.

**1293.** This genitive is foreign to *N*, seeing that the judicial system of Greece has gone through many changes since *A* times. (οἱ 1. οἱ 2 027.) [Such *N* expressions as αἰρία τοῦ θανάτου, etc., belong properly to 1290 f.]

**1294. 3.** With verbs and adjectives denoting *expert* in, *eager* for, *mindful* of, *caring* for, *ruling* over—and their contraries.

Soph. Frg. 63 τοῦ ζῆν γὰρ οὐδεὶς ὡς ὁ γηρίσκων ἐρᾷ. Men. 438 ὁ γραμμάτων ἀπειρος οὐ βλέπει βλέπων. Men. 8 ἄνθρωπος ὃν μέμνησο τῆς κοινῆς τύχης. Xen. Mem. 1, 4, 17 ἡ τοῦ θεοῦ φρόνησις ἅμα πάντων ἐπιμελείται. Pl. Rep. 579 c ἐλγτοῦ ὃν ἀκράτωρ ἄλλων ἐπιχειρεῖ ἄρχειν. Leg. 721 B.

So too: ἰφίεμαι 'desire,' ὀρέγομαι, γλίχομαι 'covet.'

**1295.** In *N* this genitive survives in the case of a number of verbs, as: θυμούμαι (i. e. ἐνθυμούμαι 135. 723) 'remember,' ἀναστοροῦμαι 'recollect,' συλλογοῦμαι 'think of,' ἀλησιμονῶ, ξεχνῶ 'forget.' So further: ἀμάθης τῆς δογλείας, ἀνέξευρος τοῦ κόσμου, etc.—In the remaining cases, it has been replaced either by the accusative (1242-7. cp. 1296), as: Callin. 71, 11 φροντίζων τὰ πρὸς τὸ ζῆν. 96, 29 ἐπεμελεῖτο αὐτόν. CGL 643, 24 οὐ φροντίζω σε non curo te. Acta Xanth. 79, 13 μεριμνήσει ὁ θεὸς καὶ τὰ περὶ σοῦ ὡς καὶ τὰ περὶ ταύτης τῆς ξένης—or by a preposition (1245).

**1296. 4.** But verbs of *remembering* and *forgetting* can have the object, when it is conceived as a general thing, in the accusative: τὰ παραληγηθῆτα μνημονεύειν—ἀμνημονεῖν τοὺς λόγους.

**1297.** In *A* we may say ἀναμνησκω τινά τινος beside τινά τι (1279), 'I remind one of something.' We must further distinguish between ἡγέομαι τινος (e. g. στρατεύματος) 'I lead,' 'command,' and ἡγέομαι τινί (e. g. ναυσίν) 'I conduct as a guide'; then κρατέω τινός 'rule over,' and κρατέω τινά, 'conquer.'

**1298. 5.** With verbs denoting *tasting* (eating, drinking), *enjoying*, *partaking*, when they refer to a part and not to the whole (1310):

ἐσθίω τινός 'eat of'	πίνω 'drink'
γείω τινά τινος 'treat'	γεύομαι τινος 'taste'
ἀπολαύω τινός 'enjoy'	ὀνίναμαι τινος 'benefit from'
μεταλαμβάνω 'partake'	μετέχω, κοινωνῶ, 'have a share'
μεταδίδωμί τινί τινος	'give a share.'

Xen. An. 4, 8, 20 τῶν κηρίων ὅσοι ἔφαγον πάντες ἄφρονες ἐγίγνοντο. Mem. 4, 3, 11 ἀπολαύειν πάντων τῶν ἀγαθῶν. Pl. Leg. 721 B τὸ ἀνθρώπων γένος μετέιληθεν ἀθανασίας.

1299. In *N* this genitive is replaced by the accusative (1242), mostly simple, as *ἀγάμαι σε* 'am fond of you,' but sometimes preceded by the preposition *ἀπό* (1312): *τρώγω ψωμί* 'eat bread,' *χορταίνω φαγί* 'get food enough,' *τοῦ ὄνου* *ἀπό* *τὸ κρασί* 'gave him part of the wine.' So even Narr. Zos. 107, 17 *γεύσασθαι αὐτὸν ἀπὸ οὗ ξύλου τῆς ζωῆς*.

1300. 6. With verbs denoting: *touching, taking hold of, aiming, hitting, reaching, missing*;—*trying* :

Men. 314 *ἦθος δικαίου φαῦλος οὐ ψαύει λόγος*. Eur. Hipp. 1326 *ἔρ' ἔστι καὶ σοὶ τῶνδε συγγνώμης τυχεῖν*. Th. 4, 85, 2 *ἐσφάλημεν τῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐκεῖ πολέμου λύσης*. Dem. 18, 253 *τίς τῶν ἀνθρώπων οὐ πολλῶν κακῶν πεπειράται*;

1301. In *N* this genitive also has been replaced by the accusative (1242).

1302. C. Qualitative genitive denoting the *extent, measure or number, weight, size, value, or age*:—

Xen. An. 2, 4, 12 *τείχος εὖρος εἴκοσι ποδῶν, ὕψος δὲ ἑκατόν*. 2, 6, 20 *Πρόξενος ἦν ὅτε ἀπέθνησκειν ἐτῶν ὥς τριάκοντα*.—*τριῶν ἡμερῶν ὁδός*—*τρίηρες ἡμέρας μακρὰς πλοῦς*—*μισθὸς τεσσάρων μηνῶν*—*δίκη χιλίων δραχμῶν*.—*στράτευμα διςμυρίων ὀπιλιῶν*—*στόλος διακοσίων νεῶν*.

So too in *P-N*, as: Callin. 59, 16 *ἐτῶν ἦν δέκα καὶ ὀκτώ*.—*N*: *τοῖχος δώδεκα ὀργυῶν* *τὸ ψῆλος*. *τριῶν πηχῶν μαντίλι—πέντε δραχμῶν μετάξι—δέκα χρόνῶν κόρη*—*τριῶν μερῶν δρόμος*.

1303. Conversely the thing measured or weighed not rarely stands in *apposition* (1159<sup>b</sup>):

Hdt. 8, 4 *ἐπὶ μισθῷ τριήκοντα ταλάντοις*. 1, 14 *σταθμὴν ἔχοντες τριήκοντα τάλαντα*. Lys. 2, 21 *πεντήκοντα μυριάδας στρατιάν*. Xen. An. 3, 16 *βασιλικὴν στρατιάν δώδεκα μυριάδας*.—Alchem. 312, 1 *λαβὼν ἵδραργυρον λίτρας γ', καὶ ἔρσενικὸν λίτραν α'*. 313, 25 *λαβὼν χαλκὸν μῶν μίαν, et passim*. Theoph. 447, 12 *ἀποστέλλει ὁ κύρις Βουλγαρίας ἰβ' χιλιάδας λαόν*. 451, 23 *ἔπαισαν δύο χιλιάδες Ἀραβες*. Porph. Adm. 232, 19 *σχολαρίκια (συγὴν μίαν*. 233, 1 *τὴν (συγὴν τὰ σχολαρίκια*. 243, 8 *λογάριον κεντηνῆμιον ἐν*. Cedr. 2, 19 *Σύροισ' ἱακωβίτας πλῆθος πολὺ*.—FTrinch. 11 (†1000) *ἐλαίας δένδρη κέ'*.

1304. So too now invariably and universally: *δύο χιλιάδες λραχμέες, τρεῖς ὀκκάδες γάλα, ἑκατὸ δράμμα καπνῷ*.

1305. In like manner *G-B* writers sometimes, and *N* speech always, use the accusative (instead of the genitive) in designations of measure associated with the adverbial expressions *ῶμκος* (*N* *μῆκος*) *ῶερος* (*πλάτος*), *ῶψος* (*N* *ψῆλος*) *βάθος*, *ῶμέγεθος*, etc. (1233<sup>b</sup>).

Jos. Ant. 11, 1, 3 *οικοδομήσωσιν αὐτὸν ὕψος μὲν ἐξήκοντα πήχεις, τῶν δ' αὐτῶν καὶ τὸ εὖρος*. Porph. Cer. 472 *ἔχων βάθος σπιθαμὰς δύο*.

So *N*: *εἶνε δυὸ ὀργυγίς τὸ βάθος* (*πλάτος, μῆκος, ψῆλος*), *οὐ ἔχει βάθος* (*πλάτος, μῆκος, ψῆλος*) *δυὸ ὀργυγίς*.

1306. On the other hand, in naming a place or country, *B* writers substitute the attributive genitive for apposition, a practice which has many parallels in Homeric and *A* Greek, but is foreign to *N*.

(B 133 *Ἰλίου πολίεθρον*. α 2 *Τροίης πολίεθρον*. E 642 *Ἰλίου πόλιν*, also Eur. Hel. 1560. Δ 103 *εἰς δασὺν Ζελεῖν*. θ 301 *πρὶν Ἀθμνογ γαῖαν ἰκίσθαι*. Hdt. 7, 156 *Καμαργήνης τὸ δασὺ*. 7, 42 *Κάνης ὄρος*. Th. 4, 46 *ἐν τῷ ὄρει τῆς Ἰστῶν*.) Niceph. Const. Histor. 52, 14 *τὴν πόλιν Χερσῶνος*. 57, 16 *τῇ πόλει Νικαίας*. 64 *τὰς νήσους τῆς τε Θήρας καὶ Θηρασίας καλουμένας*. Theoph. Cont. 295 *πρὸς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ χώραν τῆς Φραγκίας*. 312, 18 *ἡ πόλις Ἀμαντίας*. 320 *τὸ κάστρον Ναυπάκτου*. 463, 21 *τῷ ὄρει τοῦ Ὀλύμπου*.

**1307. D. Partitive genitive denoting a whole, as contrasted with its parts :—**(cp. 1314).

οἱ σοφοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων—ὁ ἀριστος ἀπάντων—τίς ἡμῶν; οὐδεὶς αὐτῶν—*ῥῆμα* τῆς *Βοιωτίας*—*ποῦ* γῆς; 'where on earth?'—*ἡμέρα* τῆς *ἡμέρας* 'late in the day'—*εἰς τοῦθ'* ὅσως 'to such a degree of license.'—Th. 1, 65, 1 (*Ἀρστέως*, ἤθελε καὶ αὐτὸς τῶν μενόντων εἶναι. 2, 56, 4 οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἔτεμον τῆς γῆς τὴν πολλήν. 2, 56, 6 ἀφίκοντο ἐς Πρασιάς καὶ τῆς τε γῆς ἔτεμον καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ πόλισμα εἶλον.

**1308.** When the governing word is a quantitative adjective, it usually takes the *gender* of the genitive (cp. 1191):

ὁ λοιπὸς τοῦ χρόνου—τῆς γῆς τὴν πολλήν—τοῦ cito τοῦ ἡμῶν.

**1309.** So too in *N*, especially with certain adjectives denoting a part, as: ὁ καθένας μᾶς (534) 'each of us,' *μόνοι* τῶν 'by themselves,' ὅλοι μᾶς 'all of us,' καὶ οἱ δύο καὶ 'both of you.' (Cp. 534.)

**1310.** Agreeably to its usage (1307), the genitive partitive stands also with verbs of tasting and partaking. See 1298.

**1311.** For the sake of greater perspicuity, the partitive genitive, especially when depending on a numeral or on an articular superlative, is sometimes strengthened by *ἀπὸ* or *ἐξ* (1504. cp. 1299. 1329), as:

Hdt. 1, 196 τὴν εὐειδεστάτην ἐκ πασῶν. 5, 87 ἐκείνον μόνον ἐξ ἀπάντων. Th. 1, 110 ὀλίγοι ἀπὸ πολλῶν. Xen. Mem. 3, 6, 17 τοὺς θαυματομένους ἐκ τῶν μάλιστα ἐπισταμένων. Th. 1, 116 λαβὼν ἐξήκοντα ναῦς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐφορμουςῶν. (Cp. 1, 120 ἐκ πάντων προτιμῶνται.)—Sept. Ps. 105 εἰς ἐξ αὐτῶν οὐχ ὑπελείφθη. Callin. 77, 3 εἰς διέ ἐκ τῶν παίδων. 78, 16 εἰς ἐξ αὐτῶν. ib. 19 εἶνα ἐξ αὐτῶν. 121, 20 τινὲς ἀπὸ τῶν ἀδελφῶν. 125, 20. 109, 27 ὀλίγα ἐκ τῶν ἱματίων.

**1312.** In the course of *P* times this periphrasis became more popular, especially in connexion with numerals, like *εἰς*, *δύο* etc., then *τινὲς*, *πολλοί*, *ὀλίγοι*, *ἄλλοι*, *πάντες*, after which the prepositions *ἐκ*, *ἀπὸ*, sometimes also *ἐν* (prompted as they were by the parallel usage in Latin of *ex*, *de*, *inter*) were felt as an essential requisite. As time went on, this prepositional construction became an almost normal feature of common speech, and finally resulted in the *N* practice of expressing regularly by *ἀπὸ* (after *ἐκ* had become extinct, 1570) the relation of the partitive genitive and its cognate comparative genitive. See 1504 ff.

**1313.** As an abbreviated or elliptical form of this partitive relation we may consider the case where the numeral *τινὲς* is omitted as self-evident. The simple or prepositional genitive depending on *τινὲς* then assumes its syntactical function and so is treated like a subject nominative or object accusative (cp. 1514 f. 1569; RKühner<sup>2</sup> ii. 29, 3):

Acts 21, 16 συνῆλθον καὶ τῶν μαθητῶν (sc. *τινὲς*) σὺν ἡμῖν. John 16, 17 εἶπον οὖν (sc. *τινὲς*) ἐκ τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ πρὸς ἀλλήλους. Matth. 23, 34 ἐξ αὐτῶν (sc. *τινᾶς*) ὑποκτενεῖτε . . . καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν μαστιγώσετε. John 7, 40 ἐκ τοῦ ὄχλου οὖν (sc. *τινὲς*) ἀκούσαντες τῶν λόγων ἔλεγον. 2 John 4 εὐῤῥεκα ἐκ τῶν τέκνων σου (sc. *τινᾶς*) περιπατοῦντας ἐν ἀληθείᾳ. Acts 15, 7 ἐν ἡμῖν (for *τινᾶς* ἐξ ἡμῶν) ἐξελέξατο ὁ θεός. Leont. Neap. V. J. 88, 12 quoted in 1793. —Cp. RKühner<sup>2</sup> ii. 29, 3. [In John 3, 25 we might read: ἐγένετο ἡμεῖς (τίσιν) ἐκ τῶν μαθητῶν Ἰωάννου μετὰ Ἰουδαίου.]

**1314.** The partitive genitive further stands, in a more or less partitive sense, after adverbs, particularly those of *place* and *time* (cp. 1307): *ποῦ* τῆς γῆς; 'where on earth?' *πανταχοῦ* τῆς γῆς 'in every part of the globe.' *ἄνω* τοῦ ποταμοῦ 'above the river.'—*πότε* τῆς ἡμέρας; 'what time of the day?' *τρὶς* τοῦ

ΜΗΝΟΣ 'three times a month' (cp. 1342), κρύφα ΤΙΝΟΣ 'without the knowledge of some one.'

So stand : ποῦ, ποῖ, πόθεν, 'where,'  
'whither,' 'whence'  
ἐνταῦθα & ἐκεῖ, ἐκείσε, ἐκείθεν, 'there,'  
'thither,' 'thence'

πανταχοῦ 'everywhere'

οὐδαμοῦ 'nowhere'

ἐντός 'within'

εἰσω 'inside'

ἐκτός, ἔξω, 'outside'

μεταξύ 'between'

πλησίον, ἔγγυς, 'near'

ἔμπροσθεν 'before,' 'in front'

ὀπίσθεν 'behind'

καταντικρύ 'opposite'

πότε, πηρὶκα, 'when'

πρῶι, 'early'

ἀπαξ, δὶς, τρίς, etc. 'once, twice,  
three times, etc.'

πῶς ἔχεις τῆς γνώμης; 'what is  
your opinion?'

ὡς (οὕτως, εὖ, ἀριστα) ἔχω τοῦ βίου  
λάβρα, κρύφα, 'without the know-  
ledge of'

χάριν 'for the sake of'

δίκην 'in the manner of'

πλὴν 'except'

χωρίς 'apart'

ἀνευ 'without'

ἐνεκα 'for the sake of'

ἄχρι, μέχρι, 'until.'

1315. So far as they still survive in *N*, the above adverbs and their substitutes but rarely take the genitive, as : κρυφὰ τοῦ δέινα, ὀπίσω μοι, ἀπῶν μοι, κοντά σοι, ἀντίκρυτά τοι, ποτέ μοι, ἀνάμεσα τῷ λόγῳ φιλω. They are much more commonly followed by the preposition ἀπό or εἰς and the accusative, a phenomenon, however, which is of ancient date, as :

Mal. 66, 6 & 144, 10 ἄνω ἐν. 81, 1 ἔσω ἐν. So 245, 22. 98, 15 ἔμπροσθεν ἐν. 113, 7 ἀντικρυς εἰς. 216, 21 & 347, 1 ἄνω εἰς. 352, 9 ἔσω εἰς.

*N* μέσα εἰς (μέσα ὅς) τὴν καλύβα = ἐντὸς τῆς καλύβης. ἔξ(ω) ἀπὸ τοῦ = ἔξω τοῦ. ἀνάμεσα εἰς τοὺς = μεταξύ τῶν. κάτω ἀπὸ τὰ (i. e. ὑπὸ τὰ 1508) = κάτω τῶν (cp. Mal. 421, 6 κάτω ὑπὸ τὰ χρώματα). κρυφὰ ἀπὸ τὴν = κρύφα τῆς. χωρὶς τὸν = χωρὶς τοῦ.

## II. ABLATIVAL GENITIVE.

1316. The ABLATIVAL GENITIVE stands as—

### A. Genitive of separation :

1. With verbs and adjectives denoting a *separation, removal, release, distance*,—then *impediment, yielding*, as :

χωρίζω τινά ΤΙΝΟΣ 'separate'

λύω, ἐλευθερώω τινά ΤΙΝΟΣ 'free'

ἀπαλλάττω, σφίζω τινά ΤΙΝΟΣ 're-  
lieve'

ἔργω τινά ΤΙΝΟΣ 'prevent'

εἰκω τινί ΤΙΝΟΣ 'yield'

ἀπέχω τινά ΤΙΝΟΣ 'keep far from'

ἀπέχω ΤΙΝΟΣ 'am distant from'

ἀπέχομαί ΤΙΝΟΣ 'abstain from'

χωρέω ΤΙΝΟΣ (also τινί) 'yield'

καθαρός ΤΙΝΟΣ 'pure from'

ἐλεύθερος 'free from'.

1317. For the sake of greater perspicuity, this and the following class of verbs and adjectives frequently take before the genitive the preposition ἀπό or ἐξ, as : ἐλευθεροῦν (ἀπαλλάττειν, σφίζειν, ἀπείργειν, καλύειν, παύειν) ἀπὸ or ἐκ τίνος.—In the course of *P* times this alternative met with a wider acceptance, especially in the common language and ultimately established itself in *N* as the normal popular construction : ἐ]λευτεράνω, γλυτάνω, ἀ]μυποδίζω, σφίζω—ἀπὸ.

1318. 2. With verbs and adjectives denoting *withdrawal, privation, need, filling or fullness*, and the like, as :

ἀποστερέω τινά τινος 'deprive'  
 ἀπορέω, σπανίζω τινός 'am in need'  
 πληρώω 'fill'  
 ἐνδεής τινος 'needy'  
 γυμνός τινος 'naked'  
 ἐρημος 'deserted'

στερόμαι τινος 'am deprived of'  
 κενύω τί τινος 'empty'  
 πένης 'destitute'  
 κενός 'empty'  
 ὀρφανός 'deprived of'  
 πλήρης, μεστός, 'full.'

Soph. Ant. 13 ΛΥΟΙΝ ΔΔΕΛΦΟΙΝ ἑστερήθημεν δύο. Antiph. Com. 265  
 ὁ μηδὲν ἀδικῶν οὐδενός δεῖται νόμοι. Men. Frg. 441, 2 πολλῶν γε μεστόν  
 ἐστί τὸ ζῆν φροντίδων.

1319. This construction is foreign to *B-N* speech (1317), the accusative having taken the place of the genitive, as: Apophth. 281 Α ληστήν γεμίζοντα τὴν κάμηλον τὰ σκεύη. 38 Β τάλαιπωρὴ πῶς αὐτὸν χορτάσω ἄρτον.—*N* γεμίζω τὸ σταμνὶ νερό, ἐχύρτασα ψωμί.

1320. Observe the peculiarities of δέω—(a) δεῖ μοί τινος (e.g. φρονήσεως) 'am short of,' 'need'; δεῖ ὀλίγον 'come near being'; πολλοῦ δεῖ 'it is far from being'—(b) δέω πολλοῦ 'am far from being'; τοσοῦτον ἐδέησα 'I was so far from'—(c) δέομαι τινος 'stand in need of'; δέομαι τινός τι 'ask some one for'; τοῦτο ὧμων δέομαι 'I ask this of you.'

[Acta Xanth. 82, 29 οὐ τολμῶ ἐξ ἑμαντήs δεηθῆναι σοί, a macaronism. Cp. 1325.]

1321. Verbs of *depriving* admit also of a double accusative. (1279.)

1322. 3. With verbs of *beginning* and *ending*:

Xen. Cyr. 1, 5, 13 πειράσθε σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς ἀρχεσθαι παντός ἔργου. Hell. 2, 2, 13 ἐπαύσαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι Τιμόθεον τῆς στρατηγίας. Eur. Med. 1211  
 ἔπειτα θρήνων καὶ γόων ἐπαύσατο.

1323. In *N* this genitive has made room for the accusative. (1242; but cp. 1327.)

1324. There is a difference between ἀρχω and ἀρχομαι: ἀρχω τινός 'am the first to begin,' 'open'; ἀρχομαι τινός 'commence' (also ἀπό, ἐκ 'from'), as: ἤρχε τοῦ λόγου 'he opened the discussion'; ἤρξατο τοῦ λόγου ὧδε 'he began his speech thus.' (1471.)

1325. 4. With verbs denoting an *action of the senses*:

ἀκούω, πυνθάνομαι, 'hear'; αἰσθάνομαι 'perceive,' 'feel'; ὀσφώω 'have a smell,' 'smell'; ὀσφραίνομαι 'smell'; ἀκροῶμαι 'listen,' ἀπτομαι 'touch,' 'feel.'

Pl. Apol. 17 Β ἀκούσασθε ἐμοῦ πᾶσαν τὴν ἀλήθειαν. Euthyphr. 4 C πέμπετε ἄνδρα πεινόμενον τοῦ ἐξηγητοῦ δ, τι χρεῖη ποιεῖν. Eur. Hec. 991  
 τί δήτα βούλει δεῦτερον μαθεῖν ἐμοῦ;

[Acta Pauli et Theclae 253, 8 οὐχ ἄψεται μοι πειρασμός, a macaronism. Cp. 1320.]

1326. In *N* this genitive has made room for the accusative. (1242; but cp. 1327).

1327. When the above (1325) object is not a person but a *thing*, it generally stands in the *accusative*. However observe: ἀκούω and αἰσθάνομαι τι = 'hear something'; ἀκούω and αἰσθάνομαι τινός (person or thing) = 'listen to':

Xen. An. 4, 4, 21 ἀκούσαντες τὸν θόρυβον οὐχ ὑπέμειναν. Men. 566 ἀκουε πάντων, ἐκλέγου δ' ἂν συμφέροι. 384 νέος ὢν ἀκούει τῶν γεραιτέρων θέλει.

So too in *N*: ἀκουσε τὰ λόγια μου, ἀκουσέ μου, μυρίζεις τοῦ διαβόλου. (Cp. 1298 f.)

**1328. B. The comparative genitive stands with adjectives and verbs containing the notion of *superiority* or *inferiority* (1187):**

Men. 477 σιγή ποτ' ἐστὶν αἰρετωτέρα λόγου. 528 φιλεῖ δ' ἐαυτοῦ πλεον οὐδεις οὐδένα. Th. 6, 16, 1 προσήκει μοι μάλλον ἑτέρων (= ἢ ἑτέροις) ἄρχειν. Pl. Menex. 237 D ἄνθρωπος ξυνέσει ὑπερέχει τῶν ἄλλων. Th. 1, 91, 5 οὐδενός ὑστέροι γνώμη ἐφάνημεν ἡμῖς. Pl. Lach. 190 D τί ἄν προελοίμεθα τῶν τῆς ἀρετῆς μερῶν; Dem. 23, 211 οἱ ἡμέτεροι πρόγονοι διενηρόχασιν ἀπάντων ἀρετῇ. More examples in 514.

**1329.** For this genitive *N* has substituted *παρὰ* and *ἀπὸ* with the accusative (1188. 1311).

**1330.** The *genitive of material* denoting the substance out of which something is made :

Dem. 22, 70 οἱ στέφανοι οὐκ ἴων ἢ ῥόδων ἦσαν ἀλλὰ χρυσίου.

**1331.** The genitive of material may be replaced by the adjective derived therefrom (1060) or the preposition *ἀπὸ* or *ἐκ* (1245). The latter (prepositional) alternative met with popular favour in *P*, and *N* accordingly expresses the genitive in question by *ἀπὸ* with the accusative.

**1332. C. The genitive of cause accompanies verbs and adjectives of *emotion* :**

ἀγαμῖ τινά τινος 'admire'  
θαυμάζω τινά τινός 'wonder'  
εὐδαιμονίζω, μακαρίζω τινά τινος  
'deem happy'

οἰκτίρω τινά τινος 'pity'  
ζηλώ, φθονέω τινά τινος 'envy'  
ὀργίζομαι τινί τινος 'am angry'  
μέμφομαι τινί τινος 'blame'.

Soph. El. 1027 ζηλώ σε τοῦ νοῦ, τῆς δὲ δειλίας στυγῶ. Agathon Frg. 25 σοφίας φθονήσαι μάλλον ἢ πλοῦτος καλόν.—θαυμάσιος τοῦ κάλλους, εὐδαιμών τοῦ τρόπου καὶ τῶν λόγων.

**1333.** For this genitive of cause (1332), *ἐνί* with dative, *διὰ* with accusative, and other prepositional constructions are also current in *A* (1389), and these alternatives have gradually led to the exclusive practice in *N* of expressing the above relation by *διὰ* (now γὰρ 155, α) with the accusative (1336).

**1334.** The genitive of cause stands also in exclamations to denote the cause of the feeling: οἶμοι κακῶν, οἶμοι ταλαίνης, φεῦ τοῦ ἀνδρός, ᾧ τοῦ θαύματος.

**1334<sup>b</sup>.** In *G-B* compositions, interjections are often constructed with the dative or accusative, as: Sept. Eccl. 4, 10 οὐαὶ αὐτῷ. Esai. 1, 4 οὐαὶ ἔθνος ἁμαρτωλόν. Jer. 6, 4 οὐαὶ ἡμῖν. Epict. 3, 19, 1 οὐαὶ μοι. Basil. iii. 645 Α οἶμοι τὴν κεφαλὴν. Acta Xanth. 59, 24 & 64, 27 οἶμοι τῇ ἀθλίᾳ. Apoc. Mar. 122, 14 & 123, 27 οὐαὶ τοὺς ἁμαρτωλοὺς.

**1335.** Should the *person* towards or against whom the emotion is felt be expressed, it usually stands in the dative (1355): θυμοῦσθαι, ὀργίζεσθαι, χαλεπαίνειν, μνησικακεῖν τινί τινος.

**1336.** As expected, this dative is expressed in *N* by the (datival) genitive (1247, 1356, 1583, 4):

θυμῶναι, μαρίζω, χολιάζω, παραπονέομαι, ὀργίζομαι τοῦ δέινα γιὰ τοῦτο.

**1337.** The *genitive of design* is proper to the articular infinitive, for which see 2077 & App. vi. 23 f.



**1338.** The genitive of price accompanies verbs and adjectives denoting *buying, selling, valuing, renting* :

ἀγοράζω	{	τί ΤΙΝΟΣ 'buy'	πωλέω, πιπράσκω	τί ΤΙΝΟΣ 'sell'
ᾠνέμαι		ἀποδίδομαι	τι ΤΙΝΟΣ 'sell'	
μισθόω	τινά ΤΙΝΟΣ 'rent'	ἀξιώω	'deem worthy.'	

Xen. Mem. 2, 1, 20 τῶν πόνων πωλοῦσιν ἡμῖν πάντα τὰ γὰρ οἱ θεοί. Pl. Phaed. 98 B οὐκ ἂν ἀπεδέμην πολλοῦ τὰς ἐλπίδας. Apol. 20 B πόσον διδίσκει; — πέντε μνῶν.

So further: πολλοῦ 'dear,' ὀλίγου 'cheap.' τιμῶ τι πολλοῦ (ὀλίγου) 'I value a thing much (little).'

**1339.** Beside πολλοῦ, *A* commonly uses περὶ πολλοῦ (περὶ πλείστου), περὶ παντός, in the case of ποιέσθαι 'value' (1642).

Pl. Crit. 48 B οὐ τὸ ζῆν περὶ πλείστον ποιητέον ἀλλὰ τὸ εὖ ζῆν.

**1340.** For the genitive of price, ἀντὶ is also admissible (1501; in *G* also ἀπὸ 1511). As to *P-N*, *eis* is not rare in post-Christian compositions (1553), while *N* uses the simple accusative (so even Porph. Adm. 232, 21 ἐκτιμηθὲν καὶ αὐτὸ λίτρας δέκα).

**1341.** The genitive of time stands in a loose connexion answering to the questions either *When?* or *Since when?* In the former case, it refers to a general division of time and has no attribute, in the latter it is accompanied by a specifying attribute :

*a.* νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας 'by night and day,' θέρος 'in summer time,' χειμῶνος 'in winter time,' τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ 'each year,' τοῦ μηνός 'per month.' Aeschin. 3, 24 ποίῳ μηνός καὶ ἐν τίνι ἡμέρᾳ ἐχειροτονήθη Δημοσθένης;

*b.* πολλοῦ (πλείστου) χρόνου 'long since.' πέντε, δέκα ἡμερῶν 'within five, ten days.' ταύτης τῆς νυκτός — τῆς ἡμέρας ὅλης, — τοῦ λοιποῦ (sc. χρόνου) 'in future.'

**1342.** The above relation of time may also be expressed by the accusative, as : CIA ii. 1055 (345 B.C.) πεντήκοντα δυοῖν δραχμῶν τὸν ἐνιαυτόν. So too Ἐφην. ἀρχ. 1883, p. 123-4 (329 B.C.), 70. This expedient is exclusively resorted to in *N* speech (1242. 1274 f.; cp. Apophth. 380 A δις τὸν μῆνα, 1314), the genitive being still used only in some isolated adverbial expressions, as : τοῦ λοιποῦ, — τοῦ χρόνου, τοῦ καιροῦ, 'next year.'

**1343.** On the other hand, *N* sometimes expresses the *manner* by a loose genitive, as : στερεᾶς καὶ τοῦ πελάγου = κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν, τοῦ μακροῦ 'lengthwise,' τοῦ πλάτους 'breadthwise,' τοῦ ψήλου, (τοῦ) τοίχου 'along the wall,' τοῦ κάκου 'in vain.'

**1344.** Peculiar to *P-B* Greek, especially since *G* times, is the extension of the above temporal genitive to cases where the accusative with or without ἐπὶ or διὰ + genitive would be more appropriate, that is in the sense of *during* (1527. 1574).

Luc. ii. 571 εἵκοι δὲ ἐνταῦθα διατρίβειν τριῶν ἢ πέντε ἡμερῶν. Phil. 362 ἡμερῶν δὲ τετταράκοντα θαλεχθεὶς ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ. 365 δυοῖν ἐνδιατρίβας ἔτοιμ. Clement. 1, 15 ἡμερῶν δὲ διατρίψας. 358 ἢ ζήτησις τριῶν ἐπεκράτησεν ἡμερῶν. 12, 1 μίας ἡμέρας ἐκεῖ μέιναντες. Callin. 64, 9 μίας τοῦν ἡμέρας ὃ Ἰπάτιος πάνυ πολεμηθεὶς. 67, 19, 2 ἦν γὰρ ἡμερῶν μὴ γενεσάμενος. 123, 1 ἡμερῶν δὲ ὕψοις κόντα τινός οὐ μετέλαβεν τροφῆς. Porphy. Vit. Plot. 52, 12 εἴκοσι καὶ ἐξ ἑτῶν ὅλων ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ διατρίψας.

1345. Elliptical is the use of the genitive in connexion with names of saints, on which see 1276.

1346. The *genitive* often accompanies also verbs *compounded with prepositions*, which prepositions of themselves govern the genitive. Such are in particular—

ἀπό : ἀποτρέπω τινός 'dissuade from'	ἀπογινώσκω τινός 'despair of'
ἀφίστημι τινός 'remove'	ἀφίσταμαι τινός 'desist from'
ἐκ : ἐκβάλλω τινά τινός 'expel'	ἐκπίπτω τινός 'am driven out'
ἐξίστημι τινά τινός 'remove'	ἐξίσταμαι τινός 'am turned out'
κατά : καταγελάω τινός 'deride'	
κατεπειν, κατηγορεῖν τινός 'accuse'	καταφρονέω τινός 'despise'
κατακρίνω τινός 'condemn'	καταγιγνώσκω τινός 'condemn'
καταδικάζω τινός 'sentence'	καταψηφίζομαι τινός 'vote against'
πρό : προεστάναι τινός 'preside over'	προαιρέομαι τινός 'prefer'
προστατεύω τινός 'protect'	προτίθημι τινός 'put before'
προέχω τινός 'excel'	προκινδυνεύω τινός 'run danger for'
προκρίνω, προτιμάω τινά τινός 'prefer.'	προτρέχω τινός 'run before.'

1347. As expected, this construction is almost unknown to *N*, since the force of the preposition has long faded away. For καταρούμαι σου and the like, if any, are felt as simple (cp. 1336).

## THE DATIVE.

1348. Generally speaking, the *personal* dative, that is the dative which indicates a person (or a thing conceived as a person), may be replaced by the preposition *πρός* or *εἰς*, sometimes also *μετά* (RKühner ii<sup>2</sup>. 423 A. 2, 3, 6, 7, 9, 12). This prepositional alternative, though not extensively used in *A*, gains popularity in the course of *P* and particularly *G* times, notably in connexion with *εἰς* (ΔΜαυροφρύδης 511-521; GBWiner 266. 268; AButtmann 172. 188; cp. GHatzidakis 225 f.). With the opening of *T*, the preposition *εἰς* (or rather 's, 1554) begins to be dropped, and the *simple accusative* appears henceforward as a frequent substitute for the former personal dative.

(Sept. Ex. 31, 6 ἔδωκα αὐτόν καὶ τὸν Ἑλῖαβ τὸν τοῦ Ἀχισαμάχ καὶ παντὶ συνετῷ καρδίᾳ . . . δέδωκα συνέσειν.) Acta Petri et Pauli 43 κἀν δοκεῖ αὐτόν τοῦτο εἶναι. Acta Tho. 28, 35 (S) εἶπεν αὐτοῖς ὁ ἀπόστολος. 42, 19 καὶ πᾶσας αἰτάς διὰ τῶν ἰδίων διακόνων ἀπέστειλε τὰ ἐπιτήδεα. 83, 26 (S) ἔδωκεν γὰρ αὐτάς ὁ ἀπόστολος τὸ λουτρόν καὶ τὴν ἐν Χριστῷ σφραγίδα. So 87, 5. 89, 5 σὺ ὁ μὴνύσας με τὸ σὸν ὄνομα. 93, 31 (R); 95, 5. Acta Xanth. 85, 13 δρᾶμάν τις ἀπήγγειλε τὴν Ξανθίππην τὴν παρουσίαν τῆς Πολυζίνης. 59, 33 ὁ κάμει τὴν ἀναξίαν δείξας τὸν σφόδρον τὸν ἀεὶ ζῶντα. Alchem. 305, 12 ἀπιστοῦντες τὴν ἐκ τῶν ὑγρῶν ὠφέλειαν. Apophth. 296 B εἰπὲ τὸν γίον μου ἐξελεθῆν. JMoschos 2876 B δηλοῖ αὐτόν ὁ γέρον· Δεῦρο ἔως ὧδε. 2877 A ἐδήλωσεν αὐτόν μερίδα πέμψαι τῆς αὐτοῦ κοινωνίας. 3068 B δηλοῖ αὐτόν διὰ φυλακίτου. Mal. 273, 6 βουλευόμενον τὰ περὶ τοῦ πολέμου ἐμήνυσεν αὐτόν Τιβεριανὸς ταῦτα. Theoph. 321, 2 ἐδήλωσε τὸν στρατὸν ἐκεῖ σωρευθῆναι ἵνα πολεμήσωσί σε. Porph. Adm. 74, 5 ὁ βασιλεὺς δημοποιεῖ ἡμᾶς ἀπελθεῖν. 153, 5 ἔδοξε τοῖς αὐτοῖς Σέρβλοισ ἐἶς τὰ ἴδια ἀπελθεῖν. 208, 20 ἵνα ἀπέλθης ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ εἴπῃς τὸν βασιλέα ἵνα ἀποστείλῃ καὶ παραλάβῃ τὸ κάστρον μου. 209, 9 ἐδηλοποίησε τὸν βασιλέα ἡμῶν τὸν ἅγιον τοῦ ἀποστεῖλαι πιστὸν ἄνθρωπον. 211, 1 προεθυμῆθη δοῦναι τὸ κάστρον αὐτοῦ μᾶλλον τὸν βασιλέα. ὁ οὖν Δαβὶδ τὴν αὐτοῦ χώραν οὐκ ἐδίδου τὸν βασιλέα. 212, 15 οὐκ ἔγραφε τὸν πρωτοσπα-

θάριον . . . περὶ τοῦ τοιούτου κάστρου. Cer. 12, 12 ἐπιδίδωσιν δὲ δημο-  
κρατης, ἤγουν ὁ δομέστικος, τὸ λιβελλομαχόν τὸν δεσπότην. 398 διδωσιν ἕκαστον  
τὴν ῥύγαν ὁ βασιλεὺς. 520, 5 λέγει τὸν ἀδμινιστοῦ ἀπελθόντα εἰσάγει τὴν  
λογοθέτην. Leo Gram. 352, 11 δηλοῖ τὸν πατριάρχην ὁ Λέων ὅτι ὁ λαὸς  
σκανδαλίζεται διὰ τὰς εἰκόνας. Cp. 1373<sup>b</sup>.

1349. This dative accusative is very common in Spaneas, Prodomos, and all  
other *M-N* popular compositions (1247. cp. GHatzidakis 222 f.).

1350. During *B*, however, a third substitute for the *A* dative made  
its appearance in the simple genitive, as :

Porph. Cer. 376, 3 καλὴ σοὶ ἡμέρα (beside 599, 10 καλὴ ἡμέρα ὑμῖν, ἀρχοντες)  
Theoph. 211, 18 ὑπαντήσαντες τοῦ 'Ρωμαίων στρατεύματος; so ὁμοίως τινος  
as Acta Xanth. 63, 10, Apoc. Mar. 120, 20 ὁ δουλεύων τοῦ μαοῦ. CIG  
9121, 5 ζῶν τοῦ κόσμου χαρισάμενος (2111 and [1]).

1350<sup>b</sup>. This novelty seems to have appealed particularly to popular  
taste, since we see it rapidly spreading during the succeeding *M* ages,  
while the accusative with or without εἰς (1348, though still popular, is  
receding in proportion.

FTrench. 65 (A.D. 1010) ἀφίερσεν αἰτίων τῶν καλοτήρων. 111 (A.D. 1034)  
πουλῶ τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου. 189 (A.D. 1146) ἵνα μὴ ἐπιδώσω αὐτοῦ τίποτε. SCusa  
306 εἶπεν τοῦ ἐπισκόπου. 417 ἔδωκεν ὁ ἡγούμενος ἡμῖν, τινός βοΐδιον, τινός  
ἀλογον. 444 τῆς ἡμετέρας ἀπαρέσκει μεγαλειότητος. Prodr. 1, 35 εἰ δὲ δῶξει  
(read δέξῃ) των. (Cp. GHatzidakis 223.)

1350<sup>b</sup>. In point of fact, with the latter part of *M*, this genitival repre-  
sentative of the ancient personal dative may be considered to have  
attained an indisputable ascendancy in the popular speech, and  
become the rule, such as it is now witnessed in *N*. (1242-7.)

1351. As to the dative denoting a *thing* (instrument, association,  
cause, manner, measure, time, relation, &c.), the tendency has been,  
ever since *A*, to replace it by a preposition appropriate to the sense  
of the case, such as διὰ, ἐν, σύν, ἐπὶ, ἐξ, ἀπό (RKühner ii<sup>2</sup>. 425 A. 2, 3,  
5, 6, 8; ib. 416 A. 2, 4), and above all μετά (1606 ff.). The special cases  
of this phenomenon are treated in the sections of the respective  
prepositions.

1352. The Greek dative performs four fundamental functions  
in that it denotes—

- a. the indirect or remoter object : *dative proper* (English *to*);
- b. an associative relation *dative of association* (English *with, for*);
- c. the instrument or manner : *instrumental dative* (English *with*);
- d. a local relation answering to the question *where*? *locative dative*.

1352<sup>b</sup>. In its last three functions (*b-d*), the dative corresponds  
to the Latin *ablative*, and thus may be termed the *ablatival*  
*dative*.

## I. DATIVE PROPER.

1353. The DATIVE PROPER indicates the indirect or remoter  
object (*to, towards*) and accompanies—

A. 1. *Transitive verbs denoting to give, send, say, promise, advise, entrust, order*—and their verbal substantives.

Men. 224 ἡ μωρία δίδωσιν ἀνθρώποις κακά. Aesch. Prom. 612 πῦρος  
βροτοῖς δοτὴρ' ὄρας Προμηθεά.

So δωρέομαι, παρέχω, λέγω, ὑπισχνέομαι, ὀφείλω, etc. τινὶ τι.

1354. In *N* this class of verbs governs either the accusative or the dative genitive (1247. 1348-50<sup>b</sup>).

1355. 2. Verbs (usually intransitive) denoting :

*to seem, belong, profit, help, serve ;  
follow, obey, yield, vow, trust ;  
threaten, be angry, pardon, suffice ;  
and their verbal substantives.*

Men. 391 ξένοις ἐπαρκῶν τῶν ἴσων τεύξῃ ποτέ. 372 νόμοις ἐπεσθαι τοῖς ἐπιχωρίοις καλόν. 335 μὴ πάντα πειρῶ πᾶσι πιστεύειν αἰέ. Th. 1, 84 ἡμιφοραῖς ἦσσαν ἐτέρων εἰκομεν. Xen. An. 7, 3, 39 τῷ νόμῳ τῷ ὑμετέρῳ πείσομαι. 1, 4, 12 οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται ἐχθαλεῖσιν τοῖς στρατηγοῖς. Pl. Alcib. 116 Δ τὴν τοῖς φίλοις βοήθειαν λέγεις καλὴν εἶναι. (Cr. 1335.)

1356. Also this dative is rendered in *N* either by the accusative (Callin. 133, 12 ὑπήκουον ἀγτόν) or the genitive (1247) : Callin. 94, 19 τὸ πείσθηναι ἀγτοῦ. But for verbs denoting 'to be angry' and the like see 1335 f.

1357. 3. Verbs, adjectives, and other expressions denoting :

*useful, fitting, convenient, agreeable,  
similar, near, easy, favourable, etc.  
as well as their opposites.*

Men. 407 οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδεὶς ὅστις οὐχ ἀγτῷ φίλος. [Isocr.] 1, 29 τοὺς κακοὺς εὖ ποῶν ὁμοία πείσει τοῖς τὸς ἀλλοτρίας κύνας κυτίζουσιν. Pl. Theaet. 151 C οὐδεὶς θεὸς δύνουσι ἀνθρώποις. Th. 3, 42 τάχος καὶ ὀργὴ ἐγβογλία ἐναντία.

G-B : Apophth. 360 D τὸ διδάξαι ὁμοίων ἔστι τοῦ ἐλέγχειν. Macar. 525 B ἡ πικρία ἔστιν ὁμοία τῆς θρίδακος . . . καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ δὲ τῇ χάριτι ὁμοία ἔστιν ἀληθείας. Callin. 133, 5 ἴσον ἐαγτοῦ.

1358. In *N* this dative has been replaced, when depending on verbs, by the accusative or dative genitive (1247), whereas, when it depends on adjectives and other kindred expressions, it is generally replaced by a preposition (ἐς, διὰ [γιά], μέ, 1351).

1359. Adjectives and adverbs denoting an *equality* or *similarity* often take a co-ordinate construction instead of the dative :

Pl. Ion 531 D οἱ ἄλλοι ποιηταὶ οὐχ ὁμοίως πεποιήκασιν καὶ Ὁμηρος.

1360. This construction is foreign to *P-N* discourse, for the only instance in the NT writings Eph. 4, 10 ὁ καταβάς αὐτός ἔστιν καὶ ὁ ἀναβάς is irrelevant : ὁ καταβάς καὶ ὁ ἀναβάς αὐτός ἔστιν.

1361. B. Under the dative proper further fall—

1. The dative of interest denoting the person or thing for whose advantage or disadvantage something is or takes place :

Men 352 μωῶ σοφιστὴν ὅστις οὐχ ἀγτῷ σοφός. Soph. Ai. 1366 πᾶς ἀνὴρ ἀγτῷ πονεῖ. Dem. 18, 205 οὐ τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῇ μητρὶ μόνον γεγενήμεθα, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ πατρίδι. Th. 4, 6 ἐσπᾶνίζον τροφῆς τοῖς πολλοῖς.

1362. This dative is rendered in *N* by a preposition : διὰ (γιά), ἐς (1351).

1363. 2. The ethical dative, mostly a personal pronoun, implying a remote interest :

Μὴ μοι δορυβήσῃτε - οὕτως ἔχει σοὶ ταῦτα. τί σοὶ μαθήσομαι ;

1364. In *N* this dative, which is very common, is naturally expressed by the datival genitive (1247): τί μοι τον κυττάεις; κοῦ τον (ἐ)τίναξαν ἕνα καλὸ βαβδί.

1365. 3. The dative of the agent (for ὑπό + gen. 1695) accompanying verbal adjectives in -τέος, frequently also passive verbs (1464), especially in the perfect and pluperfect. In *G-B* this dative may stand with any tense indiscriminately:

ἀσκητέα πᾶσιν ἀρετή. τί μοι τὸ πρακτέον; 'what am I to do?' τὰ ἡμῖν πεπραγμένα, 'your deeds.' Men. 511 τῶληθές ἀνθρώποισιν οὐχ εὑρίσκεται.

1366. Both verbal adjectives in -τέος and the perfect being extinct in *N* (1051-2. 1875), the above construction is naturally unknown to present speech.

1366<sup>b</sup>. In *G-B* this simple dative of the agent is often preceded by ἐν (1381<sup>b</sup>).

1367. 4. The dative of the possessor accompanying the verbs εἰμί, γίγνομαι, and the like:

Xen. An. 1, 2, 7 ἐνταῦθα Κύρω βασιλεία ἦν καὶ παράδεισος. ἔστι μοι ὄνομα = ὀνομάζομαι. Pl. Prot. 315 Ε ἔδοξα ἀκοῦσαι ὄνομα ἀγῆτω. Ἀγάθωνα.

1368. For the expression ἔστι μοι *N* uses the equivalent ἔχω.

1369. 5. The relative dative, especially with the participle of intransitive verbs, denoting the relation: 'as regards,' 'from the standpoint of.'

Xen. Hell. 2, 1, 27 ἦν ἡμέρα πέμπτη ἐπιπλέουσι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις. Th. 1, 24 Ἐπίδαμνος ἐστὶ πόλις ἐν δεξιᾷ εἰσπλέοντι ἐς τὸν Ἴόνιον κόλπον.

So διαβάanti, προϊούσιν, etc. (ὡς) κυνελόντι εἰπεῖν, 'to put it shortly.' Xen. Hell. 4, 1, 11 ἐπανεῦθωμεν, εἰ σοι ἡδομένῳ ἐστί, 'if it is agreeable to you.'

So too γίγνεται μοι βογλομένῳ, ληθομένῳ, 'to my pleasure, displeasure.'

1370. The above construction is unknown to *N* owing to the absence of the appropriate participle (2170).

## II. DATIVE OF ASSOCIATION.

1371. The DATIVE OF ASSOCIATION denotes a friendly or unfriendly association. It accompanies verbs, adjectives, and adverbs implying the idea of—

*approaching, meeting, accompanying, following; communicating, mixing, reconciling, conversing; being like or unlike, agreeing, warring, quarrelling, and the like:*

Men. 475 σοφοῖς ὁμῶν καὶ τὸς ἐκβίση σοφός. 247 θεῶ μάχεσθαι δεινόν ἐστὶ καὶ τύχη. 798 ὡς ἡδὺ γυνέσει χρηστότης κεκραμυνη. Xen. Mem. 2, 9, 8 οὐκ αἰσχρὸν ἐστὶ τοῖς πονηροῖς διαφέρεσθαι. An. 2, 1, 13 ἀλλὰ φιλοσόφῳ ζοικας, ὦ νεανίσκε.

So too: ἄμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ 'at day-break'; ὁμοῦ, ἐφεξῆς τινι. (Cp. 1357 ff.)

So further: ἴδιος, οἰκείος, κοινός, ἀλλότριός τινι (also τιος 1288), ὁμοῖος τινι. (Cp. 1359.)

1372. On the same principle δ αὐτός τινι 'identical with.' (Cp. 1359 f.)

1373. Observe πολεμῆν or μάχεσθαι τινι 'to fight against';—cὺν τινι or μετὰ τινος 'in alliance with.'

1373<sup>b</sup>. For *P-N* see 1348 and cp. CGL 647, 4 οἰκοδεσπότης προερχόμενος ἀπὸ τῆς φίλῳ αὐτοῦ 'occurret amico suo.'

1374. Bordering on the above dative of association is that denoting a *military body* accompanying some one :

ὀλίγῳ στρατεύματι ἐφέπεσθαι—διςχιλίῳ ὀπλίταις στρατεύειν. Xen. Cyr. 5, 3, 35 ἡμεῖς καὶ ἵπποις τοῖς δαγματοτάτοις καὶ ἀνδράσι πορευόμεθα. Aesch. Pers. 748 πολλὴν κέλευθον ἤνυσεν πολλῷ στρατῷ.

1375. So too αὐτῷ or αὐτοῖς 'together with all,' as : Th. 7, 25, 4 μίαν ναῦν λαμβάνουσιν ἅτοις ἀνδράσιν, 'crew and all.'

1376. The *dative of association*, when used in the sense of 'in company with,' is often preceded by the preposition σύν :

Xen. Cyr. 6, 4, 19 cὺν θεοῖς οὐδενὸς ἀπορήσωμεν. Eur. Frg. 238 cὺν γυρίοις τὰ καλὰ γίγνεται πόνοις.

1377. In *N* the relation of association is generally expressed by means of the preposition μέ, the modern representative of μετά (1381).

1378. Many verbs compounded with σύν, ἐν, ἐπί, πρὸς, sometimes also περί, παρά, ὑπό, take a dative on the strength of the sense underlying the preposition.

cύν :	σύνεμι 'am with'	συμμαχέω 'fight in company with'
	συμπονέω 'suffer together'	συμπράττω 'co-operate'
	συμφωνέω 'agree'	συναλλάσσω τινί τινι 'reconcile with'
ἐν :	ἐντυγχάνω 'come across'	ἐμμένω 'persist,' 'abide'
	ἔνειμι 'am inside'	ἐμπίπτω 'fall in'
ἐπί :	ἐπιβουλεύω 'play false'	ἐπιτρέπω 'permit'
	ἐπιτίθεμαι 'attack'	ἐπίκειμαι 'press on'
πρὸς :	προσέρχομαι 'come to'	προσέχω τὸν νοῦν τινι 'pay attention'

### III. INSTRUMENTAL DATIVE.

1379. C. The *INSTRUMENTAL DATIVE* denotes the means or instrument by which something is done :

βάλλειν λίθοις, κτείνειν ξίφει—ἀποθνήσκειν φαρμάκῳ. οὐδεὶς ἔπαινον ἡδοναῖς ἐκτήσατο.

1380. The verb χρᾶσθαι 'use' takes the dative of means : λόγῳ χρώμενος 'by using reason,' 'by means of reason,' as : Aesch. Ag. 953 ἐκὼν γὰρ οὐδεὶς δογλίῳ χρῆται ζυγῷ.—But in *G-B* χρώμαι τινός and τῇ, as : Callin. 80, 13 χρώμενος μηδενός ἱατροῦ. Alchem. 309, 17 ἢν χρώνται οἱ χρυσοχόοι.

1381. The instrumental dative is sometimes replaced, notably in *P* Greek, by the prepositions διὰ, ἐν, σύν, and μετά. In progress of time μετὰ prevailed over the rest and ultimately established itself in *N* as the only representative, mostly in the mutilated form μέ (1608). For examples see the respective prepositions (1531. 1559-62. 1669 ff. 1605, b. 1607 ff.).

1381<sup>b</sup>. In *G-B* unscholarly and particularly Christian compositions, the dative of instrument, means, manner, etc., is very often preceded by the preposition *ἐν*. This practice, under Hebrew influence, gained great popularity among post-Christian writers, undoubtedly because the simple instrumental dative had lost touch with the living language, and so the scribes of the time sought to bring it into closer connexion with the rest of the sentence by means of *ἐν*, the most familiar companion of the dative (1562. 1366<sup>b</sup>). Examples in 1562.

1382. The dative of manner denotes the mode or circumstances in which something takes place. It is usually accompanied by some attribute.

τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ 'in this way'; οὐδενὶ τρόπῳ 'in no way'; παντὶ τρόπῳ 'in every way'; πολλῷ θορύβῳ 'with a great noise'; μεγάλη σπουδῇ 'in great haste'; οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ 'without any order'; τῷ ἔργῳ, τῷ ὄντι, 'in effect,' 'in reality'; τῷ λόγῳ, προφάσει, 'ostensibly'; δρόμῳ 'running'; σιγῇ 'silently'; σπουδῇ 'hastily'; βίᾳ 'by force'; κοινῇ 'in common'; δημοσίᾳ 'publicly.'

1383. This dative, which occurs also in *P-B* Greek (as: Callin. 63, 5 ταῦτα ἔλεγεν πιστεῖ. 64, 19. 97, 6 καθεζόμενον σχήματι βασιλικῷ. 98, 10), is rendered in *N* by means of adverbs, and adverbial expressions formed chiefly with μέ (i.e. μετά 1381), as: μετὰ τὸ παράπον, μετὰ κἀνένα τρόπον, μετὰ μεγάλη βιάση.

1384. The dative of comparison denotes the *degree* of difference between two items compared (*by so much, by far, etc.*).

πολλῷ (μακρῷ) κρείττον, ὀλίγῳ ἐλάττους τριακοσίων, πολλοῖς ἔτεσιν ὕστερον. ὅσῳ . . . τοσούτῳ 'the more . . . the more.' Aesch. Prom. 514 τέχνη δ' ἀνάγκης ἀσθενεστέρα μακρῷ.

1385. Instead of the dative (Hdt., Th., Dem.), the accusative is equally common (Homer, Xen., Pl.): πολὺ χεῖρον, ὀλίγον πρότερον. So always τι 'a little,' οὐδέν 'not at all'; οὐδέν ἥσσον 'nevertheless.' (Cp. 1278.)

1386. So always in *N*, the dative having become extinct (232. 1242-7): πολὺ (πολλά) μεγαλύτερος, ὀλίγο χαμηλότερος.

1387. The dative of cause denotes the motive of some action and particularly *emotion* (1388. 1582, d. 2128):

Μεν. 15 ἀβοηλία τὰ πολλὰ βλάπτονται βροτοί. Eur. Frg. 564 ἄλλ' ἄλλος ἄλλοις μᾶλλον ἡδεται τρόποις.

So ποιεῖν τι εἰνoία, ἀγνοία, φθόνη, φόβῳ, 'to do something out of favour, ignorance, envy, fear.'

1388. This construction is common notably with verbs of *emotion* (1387), such as—

χαίρω, ἡδομαι τινι, 'rejoice at'  
ἀλγέω 'feel pain at'  
ἀθυμέω 'am depressed at'  
αἰσχύνομαι 'am ashamed of'

ἀναγκτέω τινι 'am indignant at'  
χαλεπῶς φέρω τινι 'worry at'  
ἀγαπάω τινι 'am content with something'  
(also ἀγαπάω τι and always τινά).

1389. The dative after verbs of emotion can be expressed also by means of appropriate prepositions, such as ἐπὶ with dative (1582, d), and διὰ with accusative (1333. 1520, 2. cp. 1334 f.). In *N* it is regularly rendered by διὰ (γὰρ). 1336.

#### IV. LOCATIVE DATIVE.

1390. D. The LOCATIVE DATIVE stands as—

1. *Dative of place* answering to the question *where?* It is peculiar to poetry, whereas prose writers use some preposition (like *ἐν*, *παρά*, *ὑπό*, etc.), save in a few adverbial expressions, as : *τῇδε*, *ταύτῃ*, *κύκλῳ*, etc.

1390<sup>b</sup>. For a dative of *specification* see 1271.

1391. 2. *Dative of time* answering to the question *when?* It is used chiefly in statements of a definite or exact *date* (day, night, month, year, etc.), as :—(1275)

<i>ταύτῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ</i> 'on this day'	<i>τετάρτῳ ἔτει</i> 'in the fourth year'
<i>τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ</i> 'the same day'	<i>τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ</i> 'the day after'
<i>τῇ προτεραίᾳ</i> 'the day before'	<i>τῇ τετάρτῃ Ὀλυμπιάδι</i> 'in the fourth Olympiad'
<i>τῷ ἐπὶόντι μηνί</i> 'in the following month'	<i>Παναθηναίοις</i> 'at the Panathenaea'
	<i>τῇδε τῇ νυκτί</i> 'to-night'

1392. Otherwise, for the time during which something takes place, *ἐν* is used, as :

Pl. Crit. 52 Ε ἐν ἔτεσιν ἰβδομήκοντα ἐν οἷς ἐξῆν σοι ἀπίνειναι. Men. 150 ἐν νυκτί βουλή τοῖς σοφοῖσι γίγνεται.

So ἐν *θέρει*, ἐν *χειμῶνι* 'during the summer, winter'; ἐν *τῷ παρόντι* 'at the present time'; ἐν *τούτῳ* 'meanwhile'; ἐν *ᾧ* 'during,' 'while'; ἐν *πολέμῳ* 'in time of war'; ἐν *εἰρήνῃ* 'in time of peace.'

1393. In *N* the dative of time has been replaced by the accusative (1275), sometimes (notably in dates) by *ἐς*, the successor of *ἐν* (1547. 1550).

1394. In *P* and more particularly *G* compositions, the extent of distance and time is also often expressed by the simple dative (apparently suggested by the Latin ablative 2144<sup>b</sup>), instead of the accusative (1274).

Dion. H. i. 38, 35 Μηθύλα δὲ ὡς τριάκοντα σταδίοις ἀπὸθεν Σούνῃς. Strab. 17, 1, 2 ὑπὲρ δὲ τὰς συμβολὰς τοῦ Ἀσταβύρα καὶ τοῦ Νείλου σταδίοις ἑπτακκοίσις Μερὸν εἶναι πόλιν δμάννυμον τῇ νήσῳ. Jos. Ant. 11, 6, 8 τροφῇ καὶ πότῳ καὶ τοῖς ἡδέσιν ἀποταξαμένη τριεὶς ἡμέραις. B. J. Proem. 7 ἔλων κατὰ πρᾶτος Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ κατασχὼν ἔτεσι τριεὶ καὶ μηνὶν ἕξ. Epict. 2, 6, 19 οὐδέποτε οὐδεὶς τύραννος ἕξ μηνὶν τινα ἔσφαξεν. Hrdn. Hist. 3, 15, 7 βασιλεύσας δὲ ὀκτακαίδεκα ἔτεσιν.

1395. In a few isolated cases, the temporal dative, owing to its frequent use in Church, is either preserved as an adverbial expression, as : *τῷ καιρῷ ἱκεῖν* (opening words of the Gospel on every Sunday), or has given birth to an abnormal nominative, as : (*τῷ σαββάτῳ*), *N* τὸ σαββάτο 'Saturday,' (*τῇ τετάρτῃ*), *N* ἡ τετάρτῃ (instead of ἡ τετράδι), 'Wednesday' (340).

#### PRONOUNS.

##### PERSONAL PRONOUNS.

1396. For the ordinary use of the personal pronouns, emphatic and unemphatic, see 528-30.

1397. For the emphatic nominative of the third person



αὐτός, the forms ὁ δέ, ὅδε, οὗτος, also ἐκεῖνος, may be substituted according to the nature of the case and in conformity with the individual force of each of these pronouns.

For ὁ δέ see 1197, b; for ὅδε 1425; for οὗτος 1428; for ἐκεῖνος 1430.

Th. 8, 76, 6 ἔφασαν τοὺς μὲν ἡμαρτηκέναι, ἀγτοὶ δὲ σφῶζειν τοὺς νόμους. 4, 28, 2 (Κλέων) οὐκ ἔφη ἀγτός ἀλλ' ἐκείνον στρατηγεῖν.

1398. So too in *N* as far as regards τοῦτος and ἐκεῖνος (1430). For ὁ δέ and ὅδε see 1197, b. & 1425.

1399. Along with its other features of circumstantiality, due mainly to the need of perspicuity, *P* Greek exhibits a fondness for a frequent use of personal and possessive pronouns (cp. GBWiner 176. 178), while *A* dispensed with them whenever they were readily inferred from the context (1203). This *P* feature is the more noteworthy as it soon led to an accumulation of unemphatic personal pronouns, in particular of the oblique cases of the 3rd person, and above all of the genitive which acted also as an emphatic possessive pronoun (551):

Luke 10, 35 ἐγὼ ἐν τῷ ἐπ' ἀνέρχεσθαι με ἀποδώσω. Col. 2, 13 ὧμας νεκροὺς ὄντας . . . συνεζωοποίησεν ὧμας. Luke 16, 2 φανήσας ἀγτόν εἶπεν ἀγτῷ. Mark 10, 16 ἐναγκαλισάμενος αὐτά, τιθεὶς τὰς χεῖρας ἐπ' αὐτὰ κατευλόγει αὐτά. 7, 25 γυνὴ ἥς εἶχε το θυγάτριον αὐτῆς πνεῦμα ἀκάθαρτον. John 2, 11 ἐφανέρωσε τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπίστευσαν εἰς αὐτόν οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ. μετὰ τοῦτο κατέβη εἰς Καφαρναούμ αὐτός καὶ ἡ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ. Luke 6, 20 καὶ αὐτός ἐπάρας τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτοῦ εἰς τοὺς μαθητὰς αὐτοῦ ἔλεγε. Mark 3, 31 καὶ ἔρχεται ἡ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἔξω στήκοντες ἀπέστειλαν πρὸς αὐτόν καλοῦντες αὐτόν. καὶ ἐκάθητο περὶ αὐτόν ὄχλος καὶ λέγουσιν αὐτῷ. Herimas Mand. 11, 2 f. οὗτοι οὖν οἱ διψυχοὶ ὡς ἐπὶ μάγον ἔρχονται καὶ ἐπερωτῶσιν αὐτόν τί ἄρα ἔσται αὐτοῖς. κάκεινος δ' ψευδοπροφήτης . . . λαλεῖ μετ' αὐτῶν κατὰ τὰ ἐπερωτήματα αὐτῶν καὶ κατὰ τὰς ἐπιθυμίας τῆς πονηρίας αὐτῶν καὶ πληροῖ τὰς ψυχὰς αὐτῶν, καθὼς αὐτοὶ βούλονται. αὐτός γὰρ κτλ.

1400. This frequency, which in the case of the 3rd person (αὐτόν) bordered on excess, soon led to a weakening, that is to tonoclis, then to reduction in the sense explained in 530-4.

1401. Consequent on this weakening of the personal pronouns is the rather frequent practice in *T-N* speech of placing before or after them the object of the verb (by way of apposition) for the sake of greater perspicuity (cp. 1439; for *A* see RKühner<sup>2</sup> 937 f.):

NT. Matt. 4, 16 τοῖς καθήμενοις ἐν χώρᾳ καὶ σκιᾷ θανάτου ὥς ἀνέτειλεν αὐτοῖς. Protev. Jao. 15, 2 τὴν παρθένον ἣν παρέλαβεν ἐκ ναοῦ κυρίου ἐμάνην αὐτήν. Vita Epiph. 69 C ῥ' νομίσματα ἃ κεχρώστηκέν μοι ὁ σὸς ἐταῖρος, δός μοι αὐτά.—*N* τί θά το κάμης αὐτό; 'what will you do with it?' τί με μέλει 'μένα; 'what do I care?' (cp. Ital. cosa m' importa a me?). ἐκείνο δὲ θά τον πειράζουν, 'him—they will not touch him'; δέν το εἶδα τὸ καλό του 'I have had no benefit from him.' μέ βλέπεις, ἐμένα; 'do you see me?' τὴν εἶδες τὴ ξανθοῦλα; 'well, have ye seen the fair maid?' τόν ἀδερφό σου ποῦ τογ πίστευα 'your brother in whom I had trusted.' τὸ θέλεις αὐτό; 'do you want this?' (Cp. Alchem 348, 16 τὸ δὲ λευκὸν τοῦ ποῦ καὶ αὐτὸ ἀνάσπασον.)

## REFLEXIVE PRONOUNS.

1402. The *reflexive pronouns* are used—

a. Either as *direct reflexives*, when they refer to the subject of their own clause :

σύνοιδα ἐμαυτῷ—γνώθι σαυτόν—ὁ σοφὸς ἐν αὐτῷ περιφέρει τὴν οὐσίαν.  
So too in *N*, as : καθ' ἑνας κατὰζει τὸν ἀπατόν τοῦ (546-8).

1403. For δοκῶ ἐμαυτῷ the construction δοκῶ μοι is more common.

1404. b. Or as *indirect reflexives*, when they occur in a dependent clause, but refer to the subject of the principal sentence :

Th. 1, 111, 1 Ὀρέστης φεύγων ἐπεισεν Ἀθηναίους ἐαυτὸν κατάγειν.  
For *N* see 1405.

1405. For the *indirect reflexive* of the third person, ἐαυτόν, we very often meet—

a. With the oblique cases of αὐτός, when the case is viewed from the narrator's point of view, as :

Xen. An. 5, 6, 36 ἔρχονται πρὸς Ξενοφῶντα καὶ λέγουσιν ὅτι μεταμέλῃσι αὐτοῖς. 3, 1, 7 Ξενοφῶν οὐ τοῦτο ἡρώτα, πότερον λῶν εἴη αὐτῷ (sibi) πορεύεσθαι ἢ μένειν.

So too in *N*, as : μᾶς ἐρώτησε τί τότε θέλομεν.

1406. The reflexive of the 3rd person may refer also to the 1st or 2nd person (cp. ADyoff, 184 ff.) :

Lys. 12, 33 ἡμῖν οὐκ ἐξήν παρ' αὐτοῖς εἶναι. Xen. Hell. 4, 1, 35 ἐξεστὶ σοι μεθ' ἡμῶν γενομένην ζῆν καρπούμενον τὰ ἐαυτοῦ.

1407. This is by far commoner in *P-B*, as : Mart. Petri 82, 16 ἐγὼ γὰρ ἀνελθὼν ἐαυτὸν ἐπιδείξω τῷ ὄχλῳ. 82, 11 χωρίσατε τὰς ἐαυτῶν ψυχάς.

1407<sup>b</sup>. The great frequency of ἐαυτόν then and its consequent weakening has led to the *N* practice of appending to it all three persons of the personal pronoun : τὸν ἐαυτόν μου, τοὺς ἐαυτοὺς σας (546).

1408. b. With the dative forms οἱ or οἱ and σφίσι, more rarely the genitive σφῶν and accusative σφῶς (526) :

Xen. An. 1, 1, 8 Κῦρος ἡξίου ἀδελφὸς ὢν βασιλείᾳ δοθῆναι οἱ (sibi) ταύτας τὰς πόλεις. 1, 8, 2 ἐδόκουν οἱ Ἕλληνες ἀτάκτοις ἐφίειν ἐπιπείσεσθαι βασιλείᾳ.

1409. These forms became extinct as early as *A* times (526).

1410. The plural of the reflexive pronouns is also very frequently used instead of the reciprocal pronouns :

Dem. 4, 10 βούλεισθε περιμόντες αὐτῶν πυνθάνεσθαι ; Pl. Rep. 621 c δικαιοσύνην ἐπιτηδεύσομεν ἵνα καὶ ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς φίλοι ᾖμεν καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς. Lys. 8, 19 πρὸς ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς τρέψεσθε κάπειτα καθ' ἕνα ἕκαστον ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς ἀπεχθίσεσθαι. Dem. 48. 6 ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς διαλεξόμεθα.

1411. This alternative met with popular favour in *P* times and so has led to the establishment of the reflexive pronoun, particularly

of the 3rd person *ἐαυτούς*, etc., as the regular reciprocal form, and in *N* by *αὐτούς*, *ἀπατούς*, etc. (546-9), the ancient representative surviving only in the phrase *συναλλήλως μας* (*σας, των*).

1412. In cases of emphasis, however, ancient popular speech resorted also to other analytical substitutes. Thus in *G* we meet with the periphrasis *εἰς τὸν ἕτερον, εἰς τὸν ἕνα* :

NT 1 Th. 5, 11 *οἰκοδομεῖτε εἰς τὸν ἕνα*. [Cyrill. A] x. 1085 *α οὐαὶ τοῖς διαβάλλουσιν εἰς τῷ ἐνί*.

1413. Following this process, *N* now expresses the notion of reciprocity through the form *ὁ ἕνας τὸν ἄλλο*, 'one another,' as do the Romance languages (e. g. Ital. *l'un l'altro*).

## POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS.

1414. For the form, distinction and usage of possessive pronouns see 551-7.

Xen. Cyr. 1, 3, 7 *σοὶ τοῦτο δίδωμι, ὅτι μοι τὴν μητέρα τιμᾷς*. Dem. 40, 8 *καὶ ὑμεῖς ἅπαντες τοὺς ὑμετέροισ παῖδας ἀγαπᾶτε*. Xen. An. 2, 2, 8 *ἀφικνούνται παρὰ Ἀρρίων καὶ τὴν ἐκείνου στρατιάν*. Soph. El. 880 *κατὰ τοῖς σαγῆς κακοῖσι κατὰ τοῖς ἐμοῖς γελᾷς*. Xen. Cyr. 1, 3, 1 *Ἀστυάγης τὴν ἑαυτοῦ θυγατέρα μετεπέμψατο καὶ τὸν παῖδα αὐτῆς*. Lys. 24, 14 *μᾶλλον πιστεύετε τοῖς ὑμετέροισ αὐτῶν ὀφθαλμοῖς ἢ τοῖς τοῦτο λόγους*.

1415. The possessive relation in certain cases is indicated by the mere presence of the article (1203).

1416. For the emphatic and reflexive forms under 553 and 555, the synonymous adjective *ἴδιος* (also *οἰκείος*) 'own' was commonly substituted (556; cp. *ἴδιος* [and *οἰκείος*] in the Lexica; also *ἰδιοπραγεῖν* [*οἰκειπραγεῖν*] etc.). In the course of *P* times *ἴδιος* gained greater popularity and finally prevailed over its associates :

CIA ii. 470, 71. 80 (69 B.C.): *κάλιστον ὑπόδειγμα τῆς ἰδίας φιλαγαθίας τοῖς μεθ' ἐαυτοὺς ἀπολείποντες*. CIA iii. 480 *τὸν ἰδίον σωτήρα*. 486 *τὸν ἰδίον εὐεργέτην*. 1344 *τοῦ ἰδίου συντρόφου*. 3399 *καὶ ἐαυτῷ καὶ τοῖς ἰδίοις*. Polyb. i. 80, 8 *ἐκαστοῦ κατὰ τὴν ἰδίαν διάλεκτον συμβουλευόντος*. Mat. 22, 5 *ἀπῆλθον εἰς τὸν ἰδίον ἀγρόν*. 25, 14 *ἐκάλεσε τοὺς ἰδίους δούλους*. Eph. 5, 22 *αὶ γυναῖκες τοῖς ἰδίοις ἀνδράσιν ὑποτάσσεσθε*.

1417. This is further corroborated by the express testimony of the Atticists (Phryn. 405 *τὰ ἴδια πράττω καὶ τὰ ἴδια πράττεις οἱ πολλοὶ λέγουσιν εἰκῇ, δεόν τὰ ἑμυνοῦ πράττω καὶ τὰ σαυτοῦ πράττεις ὥς οἱ παλαιοί, ἢ τὰ ἴδια ἑμυνοῦ πράττω καὶ τὰ ἴδια σαυτοῦ πράττεις*). With the gradual displacement of the clumsy reflexive forms *ἡμῶν αὐτῶν, ὑμῶν αὐτῶν, ἑμαυτοῦ, σεαυτοῦ*, by the short *ἡμῶν, ὑμῶν, μου, σου, αὐτοῦ* (546), the more convenient combinations *ἴδιος μου, ἴδιός σου, ἴδιος αὐτοῦ* (or *αὐτοῦ*) etc. gained general popularity (as Callin. 117, 31 *κατεδίωκεν αὐτὸν ἴδιος αὐτοῦ ἄνθρωπος*), to the gradual elimination and obliteration of all other synonymous terms. When finally *ἴδιος* degenerated from its ordinary meaning '*own*,' into that of '*same*' (613), the confusion was removed by modifying *ἴδιος* into *ἰδικός*, a form ever since current in popular speech, and since *T*, even in literary compositions, as: Maur 1. 9 *τῶν ἰδικῶν αὐτοῦ ἀνθρώπων*. Leo Tact. 11, 22 *καὶ τινὰς ἰδικοὺς σου ἀνθρώπους*. 14, 93 *διὰ τῶν ἰδικῶν αὐτοῦ ἀνθρώπων*. That this *ἰδικός* has been modified in *N* to *ἐῖδικός* has been explained in 130<sup>b</sup> & 554.

# DETERMINATIVE PRONOUNS.

**1418.** In *A* there is one determinative pronoun αὐτός which means—

*a.* When it is emphatic, *self* (539):

αὐτὸς ὁ βασιλεὺς, 'the king himself.' τρίτος αὐτός ('himself being third'), 'himself with two others.'

**1418<sup>b</sup>.** Since *G* times it appears also as an equivalent to οὗτος 'the said.' For examples see 1399.

**1419. b.** With the article prefixed to it: *the same* (540. 1239, *e*), as: ὁ αὐτὸς ἀνὴρ, 'the same man.'

**1420.** Since *G* times, ὁ αὐτός is used like the Latin *idem*: *the one referred to, the said* (οὗτος) (cp. 1437<sup>b</sup>):

Ael. V.H 7, 3 68, 13. 69, 26. 94, 29. 102, 1 (cp. WSchmid iii. 66). Evagr. 2561 A ὁφείλοντες τὸν αὐτὸν προτρέψασθαι Διόσκορον. 2773 A τὴν αὐτὴν νέαν Λαύραν. Mal. 20, 9 τοῦ αὐτοῦ Πίκου. 24, 2 ὁ αὐτὸς ἥλιος. 26, 5 οἱ αὐτοὶ Σκύθαι, et passim. Chron. 67, 2 ὁ αὐτὸς Κρόνος. 69, 5 ὁ αὐτὸς Πίκος, et passim. Porph. Adm. 153, 5 ἔδοξε τοῦς αὐτοῦς Σέρβλους εἰς τὰ ἴδια ἀπελθεῖν,—et passim.

**1421. c.** In its oblique cases, it serves as a mere personal pronoun 3rd person: αὐτόν 'him,' αὐτῷ 'to him,' etc. See 525.

**1422.** In *P* and particularly *G* times, it becomes enclitic, and later is reduced to *δρον, τον* (530).

**1423.** Of its modified and mainly popular forms εὐτός, δρός, and \*ρός—

*a.* Εὐτός is equivalent to οὗτος, 'this' (542).

*b.* Δρός, simple, lingers merely in its oblique cases, and that chiefly in the Pontic dialect (542), as: εἶδα δρόν, εἶχα δρούς, εἶπεν δρά.

On the reflexive form δρόν see 546.

*c.* \*Τος, used mainly in its oblique cases, is a tonoclitic personal pronoun: *him*, etc. (542 f.)

# DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS.

**1424.** Of the demonstrative pronouns—

1. Ὁ, τό, ἡ, had assumed the office of the article even in pre-classical antiquity (1195).

For its demonstrative use see 1197-8; for its history see 1195-8.

**1425. 2.** Ὅδε, τόδε, ἧδε, 'this (one here),' points to something *near, present*, or immediately following, either in reality or in conception. See 1430<sup>b</sup>.

**1426.** In *N* it has become almost extinct (564), its place having been taken by τοῦτος. See 1429 & 1430<sup>b</sup>.

**1427. 3.** Αὐτός, αὐτό, αὐτή, has been already treated in 1418 ff.

**1428. 4.** Οὗτος, τοῦτο, αὕτη, 'this,' refers to something already spoken of. See 1430<sup>b</sup>.

**1429.** Its *N* representative τοῦτος (566 ff. 1426) corresponds rather to ὅδε (1425); see 1430<sup>b</sup>.

1430. 5. Ἐκεῖνος, ἐκεῖνο, ἐκεῖνη, 'that,' points to something *distant* or *absent*, either in reality or in conception. (Cp. 1425.)

So still in *N* (570).

1430<sup>b</sup>. Od. α 76 ἡμεῖς οἶδε. Th. 2, 12, 3 ἥδε (*N* τοῦτη) ἡ ἡμέρα. Xen. An. 1, 9, 29 τεκμήριον δὲ τοῦτο καὶ τότε (*N* τοῦτο, αὐτό). Xen. An. 2, 1, 20 ταῦτα (*N* τούτα, αὐτά) μὲν δὴ σὺ λέγεις, παρ' ἡμῶν δὲ ἀπάγγελλε τάδε (*N* τούτα). Pl. Men. 90 C δταν τοῦτο (*N* αὐτό) λέγωμεν, τότε (*N* τοῦτο) λέγομεν, *στι* etc. Xen. An. 1, 3, 18 ἐγὼ γε φημί ταῦτα (*N* αὐτά) φλυαρίας εἶναι. Pl. Rep. 327 B ἡρόμην ὅπου αὐτός (so in *N*) εἶη. οὔτος (*N* αὐτός), ἔφη, ὀπισθεν προσέρχεται.

1431. As ὦδε is related to οὔτος, so is τοιόσδε to τοιοῦτος, τοσόςδε to τοσοῦτος, and ὧδε to οὕτως: Xen. An. 2, 5, 15 Κλέαρχος μὲν τοσαῦτα εἶπε, Τισσαφέρνης δὲ ὧδε ἀπημείβετο.

1432. Observe: καὶ οὔτος 'this also,' καὶ ταῦτα 'and that,' τοῦτ' ἐκεῖνο 'this is the very thing,' 'that's it.'

## RELATIVE PRONOUNS.

1433. Of the relative pronouns (and adverbs)—

1. Ὃς, ὅς, οἷος, (also ὡς, οὗ, ὅτε), point to something definite and individual: *who, that*;

2. Ὃστις, ὁπόσος, ὁποῖος, (also ὅπως, ὅπου, ὁπότε), refer to something indefinite and generic: *who(so)ever, whatever*.

Men. 179 ἔστιν δίκης ὀφθαλμῶς ὅς τὰ πᾶνθ' ὄρα. 340 μακάριος ὅστις οὐσίαν καὶ νοῦν ἔχει. Ar. Ach. 442 δεῖ τοὺς θεατὰς μ' εἰδέναι, ὅς εἰμ' ἐγώ. Xen. Cyr. 1, 4, 12 οὐκ οἶδ' ὅστις ἀνθρώπος γεγέννηται.

1434. In *N* ὅπου or ποῦ, ὅσος, ὅ,τι, (ὡς or καθώς, also ὡς καθώς, ὅπου, ὅταν), correspond to class 1, ὅποιος (also ὅπου), ὅσος, ὅ,τι ([ὡς] καθώς, ὅπου, ὅταν or ὅπότε) to class 2.

1435. However, ὅστις stands also for ὅς, especially after a negation expressed or implied, from which it follows that ὅστις had, even in *A*, a wider scope than ὅς. Hence *P* Greek often uses ὅστις indiscriminately for ὅς (cp. RKühner ii<sup>2</sup> 906; FKæller 205 f.).

οὐκ ἔστιν ὅστις—οὐδεὶς ἔστιν ὅστις—τίς ἔστιν ὅστις. οὐδεὶς ὅστις 'none who'—οὐδὲν ὅ,τι. πᾶς ὅστις 'every one that'—Pl. πάντες ὅσοι, 'all who.' (2015).

1436. The phrase εἰσὶν οἱ (or ἔστιν οἱ) 'there are those who' (= *τις*, 'some'), occurs very frequently through all the cases: ἔστιν ὧν, ἔστιν οἷς, ἔστιν οὗς. Note further ἔστιν ὅτε 'sometimes,' ἔστιν οὐ or ὅπου 'somewhere,' ἔστιν ὅπως 'somehow.' (2015.)

Pl. Phaed. 62 A ἔστιν ὅτε καὶ οἱς βέλτιον τεθνάναι ἢ ζῆν.

1437. Ὃς has demonstrative force in the phrase: καὶ ὅς 'and he' (1197, c), ἧ δ' ὅς 'quothe he' (605).

1437<sup>b</sup>. Similarly *ὅς* and *ὅστις* are used, not frequently in *A*, but commonly since *T* (under the influence of Latin *qui*), for *ὁ* δὲ or οὗτος (δέ), as: Th. 2, 44: 3, 39. Soph. O.C. 731. 1354. O.R. 723. [Dem.] 26, 26 (27). Callin. 64, 12 ὅν ἰδόντες οἱ ἀδελφοὶ διεσάφησαν τῷ ἀρχιμανδρίτῃ. 68, 23-

ὅστις ἀπολυθεὶς καὶ εἰδὼς ποῦ εἰσιν οἱ ἄλλοι ἦλθεν. 113, 6 οἷτινες διηγήσαντο ἡμῖν πολλὰ θαυμάσια, et passim. Mal. 37, 15 ὧντινων ἐκάλεσε τὴν χώραν Μήδων. 39, 19 ὅστις βασιλεύει τῶν Βοιωτῶν—so 21, 22, et passim. Cp. RKühner<sup>2</sup> 938 f.

1438. The function of *ὅς* (*ὅστις*) is often performed also by the post-positive article. This usage, which is very common in the Ionic dialect, found its way into Doric and Attic, and through the latter became panhellenic, though only in those forms which begin with τ (606; Kühner-Blass i. 133 A; RKühner ii<sup>2</sup> 906 A. 3; KMeisterhans<sup>2</sup> 123, 12; GBWiner 133). In this usage and form, especially from the time when relatives began to admit of the article before them (1219. cp. 2038), it has been preserved in *N*, chiefly in sententious expressions. Otherwise it is now obsolescent, making room for the usual *ὅπου* (606 ff. 1220).

A 125 ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν πολλὰν ἐξεπράθομεν, τὰ δέδασται. Hdt. i, 1 τὸν χώρον τὸν καὶ νῦν οἰκεῖουσι. 2 τὰλλα τῶν εἵνεκεν ἀπίκατο. Eur. Andr. 810 κτείνουσα τοῦς οὐ χρῆ κτανεῖν. CIA ii. 611, 11 (B.C. 300) ὧν τε αὐτὸς ἐκυρίευσεν καὶ τὰ πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐξελογίσατο. 622, 8 (B.C. 200-150) τὰς λοιπὰς θυσίας τὰς καθῆκεν θύειν. Apophth. 408 c ἐκείνο τὸ ἐφάγομεν τῆς ἀγάπης ἦν. Leont. Neap. V. J. 24, 12 ὅλα τὰ ἐθεάσω τὰ κεράμια. V.S. 1717 A τὰ παῖδια τὰ φιλῶ. [Mal. 95, 8 ἔφυγε διὰ τῶν (ᾧν) εἶχε μεθ' αὐτοῦ πλοῖαν ἐκ τῆς Troias. 102, 3 μετὰ τοῦ (οὔ) ἐφόρει κοσμίον. 4 διὰ τὸν (δν) εἶχε πρὸς αὐτὴν ἔρωτα.] Alchem. 325, 11 ἀπὲ τὸ ἀσῆμιν τὸ ποιεῖς.

So in *M*, as: IStaph. 180 τὰ λεγόμενα γλυκεία τὰ γίνονται εἰς τὴν κεφαλὴν. ii. 168 ἔπαρε νερὸν τὸ οὐ θωρεῖ ὁ ἥλιος. Pul. 19 τὴν μέψιν τὴν με ἔκαμες οὐ μὴ τὴν ἐβαρέθην. 85 καὶ ἀπ' τὴν πικριὰν τὴν εἶχες τὴν καὶ πείναν, ταπεινὴ μου.—So now: τὰ φέρν' ἡ ὥρα, ὁ χρόνος δὲν τα φέρνει, 'what a single hour may bring forth a whole year may not.'

1439. As a distinct departure from *A* usage we may note the peculiarity by which a relative is often conceived as a mere connective and so is followed by a redundant demonstrative placed after one or more intervening words, but always within the relative clause (cp. 1401), as: Mark 7, 25 γυνὴ ἣς εἶχε τὸ θυγάτριον αὐτῆς πνεῦμα ἀκάθαρτον. This is apparently a Hebraism initiated by the Septuagint, imitated by the NT writers, and spread through their subsequent imitators to common speech (1401).

Sept. Ex. 4, 17 (τὴν ῥάβδον ταύτην) ἐν ἣ ποιήσεις ἐν αὐτῇ σημεῖα. Lev. 11, 32 παν σκεῦος ὃ ἂν ποιηθῇ ἔργον ἐν αὐτῷ. 34 εἰς δ' ἂν ἐπέλθῃ ἐπ' αὐτὸ ὕδωρ. 13, 52. Num. 17, 5. Deut. 11, 25. NT Rev. 3, 8 θύραν ἡνεφγμένην ἣν οὐδεὶς δύναται κλείσαι αὐτήν. 7, 2 οἱς ἐδόθη αὐτοῖς ἀδικῆσαι τὴν γῆν. Mark 13, 19 θλίψις οἷα οὐ γέγονε τοιαύτη ἀπ' ἀρχῆς κτίσεως. Rev. 12, 6 εἰς τὴν ἔρημον ὅπου ἔχει ἐκεῖ τόπον ἡτοιμασμένον ἀπὸ θεοῦ. So ib. 14, etc. Acta Tho. 46, 3 ὧν οἱ ὁδόντες αὐτῶν. 59, 16 ὧν αἱ ἐαγτῶν (=αὐτῶν) ψυχαί. Mart. Petri 86, 19 ὧν καὶ αὐτῶν ἀπέστησεν τὰς γυναῖκας. Acta Pil. A 9, 1 εἰς ὃν οὐδεμίαν αἰτίαν εὐρίσκω ἐν αὐτῷ. Alchem. 22, 17 ὃν μετ' ὀλίγας ἡμέρας εὐρήσεις αὐτόν.

Belth. 259 τὸν οὐκ ἐφθάσαν τον (ubi τα) ποτὲ τὰ βέλῃ. Sachl. 2, 248 ὃν καὶ οἱ φίλοι ἀρνοῦνται τον κ' οἱ συγγενεῖς του πλέον. Pul. 19 τὴν μέψιν τὴν με ἔκαμες οὐ μὴ τὴν ἐβαρέθην.—So now: φορέματα πογ ἀκόμη τα χρωστώ. μὰ γυναῖκα πογ τὴν εἶδα κ' ἐπέρνα. See 1401.

1440. For the peculiarity of relatives to act as interrogatives see 2038.

## ASSIMILATION OR ATTRACTION OF THE RELATIVE.

**1441.** A relative pronoun which refers to an antecedent genitive or dative, but owing to the construction of the verb from which it depends, should stand in the accusative, can be drawn to the genitive or dative referred to, especially when it stands in close connexion with it. This construction, called *assimilation* or *attraction* of the relative, is a mode of expression more or less favourite with all writers of *all* periods, from classical antiquity down to *B* times.

Xen. An. 1, 7, 3 ὅπως ἔσεσθε ἄνδρες ἄξιοι τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἥς κέκτησθε (for ἦν κ.). Xen. An. 1, 3, 16 τῷ ἡγεμόνι πιστεύσομεν ᾧ ἂν Κύρος διδῷ (for ᾧ ἂν Κ. διδῷ). NT Luke 2, 20 ἐπὶ πᾶσιν οἷς ἤκουσαν. John 2, 22 ἐπίστευσαν τῷ λόγῳ ᾧ εἶπεν. Mark 7, 13 τῇ παραδόσει ὑμῶν ἣ παρεδώκατε, et passim. Hermas Vis. 1, 3, 2 τοῦ πράγματος οὗ θέλει. 3, 11, 1 τῶν τριῶν μορφῶν ὧν ἐπιζητεῖς. Acta Tho. 16, 2 τοῦ πραιτωρίου οὗ ἐκτίξεν Ἰουδας, et passim. Callin. 85, 10 τῶν ἔργων ὧν ποιεῖ. 88, 16 περὶ πάντων ὧν ἀνταπέδωκεν ἡμῖν, et passim. Leont. Neap. V. J. 20, 13 τῶν μαζίων ὧν ἔλαβες. 13, 19 νοσοκομείοις οἷς αὐτὸς ἐποίησεν. 26, 1 χρυσίου οὗ ἦν κεκτημένος, etc. (For *N* see 1445.)

**1442.** If the antecedent genitive or dative is a *demonstrative* pronoun, it is generally dropped; but if it is a *substantive*, it is transposed without article to the end of the relative clause:

Pl. Apol. 22 c οἱ χρησμῶδοι ἴσασιν οὐδὲν ὧν (for ἐκείνων δ) λέγουσιν. Xen. An. 3, 1, 45 νῦν ἐπαινῶ σε ἐφ' οἷς (for ἐπὶ τοῖσι δ) λέγεις τε καὶ πράττεῖς. Xen. 1, 9, 14 τούτους ἄρχοντας ἐποίει ἥς κατεστρέφετο χώρας (for τῆς χώρας ἦν κ.). NT Luke 9, 36 ἀπηγγείλαν οὐδὲν ὧν ἐώρακαν. Heb. 5, 8 ἔμαθεν ἀφ' ὧν ἔπαθεν τὴν ὑπακοήν. Luke 3, 19 περὶ πάντων ὧν ἐποίησεν πονηρῶν ὁ Ἡρώδης. 19, 37 περὶ πασῶν ὧν εἶδον δυνάμεων. Acta Tho. 16, 3 οὕτε ἄλλο ἐποίησεν ὧν ἐπηγγείλατο ποιῆσαι.

**1443.** Conversely, sometimes the antecedent is drawn to the case of the relative (*inverse attraction*), as: Lys. 19, 47 τὴν οὔριαν ἣν κατέλιπεν οὐ πλείονος ἀξία ἐστὶ. Xen. An. 3, 1, 6 ἀνείλεν αὐτῷ ὁ Ἀπόλλων θεοῖς οἷς ἔδει θύειν. Acta Tho. 66, 28 ἐκείνον ὃν φιλῶ βελτίων σου ἐστίν.

**1444.** When two or more relative clauses are co-ordinated to each other, the leading relative, instead of being repeated each time in the case required by its verb, is either omitted every subsequent time, or replaced by αὐτὸς (also οὗτος, ἐκεῖνος), or by some other personal pronoun appropriate to the case.

Xen. An. 3, 2, 5 Ἀρμῖος ὃν ἡμεῖς θέλομεν βασιλεία καθιστάναι καὶ (sc. φ) ἐδώκαμεν καὶ (sc. παρ' οὗ) ἐλάβομεν πιστά, ἡμᾶς κακῶς ποιεῖν πειράται. Cyr. 3, 1, 38 ποῦ δὲ ἐκεῖνος ἐστίν ὁ ἀνὴρ δε συνεθήρα ἡμῖν καὶ σὺ μάλα εὐθαύμαζες αὐτόν; Soph. Ai. 458 f. καὶ νῦν τί χρὴ δρᾶν, ὅστις ἐμφανῶς θεοῖς ἔχθαιρόμαι, μσεῖ δέ μ' Ἑλλήνων στρατός;

**1445.** In *N* the assimilation of the relative in any of the forms specified above (1441-4) is naturally out of the question owing to the absence of a declinable relative pronoun (604-612). Moreover there is no dative to act as an antecedent case to the relative.

### INTERROGATIVE PRONOUNS.

**1446.** Classical Greek distinguishes two classes of interrogative pronouns and adverbs, according as they are used directly or indirectly.

#### A. Direct and Indirect.

*τίς; πότερος; ποῖος; πῶς; πόσος;—N (τίς;) ποῖός; πόσος; ποῦ; ποί; πόθεν; πῇ; πότε;—N ποῦ; πῶς; πότε(ς);*

#### B. Indirect only.

*ὅστις, ὁπότερος, ὁποῖος, ὁπόσος* } For *P-N* see 614 f. & 2037<sup>b</sup>.  
*ὅπου, ὅποι, ὁπόθεν, ὅπῃ, ὅπως, ὁπότε*

also the simple relatives *ὅς, οἷος, ὅσος*—and *οὗ, οἷ, ὅθεν, ἧ, ὡς, ὅτε*.

Soph. Phil. 56 *τίς τε καὶ πόθεν πάρει*; Pl. Gorg. 508 B *σκεπτέον τί τὰ συμβαίνοντα*. Xen. An. 1, 5, 16 *οὐκ ἴστε ὅ, τι ποιεῖτε*. Pl. Rep. 414 D *οὐκ οἶδα ὁποῖα τόλμη ἢ ποίοις λόγοις χρώμενος ἔρῳ*. Lys. 13, 4 *ἀκούσατε ᾧ τρόπῳ ἡ δημοκρατία κατελύθη*. Xen. Mem. 2, 2, 1 *καταμεμάθηκας οὖν τοὺς τί ποιοῦντας τὸ ὄνομα τοῦτο ἀποκαλοῦσι*. An. 2, 5, 7 *οὐκ οἶδα οὗτ' ἀπὸ ποίῳ ἂν τάχους οὔτε ὅποι ἂν τις φεύγων ἀποφύγοι οὗτ' εἰς ποῖον σκότος ἀποδραῖν, οὐδ' ὅπως ἂν εἰς ἐχυρὸν χωρίον ἀποσταῖν*. Dem. 18, 73 *ἐξετάζεσθαι τίς τίνος αἰτίος ἐστί*. Xen. Mem. 2, 2, 3 *τίνας οὖν ὑπὸ τίνων εὖροιμεν ἂν μείζονα εὐεργετημένους ἢ παῖδας ὑπὸ γονέων*;—See also 2037.

*N: τί τρέχει; 'what is the matter?' τίνος εἰν' αὐτό; 'whose is this?'* ποῖός ἐρχεται; 'who is coming?' ποῦ ἦσσαν ἐπές; 'where were you yesterday?' πότε(ς) ἦρθε; 'when did he come?'—*πῆ μου τί ἐπαθες* 'tell me what happened to you.' *μ' ἐρώτησε πῶς εἰμαι* 'he asked me how I was.'

**1446<sup>b</sup>.** On the use of *ποῖος* for *τίς* see §89 [1].

**1447.** For the use of relative pronouns and adverbs also as direct interrogatives see Interrogative clauses (2038).

### INDEFINITE PRONOUNS.

**1448.** The indefinite pronoun *τις τὶ* is enclitic and postpositive. Its disyllabic forms, however, in particular the plural *τινές, τινά*, are also, in *P-B* Greek, often put at the beginning of a sentence, in which case they naturally retain their accent.

**1448<sup>b</sup>.** Since *H* we meet with *ποτέ*, then with the singular *τίς*, at the beginning of a clause (§89), as: Jas. 3, 13. (Cp. Aesch. Cho. 654 *τίς ἔνδον, ὦ παῖ*. Soph. Tr. 630. 865 *τὶ φημί*. Dem. 13, 6. Arist. Rep. 3, 4, 9 *τινὸς μέντοι πολίτου*.)

Sept. Sap. 12, 12 & Clem. R. ad Cor. 27, 5 *τίς ἐρεῖ αὐτῷ· τί ἐποίησας*; KZ 28, 383 *τίς ἂν δὲ τοῦτω τῷ μνημείῳ κακὸν ποιήσει*. 386 (before 200†) *τίς κακὸν ποιήσει*. Apophth. 437 C *τίς ποτε ἔδωκέ μοι ἀραβῶνα καὶ οὐκέτι ἦλθε*· λάβε οὖν τὰ βῆαί αὐ. Vita Epiph. 48 C *ποτέ γοῦν τριῶν ἀγροίκων εἰσελθόντων*. So ib. D. 53 B. 60 C. 61 A. 64 C. 72 D, etc. Callin. 81, 11. 115, 11. 122, 19, et passim. Leont. Neap. V. J. 17, 8 *ἐτι οὐσὺς τῆς*



## 1448<sup>b</sup>–1455.] INDEFINITE PRONOUNS. THE VERB.

αὐτῆς πληθὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει τοῦ λαοῦ, τίς τῶν ξένων . . . ἤβηλσεν πειράσαι τὸν μακάριον. 99, 23 ἐν αὐτῇ γὰρ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ . . . τίς τῶν τὴν ἀγγελικὴν πολιτείαν ἐξησκηκότων . . . θεωρεῖ κτλ. 49, 16 τινὸς μοναχοῦ γυρευόντος ἐν τῇ πόλει. Vita SA 28\* A τινὶ περὶ αὐτῆς μὴ ἐντειλάμενος. 1b. B τινὸς μὴ ἐπισταμένου.

1449. So too *N* τίς and τινάς : they are treated exactly like εἷς or ἕνας, or κάνεις or κάνενας (589). Mark further that τίς or τινάς and κάνεις or κάνενας are very frequently associated with a negation, following or preceding, and thus correspond to ancient οὐδεῖς or μηδεῖς (1449<sup>c</sup>).

1449<sup>b</sup>. In *P*, when τίς began to lose touch with popular speech (622 f.), its successor εἷς (589, 597) is often placed before it, for emphasis' sake : Mart. Petri 82, 29 εἷς δέ τις ἐλάβη. Acta Tho. 7, 9 εἷς τις τῶν εὐνούχων ἐρράπισεν αὐτόν. Callin. 137, 14 ἐνὶ τινὶ διαδόχῳ αὐτοῦ. [But cp. Th. 6, 61 τινὰ μίαν νύκτα, and 8, 110 τινέας λόγο νῆες.]

1449<sup>c</sup>. When the indefinite enclitics τίς (with its successor εἷς or κάνεις) and ποτέ became prepositives (1448<sup>b</sup>), popular speech began to place after them the negation οὐ or μή, and thus obtain a substitute for the compound οὐδεῖς μηδεῖς and οὐδέποτε μηδέποτε or οὔποτε μήποτε. This mode of expressing negation is very popular in *N* speech : τινὰς δὲν or κάνεις (κάνενας) δὲν for οὐδεῖς, ποτέ δὲν for οὔποτε, τινὰς (κάνεις) νὰ μή for μηδεῖς, ποτέ νὰ μή for μήποτε, καθ' ὅλου (δι' ὅλου) δὲν for οὐδαμῶς, etc.

Callin. 101, 23 αὐτοὶ μὲν τινὶ οὐκ ἐπῆρχοντο. 123, 1 ἡμερῶν δὲ ὀγδοήκοντα τινὸς οὐ μετέλαβεν τροφῆς. Vita SA 28\* B τινὸς μὴ ἐπισταμένου.—*N* : τινὰς δὲν ἐστοχάσθηκε and commoner κάνεις δὲν ἐστοχάσθηκε 'no one ever thought.' ποτέ μου δὲν ἄκουσα 'I never heard.'

1450. In its ordinary function, τίς τί means *a, an*, but it is often used ironically of a *personality* or of *something of importance*, as :

Eur. El. 939 ἦγεις τις εἶναι 'you did boast of being somebody'; Xen. Mem. 2, 1, 12 ἴσως ἂν τι λέγοις. Cyr. 1, 4, 20 ἔδοξε τι λέγειν τῷ Ἀστυάγει.

1451. So too the *N* compound neuter κατὶ or κατὶ τι, as : θαρρεῖ πῶς εἶνε κατὶ (τι) 'he thinks highly of himself.'

1452. When it accompanies words denoting a quality or quantity, τίς means *about, some*, as :

τοιοῦτος τίς, μέγας τίς, ἐν τινὶ βραχεῖ χρόνῳ—τριακοντὰ τινέας 'some thirty.' Pl. Soph. 255 οὐδ' ἄττα. Lys. 216 D τρι' ἄττα.

1453. Analogous is the *N* turn : κάμμυα τριανταρεά 'some thirty,' κάμμυα δεκαρεά, δωδεκαρεά, εικοσαρεά, πενηνταρεά, ἑκατονταρεά, etc.

## VOICES OF THE VERB.

### A. ACTIVE VOICE.

1454. The active voice is usually *transitive*, in that it represents the subject as *acting* on some person or thing, as : σκάπτω 'dig,' παιδεύω 'educate.'

1455. But a number of *active* verbs are used sometimes in a

transitive, sometimes in an intransitive sense. The commonest of them are :

<i>Transitive.</i>	<i>Intransitive.</i>
a. ἐλαύνω 'drive'	— (sc. ἵππον, ἄρμα) 'ride,' 'drive,' 'march'
καταλύνω 'stop,' 'destroy'	— (sc. τοὺς ἵππους) 'stop,' 'halt'
ἄγω 'lead'	— (sc. τὸ στράτευμα) 'advance,' 'march'
"    "    "	— (sc. τὸ στράτευμα) 'set out,' 'start'
αἶρω 'lift'	— (sc. τὰς ναῦς) 'sail to.'
"    "    "	— (sc. τὰς ναῦς) 'land.'
b. ἔχω 'have'	— εὖ, κακῶς 'am well,' 'ill'
προσέχω 'hold to,' 'apply'	— (sc. τὸν νοῦν) 'give heed'
τελευτάω 'finish'	— (sc. τὸν βίον) 'die'
πράττω 'do'	— εὖ, κακῶς 'fare well,' 'ill'
ἀπαγορεύω 'prohibit'	— 'get exhausted'
ἐκλείπω 'quit'	— 'finish,' 'vanish.'
c. ἀπέχω 'keep off'	— 'am distant'
διαφέρω 'convey'	— 'differ'
εἰσ-, ἐμ-βάλλω 'bring in'	— 'break in,' 'invade'
ἐξίημι 'send forth'	— 'discharge'
ἐπιδίδωμι 'give besides'	— 'increase,' 'improve'
d. σπεύδω 'urge'	— 'hasten,' 'hurry'
ἐπείγω 'impel'	— 'press,' 'urge'
σιγάω 'keep silent'	— 'am silent'
σιωπάω 'keep secret'	— 'keep silence.'

For many more specimens see RKühner ii.<sup>2</sup> 80-84.

1456. This practice becomes much commoner in *P-N*, but particularly in *B-N* speech. In fact it applies to all languages and proceeds from the natural desire for brevity, the speaker readily omitting what appears as a regular concomitant and the hearer can easily supply from the context. In this way a host of transitive verbs which, from a logical point of view, ought to be accompanied by some complement or adjunct, very frequently dispense with it, and thus become intransitive when occasion requires.

1456<sup>b</sup>. Compare the following verbs in the NT: ἐπι-, προ-, συμ-, βάλλω, κλίνω, στρέφω, ἀπορρίπτω, παραδίδωμι, ἐνισχύω, ἀναλύω, σκάπτω (sc. γῆν), ἀφανίζω, κλέπτω (sc. χρήματα), διορύσσω (sc. τεῖχος), ῥῆξον (sc. φωνήν), στρώσω σεαυτῷ (sc. κλίνην), κατὰ κεφαλῆς ἔχω (sc. κάλυμμα), ἐτοιμάζω (sc. κατάλυμα), συλλαμβάνω (sc. υἱόν) ἐν γαστρὶ, ἀποστέλλω, πέμπω, ἀκούω, διακονῶ, λατρεύω, προσκυνῶ, καλῶ, κρουω, ἀγοράζω, πωλῶ, πᾶσχω, ἀνατέλλω, αὐξάνω, ἐπιστρέφω, etc.

1456<sup>c</sup>. In *N* this usage is still commoner, as : γυρίζω, πετῶ, χαλῶ, φτάνω, ἄφρω, πατῶ, φονάζω, κλειῶ, σφαλῶ, περνῶ, and a host of others. (Cp. also GHatzidakis 202 ff.)

1457. When such a multitude of transitive verbs had become intransitive also, and so applied to either case as occasion required, it was inevitable that verbs originally intransitive should now be attracted and forced into the transitive construction as well (1244 ; cp. FKrebs 3-34) :

Polyb. 1, 7, 8 παρυσπύνησαν τοὺς Ῥηγίνους. Also 1, 10, 4 ; so even Rangabé Ant. Hell. ii. 453 [270 B.C.] ἡδικηκότες καὶ παρυσπονδηκότες τὰς πόλεις. 3, 69, 1 πραιμικοπήσας πόλιν Κλαστίδιον. 2, 46, 2 Κλεομένους πεπραμικοπηκῆτος αὐτοῦς. Diod. 5, 46, 2 οἱ τοὺς γεωργοὺς ἐνεδρεύοντες. So Jos. Bell. 2, 21,

3 ἐνεδρεύοντες Πτολεμαῖον. App. Illyr. 27, 1. B. C. 3, 79. Jos. Ant. 13, 1, 2 τὸν δὲ Ἰαδάνην ἀπίοντα ἐνεδρεύσαντες. Polyb. 1, 20, 6 ἀγωνίσαι τὰς περικὰς δυνάμεις. 3, 80, 4 ἀγωνίων τὸν ἐπιπαθασμὸν τῶν ὄχλων. 15, 7, 1. 11, 8, 5 ἐσπουδαῖον τὰς ἀκολουθίας. 34, 6, 14 ἀπολεληρηκεῖναι τὸν Βεργαῖον Ἀντιφάνην. 21, 26, 6 ἐνεργεῖν δὲ τῆς πολιορκίας. 18, 14, 8. Diod. 13, 95, 5. Polyb. 32, 2, 1 τὸ πλῆθος τῶν προσόδων ὀφθαλμῶν. Dio C. 54, 20; Proc. Hist. Arc. 1.—Diod. 31, 1, 12 ἀπαντήσασιν τὸν Ἀντίγονον τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις. 36, 2, 3 ἐπιβουλεύσαντος γὰρ τοὺς ἀπαιτοῦντας.—Polyb. 1, 15, 20 τὰς Συρακούσας ἐπολέμουν. 18, 47, 1 μηδὲνα πολεμείν. 11, 19, 3 πολεμήσας Ῥωμαίους. Diod. 2, 37, 3 μόνους τοὺς Γανδαρίδας οὐκ ἐπολέμησε. 2, 46, 4; 4, 17, 5; 5, 46, 2. 14, 37, 2 πολεμήσω Θράκας, etc. Dion. H. 19, 1 Μεσσηνὴν ἐπολέμουν, τοὺς Ἰάπυγας ἐπολέμουν. Jos. Bell. 4, 3, 1, Ant. 8, 11, 2. 5, 1, 18, etc.—Polyb. 3, 82, 4 φυλάττεσθαι καὶ προσχεῖν τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἱππέων. 15, 2, 4 προνομεύειν τὴν παραλίαν; so τὴν χώραν Diod. 13, 109, 3. 19, 25, 2. Dion. H. 6, 2, 9, etc. Jos. Ant. 13, 13, 3, etc.—Dion. H. 1, 79 τὴν κοινὴν μόνους διακρατεῖν. Jos. Ant. 3, 2, 4 κελεύει διακρατεῖν τὰς χεῖρας. B. C. 5, 89 τὰς ναῦς ἐκατέρωθεν διεκράτουν.—Polyb. 2, 42, 3 πολεμοῦντες καὶ καταγωνιζόμενοι τοὺς τὰς σφετέρας πτρίδας καταδουλοῦντας. 2, 45, 4 καταγωνίσασθαι τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς. 3, 4, 10. 18, 37. 20, 5, 13. Diod. 9, 10, 2 καταγωνίεσθαι τὸν Εἰρήνην. 4, 12, 3; 6. 12, 2, 1. Dion. H. 1, 2, 6, 8, 10, 38. 11, 1. Jos. Ant. 7, 2, 2. 13, 5, 8. Plut. Crass. 9; Dio C. 44, 46.—Diod. 1, 39, 5 ὅταν ἡ τῆς πέρας ἀκρίβεια κατισχύῃ τὴν τῶν λόγων πιθανότητα. 23, 14, 4. 36, 26. Dion. H. 6, 65 μὴ κατισχύειν μηδετέρων τῶν στάσεων.—So καταμονομαχεῖν τινα: Plut. Thes. 11. Ael. V. H. 10, 22.—καταμάχεσθαι τινα or τι: Diod. 3, 15, 7 τὰ θηρία. Plut. Tit. Flam. 3 Ἀννίβαν. Diod. 1, 41, 4 τὴν ἀλήθειαν.—καταπονεῖν τινα or τι: Diod. 3, 37, 7; 4, 14, 2. Jos. Ant. 14, 3, 2.—καταστασιάζειν τινά: Diod. 19, 36, 4 τὸν βασιλέα. Plut. Mar. 28 τὸν Μέτελλον. Pericl. 9 τὴν βουλὴν.—καταστρατηγεῖν τινα: Diod. 11, 21, 3 τοὺς βαρβάρους. 11, 43, 1. 11, 61, 1. 13, 50, 5. 15, 16, 1; 16, 13, 2. 16, 11, 4; 17, 86, 1. 19, 26, 9, etc. Dion. H. 3, 26 καταστρατήγησε τοὺς τε πολεμίους καὶ Φιδοναίους. 4, 10; 26. Jos. Vita 62. Appian. Celt. 3. Zos. 3, 25. 4, 22; 37.—κατακρατεῖν τινα: Dio C. 51, 25; 54, 29.—καταπροτερεῖν τινα Diod. 17, 33, 5.—ζῆν τινα: Sept. Ps. 40, 3; 118, 40; 50; 93, etc.—μαθητεῖν τινα: Matt. 28, 19. 2 Co. 2, 14 τῷ θεῷ χεῖς θριαμβεύοντι ἡμᾶς.—κοπάζειν τινά: Sept. Sir. 39, 28. 43, 23; 46, 7.—πλεονεκτεῖν τινα: Diod. 12, 46, 3 ἐπλεονέκτουν τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ λιμένος.—Appian. B. C. 1, 42 τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους τε καὶ δούλους ἐστράτευσεν. ὑπερῆφανεῖν τινα Ignat. ad Polyc. 4, 3. So even κατάφοβος or καταπλαγῆς εἰμί τι: Polyb. 1, 7, 6; 1, 39, 12; 2, 21, 6; 3, 40, 1; 3, 107, 15; 5, 42, 4. Jos. Bell. 1, 17, 8 ὑπερῆφανεῖ τοὺς πολεμίους. ἀγνωμονεῖν τι Theophyl. 34, 10. ἀπογινώσκειν τὴν σωτηρίαν id. 277, 23. δραπετεύειν τι id. 33, 5. 34, 10. For other examples see GHatzidakis 201 f.

1457<sup>b</sup>. This practice is unduly common in B-N speech.

1458. When transitive and intransitive verbs had thus intermingled, it was to be expected that many of them, though formerly intransitive (neuter), being now felt as transitive, owing to their active form, should form a passive voice as well. In this way most of the above-cited verbs form a regular passive in G-B:

ἀπαντῶμαι, παρασπονδέομαι, πραξικοπέομαι, ἐνεδρεύομαι, ἐνεργέομαι, προσέχομαι, προνομεύομαι, πολεμέομαι, κατισχύομαι, καταπονέομαι, καταστασιάζομαι, καταστρατηγέομαι, κατακρατέομαι, καταπροτερέομαι, μαθητεύομαι, θριαμβεύομαι, πλεονεκτέομαι, etc.

1458<sup>b</sup>. So further medio-passive: ἐμπιστεύομαι, ἐλασμένίζομαι, δυσαρεστόμαι, ἐπιβουλεύομαι, ἐπιτηδεύομαι, παρουσιάζομαι, ὑπερῆφανεύομαι, etc. (cp. GHatzidakis 200).

1459. On the same principle, even verbs naturally neuter or reciprocal have assumed a medio-passive form, as:

χαίρομαι CIG 5980 († II<sup>nd</sup> c; cp. Ar. Pac. 291). συγχαίρομαι CGL 647, 4; 649, 6. ἀναπίπτομαι Lounge Pap. 51, 4; Protev. Jac. 20, 1 ἰδοὺ ἡ χεὶρ μου

## THE VERB—PASSIVE VOICE. [1459-1465<sup>b</sup>.

πυρὶ ἀποσπέννεται. Ev. Petri 18 ἀνετίσαντο. Sophronios 3429 ο ἀποπταθέντων. Theoph. 224, 12; 412, 8, etc.—δοκῶμαι: Theoph. 222, 17 Παῦλον δέ τινα δοκούμενον εἶναι ὁρθόδοξον. 365, 20.—φθάνομαι 'am reached': Theoph. 378, 14 φθασθέντος.—ἱρίζομαι: Pollux Interpr. 519 ἄνθρωπος καὶ λέων ἡρίζοντο εἰς αὐτούς.—δέχομαι παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως 'am received' Malchi Exc. 233, 10 (cp. GHatzidakis 199).

**1460.** In many cases the transitive active is *causative*, in that it denotes an action accomplished through the medium of some one else (886): *I cause to, I have something done for me*. This is, however, common to all languages, and proceeds from the desire for brevity (cp. 1473).

Hdt. 3, 39 Ἀμασις ἔφερε καὶ ἤγε πάντας. Xen. An. 1, 4, 10 Κύρος τὸν παρὰδείσον ἐξέκοψε καὶ τὰ βασίλεια κατέκαυσεν. So further ἀποκτείνω, θάπτω, οἰκοδομέω, διδάσκω, παιδεύω, etc.

**1460<sup>b</sup>.** So too in *N*: κτίζω πύργον 'am having a tower built,' φυτεύω λι 'am having a vineyard planted,' etc.

### PASSIVE VOICE.

**1461.** The passive voice represents the subject as acted upon, as:

παιδεύομαι 'I am educated'; ἡ γῆ θερμαίνεται ὑπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου 'the earth is warmed by the sun.'

**1462.** In Greek all active verbs, whether transitive or (contrary to Latin usage) intransitive, can form a passive voice. Their direct or indirect object then turns to a subject nominative (cp. 1281. 1285<sup>b</sup>).

παιδεύω τὸν δούλον 'train the slave'  
γράφω ἐπιστολήν 'write a letter'  
ἄρχω τῆς πόλεως 'rule over the city'  
ἀμελλῶ τινός 'neglect one'  
καταφρονέω τινός 'despise one'  
καταγελῶ τινός 'laugh at'  
ἐπιβουλεύω τινί 'insnare one'  
πιστεύω τινί 'believe,' 'trust'  
φθονέω τινί 'envy one'

παιδεύεται ὁ δούλος 'the sl. is trained'  
ἐπιστολὴ γράφεται 'a letter is written'  
ἡ πόλις ἀρchetαι 'the city is ruled over'  
ἀμελείται τις 'one is neglected'  
καταφρονεῖται τις 'one is despised'  
καταγελᾶται τις 'one is laughed at'  
ἐπιβουλεύεται τις 'one is ensnared'  
πιστεύεται τις 'one is believed, trusted'  
φθονεῖται τις 'one is envied.'

**1463.** This rule obtains also in *N*, and the more conveniently as the majority of formerly intransitive verbs have become transitive (1457 f.). On the other hand, despite this convenience, popular speech shows a decided disinclination for the cumbersome passive voice, preferring the simpler and direct form of active construction. Thus *μὲ πιστεύουν* 'they (people) believe me,' *ἀγαποῦν τον* 'they like him,' etc. is far more popular than *πιστεύομαι, ἀγαπάται*, etc.

**1464.** In passive verbs the agent (*by*) is commonly expressed by *ὑπὸ* with genitive (1695), rarely by other prepositions (as *ἐξ, πρὸς, παρὰ, διὰ, ἀπὸ*, 1465<sup>b</sup>), or by the dative simple (1365).

**1465.** So too in *P-B* literary Greek, but popular speech began during *G* times to exchange *ὑπὸ* for *ἀπὸ* (1507 ff.), and *N* now knows only the latter expedient.

**1465<sup>b</sup>.** For examples see also for the *P-B* history of the other prepositions see under their respective sections (*ὑπὸ* 1695 f.; *ἐξ* 1568, c; *πρὸς* 1664; *πυρά* 1628; *διὰ* 1531; *ἀπὸ* 1507;—dative simple 1365).

## MIDDLE VOICE.

**1466.** The middle voice represents the subject as acting *on*, *for*, or *of itself*. This reflexive relation is expressed in two ways (670):—

**1467. A.** In the sense of *direct* object or *accusative* (*self*), when the subject is conceived as acting directly on itself, so that subject and object are virtually one and the same person or thing (*direct middle*).

λούω 'wash'  
 χρίω 'anoint'  
 ἀμφιέννυμι 'dress'  
 καλύπτω 'cover'  
 γυμνάζω 'exercise'  
 φυλάττω 'guard'  
 ἀμύνω 'defend'  
 φαίνω 'show'  
 τάσσω 'post'  
 ἀπέχω 'keep off'  
 γέυω 'give to taste'  
 παύω 'stop'  
 τρέπω 'turn'  
 ἵστημι 'set up'

λούομαι 'wash myself'  
 χρίομαι 'anoint myself'  
 ἀμφιέννυμαι 'dress (myself)'  
 καλύπτομαι 'cover myself'  
 γυμνάζομαι 'exercise myself,' 'practise'  
 φυλάττομαι 'guard myself'  
 ἀμύνομαι 'defend myself (against)'  
 φαίνομαι ('show myself') 'appear'  
 τάσσομαι 'post myself'  
 ἀπέχομαι 'keep myself off,' 'abstain'  
 γεύομαι 'taste'  
 παύομαι 'stop (myself),' 'cease'  
 τρέπομαι 'turn (myself)'  
 ἵσταμαι 'rise'

**1468.** Owing to the numerical preponderance and greater popularity of the indirect middle (1470), the direct middle naturally loses in perspicuity and force. Hence *A* commonly dispenses with this group of middle and (like English) prefers to express such a relation by the clearer expedient of the active voice with the appropriate reflexive pronoun, as: *ἑθίζω ἑμαυτόν*, *ἀποκτείνειν ἑαυτήν*, *ἐσώσατε ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς* (cp. 1476 & 1478; also 1461 & 1412 f.).

**1469.** On the other hand when, in consequence of its subtle meaning, the indirect and dynamic middle (1470) began, during *P*, to retreat before the active (1478), the direct middle gained greater clearness and so gradually became a favourite colloquialism owing to its brevity. Hence in *N* almost every transitive verb, if active, admits of a direct middle:

κτενίζω 'comb,' κτενίζομαι. ἀλείφω & χρίω 'smear,' ἀλείφομαι & χρίομαι.  
 λού(γ)ω 'bathe,' λού(γ)ομαι. νίβω 'wash,' νίβομαι. ἐντύνω 'dress,' ἐντύνομαι.  
 γδύνω 'undress,' γδύνομαι. γράφω 'write,' γράφομαι 'sign my name,' βλέπω  
 'guard,' βλέπομαι 'guard myself.' κουράζω 'fatigue,' κουράζομαι 'fatigue myself,' 'get tired.' σταίνω 'set up,' σταίνομαι 'stand up.' ἀπελπίζω (ἀπορπίζω)  
 'discourage,' -ομαι 'get discouraged,' etc. etc.

**1470. B.** In the sense of an *indirect* object or *dative* (*indirect middle*). In this class of middle verbs, which is by far commoner (1468), the subject is represented as acting either *for self*, in its own interest (*sibi*); or in a *dynamic* sense (*of, from, or through self*), i.e. with its own means and powers (*dynamic middle*):

αἰρέομαι 'choose (for myself)'  
 πορίζομαι 'provide for myself'  
 μεταπέμπομαι 'send for'

δανείζομαι 'borrow'  
 μισθόδομαι 'rent'  
 συμβουλεύομαι 'consult.'

1470<sup>b</sup>. So ἄγωμαι γυναῖκα 'take a wife to myself,' ποιοῦμαι φίλον 'make some one a friend of mine,' τίθεμαι τὴν ψῆφον 'give my vote,' ἀποφαίνομαι γνώμην 'express my opinion.'

1471. In *A* there is a distinction between αἰρέω 'take,' and αἰρέομαι 'choose'; ἀποδίδωμι 'give back,' and ἀποδίδομαι 'sell'; ἀρχω 'am the first to begin,' and ἀρχομαι 'commence (my work)' (1324); γαμέω 'marry (a woman),' and γαμέομαι 'get married (to a man)'; γράφω νόμον 'introduce a law,' and γράφομαι τινα 'sue one'; ἰδανείζω 'lend,' and ἰδανείζομαι 'borrow'; δικάζω 'give judgement,' and δικάζομαι 'litigate'; ἴεχω 'have,' 'hold,' ἔχομαι τινος 'hold on to,' 'cleave'; μισθώω 'let for hire,' μισθόομαι 'hire,' 'rent'; παρέχω 'afford,' and παρέχομαι 'provide from my own means'; πρεσβεύω 'act as delegate,' and πρεσβεύομαι 'negotiate through a delegate'; τίθημι νόμον 'make a law,' τίθεμαι νόμον 'pass a law (for my benefit)'; τιμωρίω τινί 'avenge one,' τιμωρέομαι τινα 'avenge myself on some one.'

Xen. Mem. 4, 4, 19 τοὺς ἀγράφους νόμους οὐχ οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἔθεντο, ἀλλὰ θεοὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἔθεναν. ISOCT. 3, 61 τὴν εὐνοίαν τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις ἐνδείκνυσθε μᾶλλον ἢ ἐν τοῖς λόγοις.

1472. With rare exceptions, such as δανείζομαι 'borrow' (διορίζομαι 'get appointed' is literary), the indirect and dynamic middle has become extinct in *N*. Since when and how, will be seen in 1478 ff.

1473. Like the active (1470), the middle, whether direct or indirect, is sometimes *causative* (cp. 868), as: κείρομαι 'have my hair cut,' γράφομαι τινα 'sue one.'

Th. 4, 50, 2 οἱ τὰς ἐπιστολάς μεταγραφάμενοι ἐκ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων γραμμάτων ἀνέγνωσαν. Pl. Men. 93 D Θεμιστοκλῆς Κλεόφαντον τὸν υἱὸν ἱππία ἐδιδάξατο ἀγαθὸν καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ αὐτὸν ἐπαιδεύσατο 'had his son taught.'

1474. This holds good also in *N*, but, as expected, only in the surviving direct middle (1469), as: κουρεύομαι 'have my hair cut,' ξυρίζομαι (ξυραφίζομαι) 'shave,' βαπτίζομαι, βεβαιώνομαι, ἐύλογοῦμαι (βλογ-), στεφανώνομαι, ἐξομολογοῦμαι (ξεμ-) 'confess,' λουτροῦμαι (λειτουργοῦμαι), ἐμπολιάζομαι, ζυγιάζομαι, etc. (Cp. 1000 f.)

## RECIPROCAL VERBS.

1475. Some verbs, regardless of their voice, when used in the *plural*, represent two or more subjects as acting on one another. They are then called *reciprocal*. Such are for instance:

Α (συμ)βουλευόμεναι, διαλέγονται, τύπτονται, διαφέρονται, μάχονται, διακελεύονται, διαλύονται, διανέμονται τι, ἐρίζουσι, φιλονικουσι, (δι)ἄμφισβητοῦσι, etc.

So too in *N*: ἀγαπῶνται, δέρονται, μήχονται, τρώγονται, ἐβρίζονται, σκοτάνονται, φιλοῦνται, ἀγκαλιάζονται, φιλιώνονται, ἀνταμώνονται, χαρετοῦνται, συμβιβάζονται (συμβιβάζονται), κατηγοροῦνται, κρισολογοῦνται, πιάνονται, μαλάνου", γογγύζου", etc.

1476. For the sake of greater perspicuity, however, this relation of reciprocity is more frequently expressed in *A* by means of a transitive verb followed by the pronoun ἀλλήλους or ἄλλος ἄλλον, 'one another,' as: φιλοῦσιν ἀλλήλους (cp. 1468).

1477. So too in *N* by means of the reciprocal verb with συναλλήλας (μας, σας, τῶ", 1411), or more commonly by ὁ ἕνας τὸν ἄλλο" (1412 f.) with the transitive verb placed in the singular, as: μλοῦμε συναλλήλας μας 'we talk with each other'; κτυπᾷ ὁ ἕνας τὸν ἄλλο 'they beat one another.'

# 1483b-1486.] FUTURE AND AORIST MIDDLE.

[1483<sup>b</sup>. Cp. Schol. Aeschin. 3, 41 ὑποκρυζάμενοι Ἀττικῶς ἀντὶ τοῦ κηρύξαντες: χαίρουσι γὰρ ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πλείστον τοῖς παθητικοῖς. Cp. 1486; WSchmid iii. 71.]

1484. (b) Conversely, the use of the active instead of the middle occurs times without number, as:

Sept. Ex. 23, 16 ἱερτὴν θερισμοῦ ποιήσεις. NT Matt. 6, 2 ποιῆς ἐλεημοσύνην. 6, 3. 13, 41 τοὺς ποιοῦντας τὴν ἀνομίαν. 26, 18. Mark 15, 1 συμβούλιον ποιήσαντες. Luke 1, 68; 72. 14, 13 ὅταν ποιῆς δοχὴν. 14, 12 ὅταν ποιῆς ἀρίστον. 18, 7 ποιῆσει ἐκδίκησιν (whereas Polyb. 3, 8, 10 ποιεῖσθαι ἐκδίκησιν). 15, 6; 9. Eph. 3, 11. Luke 14, 28 ψηφίζει τὴν δαπάνην. Rev. 13, 18. Acts 7, 46 εἶρεν ἔλεος. 2 Tim. 1, 18. CIG 1108 ἀγωνισάντων. προσάγω for -ομαι Luc. Tox. 4. πυνθάνω, συνεπιλαμβάνω, παραμείβω, μαντεύω (WSchmid iii. 70). προσεπιλαμβάνω Ael. N. A. 163, 10. CGL 645 οὐ τολμῶ πλείονας λόγους ποιῆσαι. Callin. 70, 8 εἰρήνην ποιεῖν. 75, 23. 100, 6. 11, 12. 65, 7 εὐχὴν ποιεῖν. So 69, 23. 70, 1, etc. 118, 15 βουλὴν ποιήσαντες. 80, 26 σφραγίδα ποιήσαντος. JLydos 101, 8 νίκας πεποικηκώς. Theoph. 232, 32. 247, 16. 324, 16. 326, 1. 368, 1. Porph. Cer. 59, 14 χαρίζω.—So further *M-N* βεβαίω, δράττω, ὀσφραίνω, κτῶ (for κτῶμαι), ἐξηγῶ, λογίζω, σημειῖναι, παραιτῶ, etc. (cp. GHatzidakis 197 f.).

1485. (c) Even professional grammarians and staunch Atticists often fail to understand the true force and use of the (indirect) middle, and thus misapply or misinterpret it (cp. GHatzidakis 196):

Luc. de Soloec. 11 τό γε μὴν καθίεσθαι τοῦ καθίζειν καὶ τὸ κάθισον τοῦ κάθησον ἀρ' οἷσθ' ὅτι διενήνοχεν;—Οὐκ οἶδα. 12 καὶ τὸ καταδουλοῦν σὺ μὲν ἴσως ταῦτόν τῃ καταδουλοῦσθαι νενόμκας, ἐγὼ δὲ οἶδα διαφορὰν οὐκ ὀλίγην ἔχον. Ammon. 7 αἰτῶ καὶ αἰτούμαι διαφέρει· τὸ μὲν γὰρ αἰτῶ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀπαξ τι λαβεῖν καὶ μὴ ἀποδοῦναι, τὸ δ' αἰτούμαι ἐπὶ τοῦ χρήσασθαι εἰς ἀπόδοσιν. Μένανδρος ἐν τῇ Ὕμνιδι διαστέλλει· Οὐ πῦρ γὰρ αἰτῶν οὐδὲ λαμπάδ' αἰτούμενος.

1486. (d) Also the opposite phenomenon observed since *G*, viz. the frequent use of the middle instead of the active, points to its having lost touch with the living language. Its presence in less cultivated compositions shows only the general anxiety of the scribes to write in a style as far as possible elevated above the ordinary diction, thus claiming to imitate *A* Greek (cp. 1483<sup>b</sup>; Bachman's Anecd. ii. 300, 8 πλείστα δὲ τῶν παθητικῶν [i. e. medio-passive] κοινῶς λαμβάνεται ἐνέργειαν καὶ πάθος σημεινόντα ἔθει Ἀττικῷ). Thus only can we account for the presence in *P-B* of such middle aorists, as: ἐφιλοτιμησάμην (Polyb.), ἐπεμελησάμην, ἐχωρισάμην, ἡσχολησάμην, παρεστησάμην, κατεστρατηγησάμην, ἐποίησάμην τὸ ἐπίγραμμα, κατ-, ἐπ-, ἐνεμησάμην, ὠφέλησάμην, διελεξάμην, ἡρμοσάμην (2 Co. 11, 2), ἡμυνάμην τικῶ (Acts 7, 24), etc. (GHatzidakis 194 f.).—So further the middle forms: οἰνοχοοῦμαι, ἀντιλοιδυροῦμαι, ὑποβλέπομαι, ἀποβλέπομαι, διακονοῦμαι, ἐμβιβάζομαι, ἐμπεδοῦμαι, ἐμπολιτεύομαι, ἐνθεάζομαι, ἐπιβύομαι, ἐπικλείομαι, ἐπιτέμνομαι, εὐπορέομαι, ἡσυχάζομαι (due to ἀναπαύομαι), καλλιλογέομαι, καταθαροσύνομαι, λεπτολογέομαι, κατασκευάζομαι, οἰκονομέομαι, παννυχίζομαι, παραζώννυμαι, παρηγορέομαι, ἐλπίζομαι, ἀρμόζομαι, and many others (1000, 2 f.)—all used for the active (cp. WSchmidt, i. 94 & 239).—For more instances in *B-M* see 1005 and GHatzidakis 195 f.;

## THE PARTICLES.

## Introductory Remarks.

**1487.** If any particular section of Greek grammar were taken as a specimen to illustrate the historical evolution of the Greek language, no better representative could be selected than the section of the particles. For this class of words shows pre-eminently how those among them which were associated in one or more points gradually resulted in a complete identification, each losing its specific notion; and how they successively retreated before, or coalesced into, the most expressive or most familiar representative among them (cp. *ἐν, εἰς, πρὸς*; *μετά, σύν*; *ἀπό, ἐξ, ὑπό, παρά*; *ὡς, ὅτι, ὅπως, ἵνα, ὥστε*). And it is further shown how this resultant representative, having once established itself, again began to degenerate into a commonplace or feeble particle, and thus necessarily retreated in its turn before some novel substitute or some half-forgotten synonym, now restored to popular favour in a more or less modified form or function; and finally it is shown how phonetic agencies have often operated in the various stages of the process, and thus contributed to effect a striking change in the morphology, meaning, and function of each particular class of associated particles. (112-122. 1700 f. 1999. App. iii. 1 & v. 4 f. 13.)

**1487<sup>b</sup>.** The natural consequence of the above process was that those particles which have ultimately prevailed over the rest or otherwise taken their place, though now considerably diminished in number, have greatly increased in frequency. In the case of the conjunctions this was also to be expected, since the participial construction has been replaced mostly by dependent clauses introduced by appropriate conjunctions. (2141<sup>c</sup>. Cp. 1703.)

**1488.** The process just delineated may be illustrated by the following particles taken as representative specimens:

*Α* *ἐξ* or *ἐκ, ἀπό, ὑπό, ab*, have become in *N* *ἀπό* (1507)

<i>ἐν, εἰς, πρὸς</i>	"	"	<i>εἰς</i>
<i>ὑπέρ, περί</i>	"	"	<i>περί, παρά</i>
<i>μετά, σύν</i>	"	"	( <i>μετά</i> ) <i>μέ</i>
<i>ἐπί, ἐπάνω</i>	"	"	( <i>ἐπάνω</i> ) <i>ἀπάνω</i>
<i>ὅτε, ὅταν</i>	"	"	<i>ὅταν</i> ( <i>ὄνταν, ὄντεν—ὅτι νά</i> )
<i>εἰ, ἐάν, ἄν, ἤν</i>	"	"	<i>ἄν</i> ( <i>ἄ, ἄνε—νά</i> )
<i>ὥστε, ὥσάν</i>	"	"	( <i>ὥσάν</i> ) ( <i>σά—σά' νά</i> )
<i>ὥς, ἐς, ἔστε</i>	"	"	<i>ὥς, ὥστε</i>
<i>ὅπῃ, ὅποι, ὅπου</i>	"	"	<i>ὅπου</i> ( <i>ποῦ</i> ).

**1488<sup>b</sup>.** Association then of form, meaning, or construction (i. e. phonetic, morphological, or syntactical association) led to various successive changes which will be discussed separately in the following pages.

## A. PREPOSITIONS.

**1489.** Eighteen (nineteen) particles are called prepositions, because they are prefixed to other words in order to qualify their meaning in regard to place, time, manner, or otherwise. These are: *ἀμφί, ἀνά, ἀντί, ἀπό, διά, εἰς, ἐξ, ἐν, ἐπί, κατά, μετά, παρά, περί, πρό, πρὸς, σύν, ὑπέρ, ὑπό, (ὥς)*.



**1490.** These particles are at the same time also used as separate words, and in this case stand before the oblique cases of the noun in order to indicate the relation of this word to the other words in the sentence. A similar prepositional function is shared by a number of other particles or adverbs (such as *ἀνεν*, *ἐνεκα*, *ἐκτός*, *πλήν*, *μέχρι*, *ἐγγύς*, *χάριν*, *μεταξύ*, *πόρρω*, *μακράν*, etc.) which are then called *prepositional adverbs*, differing from the prepositions proper, in that they are never used in 'composition' as prefixes to other words.

**1491.** In its present stage *N* has preserved only *seven* prepositions proper, and that not in all their *A* functions. These are: *ἀντί*, *ἀπό*, *διὰ* (*γιά*), *εἰς*, (*ἐκ*), *μέ* (= *μετά*), *παρά*, then many of the prepositional adverbs. The remaining eleven, as well as any lost functions of those surviving, have been gradually replaced (as explained above, 1487 ff.), partly by kindred particles, partly by cognate adverbs, as:

*ἀμφί* by *περί* (so even in *A*).  
*ἐν* by *κατά*, *ἀπό*, and *ἄνω*.  
*ἐν* by *εἰς* (also *ἔσω*, *ἔσω εἰς*, now *μέσα εἰς* or *μέσα 's*).  
*ἐξ* or *ἐκ* by *ἀπό* and *ἐξω* (now *ἐξω ἀπό*, also *ἔξω ἀπό*).  
*ἐπί* by *ἐπάνω* (now *ἀπάνω εἰς*), *διά*, *εἰς* (now also 's').  
*παρά* by *ἀπό* and *εἰς*, also by *πλησίον* (now *κοντά εἰς*).  
*περί* by *περίξ*, *κύκλω* (now *γύρου*), *διά* (now *γιά* 155, a).  
*πρό* by *ποῖν*, *πρότερον* (now *προύτερα ἀπό*), or by *ἐμπροσθεν*, *ἐμπρός* (now also *ὀμπρός*).  
*πρός* by *εἰς*, also *ἀπό*.  
*σύν* by *μετά* (now *μέ*), also *ἄμα*.  
*ὑπέρ* by *ὑπεράνω* (now *παράνω ἀπό*), *διά*.  
*ὑπὸ* by *ὑποκάτω* (now *ἀποκάτω ἀπό*), *ἀπό*.

**1492.** This process refers of course not to written composition, for here all prepositions, excepting *ἀμφί* (1496), show a more or less continuous record through all antiquity down to *M* times. The criterion for their actual bearing on popular speech is afforded by the fact that with the opening of *M* *ἀνά*, *ἐν*, *ἐξ*, *ἐπί*, *μετά*, *περί*, *πρό*, *πρός*, *σύν*, *ὑπέρ*, *ὑπό*, come to an abrupt close, none or hardly any of them (except *ἐκ* 1571, apparently also *περί* 1641; *πρό* 1649; *πρός* ? 1659) showing any genuine trace of life in subsequent *N* popular compositions. We have therefore good reason to assume that their continuance in post-Christian literature was to a great extent, at least since *T*, due to scholastic zeal and Biblical influence. This inference is, moreover, justified by the fact that in *T-B* Greek most of these prepositions are sometimes used in a perverted sense and construction, and still oftener replaced by cognate adverbs (1570. 1634. 1640. 1649-52. 1658-60).

**1493.** The prepositions proper govern one or more of the oblique cases, whereas the prepositional adverbs regularly take the genitive (only *ἄμα* takes the dative 1671 ff., and *ὥς* the accusative 1699).

**1493<sup>b</sup>.** In *N* all prepositions extant govern the *accusative* (1246; a few exceptions 1246), while the prepositional adverbs, having lost their prepositional force, are generally used as adverbs proper, and thus take after them a preposition proper, as indicated above (1491; cp. *ἀντί* 1502; *ἀπό* 1517 f.; *διά* 1534; *ἐν* 1565, 2; *ἐξ* 1570; *μετά* 1607; *περί* 1640; *σύν* 1670).

1494. Of the prepositions proper the following govern the—

- a. *Accusative* : ἀνά, εἰς, ὡς.
- b. *Genitive* : ἀντί, ἀπό, ἐξ (ἐκ), πρό.
- c. *Dative* : ἐν, σύν.
- d. *Accus. and Gen.* : διά, κατά, μετά, ὑπέρ.
- e. *Accus. Gen. and Dat.* : ἀμφί, ἐπί, παρά, περί, πρὸς, ὑπό.

Ἀμφί.

1495. 1<sup>a</sup>. Ἀμφί ‘about’—

1. with *Accus.* (= περί) : ‘about,’ ‘round,’ as :  
ἀμφί μέσον ἡμέρας, ἀμφί μέσας νύκτας. οἱ ἀμφί Ἀριαίων (=the persons surrounding Ariaios), ‘the associates of Ariaios.’
2. with *Gen.* : ‘about,’ ‘concerning’ (rare).
3. „ *Dat.* : ‘about,’ ‘on account of’ (poetic and rare).

1496. 1<sup>b</sup>. This preposition had, even in *A*, a limited and rather poetic use, its work being commonly performed by περί (1633-42<sup>b</sup>). Hence with the close of *A*, it disappeared altogether from the common language. Neither Polybios, the Bible, Herodian, nor any other writer out of the strictly Atticistic school shows a trace of it.

Ἀνά.

1497. 1<sup>a</sup>. Ἀνά ‘up’ (opposed to κατά)—with the *Accusative* : ‘up,’ ‘along,’ ‘over.’

a. Of place : ἀνά τὸ πεδίον ‘over the field.’ ἀνά τὰ ὄρη ‘over the mountains.’ ἀνά τὸν ποταμόν ‘up the river.’

b. *Distributively* (662, 2), *by* : ἀνά πέντε ‘by fives.’ ἀνά εκατόν ‘by hundreds.’ ἀνά πᾶσαν ἡμέραν ‘every day.’

c. *Metaphorically* : ἀνά κράτος ‘with all (one’s) might.’ ἀνά λόγον ‘in proportion.’ ἀνά στόμα ἔχειν ‘to have in one’s mouth.’

1498. 1<sup>b</sup>. With the close of *A*, this preposition had already given up almost entirely its local function in favour of κατά (1584-9). It is chiefly in the expression ἀνά μέσον that it still lingers in Aristotle, Theophrast, Polybios, Diodoros (FKrebs 31 f.), and the Bible (cp. also UWilken in Hermes xxviii. 232 καὶ ὁδὸς ἀνά μέσον thrice : 11, 19, 22 on a papyrus of III<sup>rd</sup> B.C.). This phrase passed as a crystallized adverb ἀναμέσον ‘in the midst,’ ‘between,’ over to post-Christian speech, and still survives in the *N* adverbial form ἀνάμεσα (1525). Compare ἀναμεταξύ current since G. (Cp. Antatt. ἀνά μέσον : ἀντι τοῦ ἐν μέσφ. Ἀντιφάνης Ἀδωνιδι.)

1499. 1<sup>c</sup>. As to the distributive use of ἀνά, it was also transferred to κατά (1589, b), as : καθ’ ἡμέρην ‘every day,’ κατ’ ἔτος ‘every year,’ καθ’ ἓνα ‘one by one,’ κατὰ δύο ‘by twos’—a substitute still lingering in *N* (1590<sup>b</sup>).

1499<sup>b</sup>-1503.] PREPOSITIONS : ἀντί, ἀπό.

1499<sup>b</sup>. 2. For other modes of expressing a distributive relation in popular speech since *G* times, see 662 ff.

1500. In its distributive sense, ἀνά, under the influence of its synonymous ἀπό (1515), or ἀντὶ (1501), appears since *T* misconstrued with the genitive, as: Mal. 440, 12 δοθῆναι αὐταῖς χάριν πρὸς ἀνά χρυσίου λιτρῶν εἴκοσι. Vita SA 14\* Δ ἐνείμαντο ἀνά δύο λεπτῶν. Theoph. passim. Theoph. cont. 54, 5; 81, 10. 105, 13. 418, 12. 433, 2; 4; 430, 20. Cedr. i. 700, 8 διδύναι τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ἀνά νομισματοῦ. 700, 11. [For Theoph. cont. 142, 2 γίνεται δὲ κατ' εὐχὴν τὸ πρᾶγμα ἀνά πάσαις ταῖς χώραις καὶ πόλεσιν we might read ἐν πάσαις etc.] So too Porph. Cer. 412, 13.

1500<sup>b</sup>. That ἀνδ is sometimes misconstrued with the nominative has been already explained in 664.

Ἀντί.

1501. 1<sup>a</sup>. Ἀντὶ 'instead of,' (in exchange) for' (1682)—with the genitive only: αἰρεῖσθαι τὸ χεῖρον ἀντὶ τοῦ βελτίονος. τί μοι δώσεις ἀντὶ τούτου; ἀνθ' ὧν 'wherefore'

1502. 1<sup>b</sup>. This preposition still obtains in *N*, though with the accusative (1493) and almost invariably in the form ἀντίς: [Diosc.] 3, 33 (p. 378) ἀντί τὰς ἐκλύσεις καὶ λιποθυμίας. [Nil.] 545 Δ ἀντί στάχυας. —Prod. 3, 285-6 οἱ δ' ἄλλοι καταπίνουσιν ἀντίς νερόν φαρμάκιν, ἀντίς ψωμὸν τὸν δρόλικον, ἀντίς φαγὶν τὸν σφάχτην; etc.—At present it is commonly followed by γιά (i.e. διὰ 155, a) 'instead of,' as: ἀντίς ἐμένα, more commonly ἀντίς γιὰ μένα, 'in my place.'

Ἀπο.

1503. Ἀπὸ 'from';—'off,' 'away from.'—With the GENITIVE:

1. Of place: ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας 'from the country.' ἀφ' ἵππου, ἀφ' ἄρματος. ἀρχεσθαι ἀπὸ τινος.

2. Of time: ἀπὸ τούτου τοῦ χρόνου 'since that time.' ἀπ' ἀρχῆς 'from the beginning.'

3. Metaphorically:

a. Origin: οἱ ἀπὸ Δημαράτου ('those who descend from D.') 'the descendants of D.' καλεῖσθαι ἀπὸ τινος ('to derive one's name from'), 'to be named after some one.'

b. Material: ἀπὸ ξύλου 'of wood.' (1568, d.)

c. Cause: ἀπὸ τούτου τοῦ τολμήματος 'in consequence of this bold stroke.'

d. Phrases: ἀπὸ σκοποῦ 'off the mark,' 'amiss.' ἀπ' ταῦτομάτου 'of itself,' 'spontaneously.' ἀπὸ στόματος 'by heart,' 'verbally.' ἀφ' οὗ 'since.' ὡς ἀπ' ὀμμάτων 'as far as sight can judge.'

1508<sup>b</sup>. In all above usages ἀπό is still the normal preposition in *N*, though the genitive has made room for the accusative (1517 ff.).

1504. 3<sup>a</sup>. Sometimes ἀπό stands in a partitive sense, where the simple genitive would suffice. This occurs chiefly after expressions denoting a quantity or degree of comparison (1311), as: Th. i, 110 ὁλίγοι ἀπό πολλῶν. Isocr. 15, 205 τούτους τεχνικωτάτους εἶναι νομίζομεν ἀπό πασῶν τῶν τεχνῶν.

1505. 3<sup>b</sup>. In the course of *P* times this mode of expressing partitive relation met with wider popularity and eventually became the rule in the common language. Hence in *N* the partitive relation is regularly expressed by ἀπό both in this case and in comparatives and superlatives, particularly when they are preceded by the article. (1329. 1617; cp. 1571.)

1506. 4. In *P* Greek, ἀπό shows several striking peculiarities arising out of its association with ἐκ, ὑπό, and παρά. The confusion with ἐκ is due to the internal affinity of ἀπό and ἐκ, which even in *A* caused their frequent interchange. (Cp. ἀπό or ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, ἀποβαίνειν ἐκ τῶν πᾶν or ἀπό τῶν πλοίων, ἀπό or ἐκ ξύλου, ἐξ or ἀπ' ἀρχῆς, ἀφ' οὗ and ἐξ οὗ, φόβος ἐκ τινος, ἀπό τινος, παρά τινος; Διῆς ἀπό τοῦ Ἀθῶ CIA. i. 237 [443 B.C.], 35; Διῆς ἐκ τοῦ Ἀθῶ ib. 244 [436 B.C.], 53; ἐκ τε τῶν προτέρων χρόνων καὶ ἀφ' οὗ CIA. ii. 613 [298 B.C.], 9; cp. also VRost<sup>7</sup> 569 and RKühner ii.<sup>2</sup> 475 f.) As time went on, this synonymy naturally led to a complete identification, and in the further process of time ἀπό, owing to its phonodynamic superiority and vocalic ending (146. 218), prevailed over ἐκ and ultimately ousted it from popular speech, though the struggle lasted as late as the XVI<sup>th</sup>. (Cp. 1570 f.)

1507. 5. A second *P* peculiarity of ἀπό consists in its frequent substitution for ὑπό, to designate the *agent* in passive verbs (1695 f.). This phenomenon, though alleged to occur occasionally even in classical authors (e.g. Thucydides, cp. VRost<sup>7</sup> 569; infra 1509), actually first signalized itself during *G*, and may be safely attributed both to phonetic confusion and Latin influence. Indeed, ἀπό in this case is nothing but a contamination of ὑπό, ὑπό, *ab*, the resultant being ἀπό, owing to its phonodynamic prevalence over ὑπό (146): ὑπό × ἀπό × *ab* × ἐκ = ἀπό<sup>[1]</sup>.

Polyb. i, 34, 8 ἀπό τῶν θηρίων ἀπώλλυντο (but cp. 3, 74, 7). Sept. i Esdr. 1, 16 ὤρισθεις ἀπό τοῦ βασιλέως. Dion. H. iii. 1768, 16 συνθήματος ἀρθέντος

[<sup>1</sup>] Polyb. 3, 69, 3 τοὺς ἀπό (edd. ὑπο) τῶν καιρῶν καταλαμβανομένους. Ex. 1, 12 ἐβδελύσσοντο οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι ἀπό τῶν νύων Ἰσραήλ. Prou. 19, 4. Strab. 5, 4, 12 εἰκὸς δὲ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ Σαβέλλου αὐτοὺς ὑποκομιστικῶς ἀπό τῶν γονέων προσ-αγορευθῆναι. Luke 9, 22 πολλὰ παθεῖν καὶ ἀποδοκιμασθῆναι ἀπό τῶν περιβιτάνων. So 17, 25; Mark 8, 31. Acts 2, 22 ἄνδρα ἀποδοκειγμένον ἀπό τοῦ θεοῦ. 2 Cor. 7, 13 ἀναπαύονται τὸ πνεῦμα αὐτοῦ ἀπό πάντων ὑμῶν. Jas. 5, 4 (μισθὸς) ὁ ἀεσσε-ρημένος ἀφ' ὑμῶν. Ben. 12, 6 τόπον ἡτοιμασμένον ἀπό τοῦ θεοῦ. 1 Cor. 1, 30 ἐγενήθη σοφία ἡμῶν ἀπό θεοῦ. Luke 22, 45 κοιμαιμένους ἀπό τῆς λύπης. Matt. 13, 44 ἀπό τῆς χαρᾶς αὐτοῦ ὑπάγει καὶ πωλεῖ πάντα. Polyaeu. 6, 1, 2 ἀπαιτούμε-νος ἀπό τῶν μισθοφόρων ἀργύριον. 8, 58 φυλαττόμενον ἀπό μισθοφόρων Iren. 5, 31, 2 τὸν τόπον τὸν ὠρισμένον αὐτοῖς ἀπό τοῦ θεοῦ. Athan. I. 224 c ἐξαιρήσῃ ἀπό τῶν ἀειμνήστων Κωνσταντίνου καὶ Κωνσταντίου. Proc. i. 309, 9 διήρρητο δὲ ὦδε τὸ Ῥωμαίων κράτος ἀνωθεν ἀπό τε Κωνσταντίνου καὶ τῶν αὐτοῦ παίδων. ii. 318, 6 ὅτι δὴ ἀπό Βάνου σταλείην. Leont. Neap. V. J. 18, 19 ἡβουλήθη ἀπό αἰσχύνῃς καὶ στενώσεως ἀπάγξασθαι. 21, 5 ἠναγκάσθη ἀπό πολλῆς ἄγαν στενώσεως προσελθεῖν. So 38, 19. 41, 14. 42, 13 ἀπό θυμοῦ.

ἀπό τοῦ στρατηγού. LRoss ii. 35, 134 *τετιμημένοι ἀπό τῆς Κορινθίας βουλῆς*. Luke 6, 18 *ἐνοχλούμενοι ἀπό πνευμάτων ἀκαθάρτων*. Jas. i, 13 ἀπό θεοῦ πειράζομαι. So Matt. 14, 26 ἀπό τοῦ φόβου ἔκραξαν. Jos. Ant. 20, 8, 10 τοὺς ἀπατηθέντας ἀπό τινος ἀνθρώπου γόητος. Polyæn. 6, 8, 50 *θεραπευομένην ἀπό τούτων*. ib. *μεταπεμφθεὶς ἀπ' αὐτῶν*. Acta Petri et Pauli 189, 7 ἀπό τῆς χαρᾶς ἔκλυσαν. Eus. ii. 325 c *ἐπιστολὴν ἐδεξάμην γραφεῖσαν μοι ἀπὸ Σερεννίου Γρανιανοῦ*. Acta Xanth. 62, 1 τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτῆς ἡλλοιωμένον ἀπὸ τῶν δακρύων. 65, 1 *ὀχλουμένους ἀπὸ πνευμάτων ἀκαθάρτων*. 85, 15 *ἐξελύθη ἀπὸ τῆς ἀφάτου χαρᾶς καὶ ἔπесε χαμαί*. Narr. Zos. 96, 6 *ἀπεστάλην ἀπὸ τοῦ Ὑψίστου*. 105, 12 *δεθῆλωται ἡμῖν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀγγέλων*. 107, 8. Vita Epiph. 48 A τὰ θηρία *κατσχύνθησαν ἀπὸ τῶν λόγων Ἐπιφανίου*.

1508. 6. As time went on, this use of *ἀπὸ* became more and more frequent, especially during T, which clearly indicates that by that time it had already established itself as the term generally received in the common language, and that with the opening of B, *ὑπὸ* had disappeared from the common speech. As a matter of course, there is no trace of *ὑπὸ* in N; even those of its compounds which survive have mostly been changed to *ἀπο*-, as: *ἀπομονή*, *ἀποδέχομαι* (as Vita Epiph. 97 D, & 48 B *ἀπεδέξαντο ἡμᾶς οἱ ἀδελφοὶ μετὰ χαρᾶς μεγάλης*), *ἀπακοῶν*, *ἀποκάτω*, *ἀποσκηπάζω*—all for *ὑπο*-. (1696; cp. 1615 & 1686.) So even *Ἀποκόρωνας* from ancient *Ἰηποκορώνιον* (in Crete).

1509. Considering then that *ἀπὸ* does not occur (either in the inscriptions or in the papyri) before G, as a substitute for *ὑπὸ*, we are warranted in assuming that the sporadic examples found in A, particularly in Thucydides (VRost<sup>7</sup> 569 b; IGolisch 9), are to be charged to the B-N copiers.

1510. 7. To analogous influences is due the association of *ἀπὸ* with *παρὶ* and the consequent retreat of the latter. This was also to be expected seeing that A *παρὰ* with genitive acted only as a variety of *ὑπὸ* in denoting a personal agent after passive verbs (1628; cp. Xen. Ven. 13, 4 *διδάσκεισθαι παρὰ τῶν ἀληθῶς ἀγαθόν τι ἐπισταμένων μάλλον ἢ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐξαπατᾶν τέχνην ἐχόντων*. RKühner ii.<sup>2</sup> 442). Now as *ὑπὸ* was replaced by *ἀπὸ*, it was inevitable that *παρὰ*, the partial representative of *ὑπὸ*, should also share the same fate and make room for *ἀπὸ* (1628).

1511. 8. As a further P-N feature of *ἀπὸ* we must reckon its use to express the *value* or *price*, where A would either be content with the simple genitive (1338), or resort to some other turn. This deviation seems to be peculiar to G. (Cp. 1515).

CIA iv. 573<sup>b</sup> (328 B.C.) *χρυσῷ στέφανῳ ἑκάτερον ἀπὸ ἧ' δραχμῶν*. Sept. Esth. 1, 7 *ἀνθράκινον κυλίκιον προκείμενον ἀπὸ ταλάντων τρισμυρίων*. Polyb. 21, 30, 10 *ἐδόθη στέφανος ἀπὸ ταλάντων πεντήκοντα*. 21, 34, 4 (cp. 21. 36, 4). 24, 1, 7 *δεξαμένη τὸν στέφανον δν ἐκόμιζεν ἀπὸ μυρίων χρυσῶν*. 30, 5, 4. 32, 3, 3 *στέφανον ἑξαποστείλας ἀπὸ χρυσῶν μυρίων*. Diod. 18, 4, 4 *νοῦς κατασκευάσαι πολυτελεῖς ἐξ ἀπὸ ταλάντων χιλίων καὶ πεντακοσίων ἑκαστον (ἑκάστην ?)* 20, 46, 2 *στέφανῶσαι ἀμφοτέρους ἀπὸ ταλάντων διακοσίαν*. 31, 28 *παρεγένοντο στέφανον κομίζοντες ἀπὸ χρυσῶν μυρίαν*. So 31, 29. Jos. Ant. 14, 8, 5 *ἀσπίδα χρυσήν . . . ἀπὸ χρυσῶν μυριάδων πέντε*.

1512. 9. Noteworthy is the G-B use of *ἀπὸ* with the article or with a numeral, to designate a member or follower of a particular school or class (cp. 1569; RKühner ii.<sup>2</sup> 396, 3, c), *οἱ ἀπὸ Πυθαγόρου*, *οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Στοᾶς* Plut. ii. 879 A. Luc. Pisc. 43.

Galen. 8, 68 B *οἱ ἀπὸ Μωϋσοῦ καὶ Χριστοῦ* 'the Jews and the Christians.' Sext. 187, 21 *οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς σκέψεως* 'the sceptic philosophers.' 261, 29 *οἱ ἀπὸ Ἐπικούρου* 'the Epicureans. Hdn. Hist. 7, 1, 4 *οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς*. 7, 1, 9

οὐ ἀπὸ ὑπατείας. Zos. 115, 21 εἰς τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν Ῥώμῃ συγκαλήτου βουλῆς 'a senator.' 227, 4 ἅμα τισὶ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς γερονσίας.

1513. 10. Another peculiarity, manifestly due to Latin influence, is the proleptic use and construction of ἀπὸ or ἀπο (if not ἀπω, after ἀνω κάτω ἔξω ἔσω, cp. ἀνωθεν after ἀναθεν, κάτωθεν, ἔξωθεν, ἔσωθεν, πόρρωθεν, κύκλωθεν) in the sense of ab ('off') to designate the degree of distance from a place (cp. 1651. 1603; see also RKühner ii.<sup>2</sup> 396). Plut. Philop. 4, 3 ἦν ἀγρὸς αὐτῷ ἀπὸ σταδίων εἰκοσι τῆς πόλεως 'erat ei ager a viginti stadiis ex urbe' (cp. Caes. B. G. 2, 30; 4, 22; 5, 32; 6, 7; B. C. I, 65; Liv. 24. 46; RKühner Lat. Gram. ii. 298 A. 28). This Latinism first appeared about the 1<sup>st</sup> v. c. and disappeared with the Roman sway; and since it has left no trace in the subsequent popular language, it seems to have been a sort of literary mannerism among the writers of the time. Cp. 1603. 1651; JStich 58.)

Diod. I, 51 ἐπάνω τῆς πόλεως ἀπὸ δέκα σχοίνων λίμνην ὥρσε. 4, 56, 8 εὐρέθῃ τὰς πηγὰς ἔχων ὁ ποταμὸς ἀπὸ τεσσαράκοντα σταδίων τῆς θαλάσσης. Dion. H. ii. 53 ἀπὸ τεσσαράκοντα σταδίων τῆς Ῥώμης κειμένῃ. Strab. II, 2, 9 ἐκδίδουσι δ' ἀπὸ δέκα σταδίων τῆς κώμης εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν. John 21, 8 οὐ γὰρ ἦσαν μακρὰν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς, ἀλλ' ὡς ἀπὸ πηχῶν διακοσίαν. Jos. Ant. 11, 5, 4 σάλπιγγας ἀπὸ πεντακοσίαν ἔστησε ποδῶν. App. Hisp. 46 παρεστρατοπέδευσαν ἀπὸ σταδίων τεσσάρων καὶ εἰκοσι. Polyæn. iii. 11, 15 οὐ δὲ Λάκωνες ἀπὸ πέντε σταδίων ἀντεστρατοπέδευσαν. Hermas Vis. 4, 1, 2 ἀπὸ τῆς ὁδοῦ τῆς δημοσίας ἔστιν ὡσεὶ στάδια δέκα. ib. 5 οὕτω γὰρ ἦν ἀπ' ἐμοῦ ὡς ἀπὸ σταδίου. Mal. 130, 8 ἄλσι ἀπὸ μικροῦ ὄντι. 136, 12 ὡς ἀπὸ μιλίων δύο τῆς θαλάσσης. 202, 2; 10. 218, 11. 272, 12. 317, 8, etc. Callin. 62, 12 ἀπὸ μήκους. 98, 8 ἀπὸ τριῶν σημείων. 70, 16. 119, 27. 60, 26. Narr. Zos. 98, 22 ὡς ἀπὸ μιλίων τριάκοντα. Epist. Abgari 283, 3 ὡς ἀπὸ μιλίου ἐνός<sup>[1]</sup>.

1514. 11. A still more striking Latinism is afforded by the use of ἀπὸ with the plural genitive (only in abstract nouns with the gen. sing.) in connexion with titles of office or profession as an equivalent to Latin *ex-* (English *late, formerly*). This novelty made its appearance during G and had a considerable run among writers down to to B times, but it is foreign to M-N speech (cp. 1512. 1569).

CIG 372 ἀπὸ κομίτων *ex-*comes. CIG 521 ἀπὸ ἀγωνοθετῶν. Plut. Aem. Paul. 31 οὐ ἀπὸ βουλῆς, *et saepe*. Sull. 2 οὐ ἀπὸ σκηνῆς; so id. Dem. 12. Cat.

[<sup>1</sup>] So further: Diod. I, 97, 2 πέραν τοῦ Νείλου κατὰ τὴν Λιβύην ἀπὸ σταδίων ἑκατὸν καὶ εἰκοσι τῆς Μίμφεως. 2, 7, 2. So 14, 104, 1. 17, 112, 4. 18, 40; 19, 25, 2. Dion. H. i. 14 ἀπὸ σταδίων ὀγδοήκοντα Ῥέατος, *et saepe*. 3, 32 γίνεται αὐτῶν περὶ πόλιν Ἡρτηδὸν ἀπὸ σταδίων ἐξήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν τῆς Ῥώμης ἀγῶν. 9, 24 τὴν πρώτην μάχην ἀπὸ σταδίων δεκά τῆς πόλεως ποιησάμενοι. Strab. 5, 2, 8. 8, 3, 4 ἔστι δὲ τις ἄκρα τῆς Ἠλείας πρόσβορος ἀπὸ ἐξήκοντα τῆς Δύμης (so σταδίων). 10, 5, 8. Rev. 14, 20 ἀπὸ σταδίων χιλίων ἑξακοσίαν 'as far as 1600 furlongs.' Jos. Ant. 14, 13, 9 συνεπέθεντο δὲ καὶ οὗτοι γενομένοις ἀπὸ σταδίων ἐξήκοντα τῆς πόλεως. So Plut. Philop. 4. Otho 11. Appi. Pun. 14 ἐς τι χωρίον ἀπὸ τριάκοντα σταδίων Ἰτύκης ἐνεδρεῦσαι. Civil. 3, 12 ὄντι αὐτῷ περὶ Ταρρακίνας ἀπὸ τετρακοσίαν ποῦ Ῥώμης σταδίων. 4, 107 τὴν τε ἀγορὰν οἱ μὲν ἀπ' ὀλίγων σταδίων ἐπήγγοντο, οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ πενήτηκοντα καὶ τριακοσίαν. So Hann. 38; Pun. 102; Civil. 1, 23; 30; 2, 56; 91; 3, 41; 4, 106. Polyæn. 4, 3, 27 Ἀλέξανδρος ἀπὸ τριάκοντα σταδίων χάρακα ἐβάλετο. 4, 18. Galen. 6, 39, 3 F. Proc. i. 42, 18 ἔστι δὲ ὁ ποταμὸς οὗτος Μαρτυροπόλεως μὲν ἀγχοτάτα, Ἀμίδης δὲ ὅσον ἀπὸ σταδίων τριακοσίαν. ii. 229, 2. ii. 268, 21 ἀπὸ σταδίων πενήτηκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν Καρχηδόνος ἐγένοντο, *et passim* (cp. IScheffelin 22). JMoschos 3028 A ἔως ἀπὸ τριῶν σταδίων τοῦ σπηλαίου, etc.—Whether such ancient passages as Theophr. Hist. 6, 2, 4 ἐκείνη δοκεῖ τριακοσίαν σταδίων ἀπὸ θαλάττης ἐπάνω φύεσθαι are genuine is hard to say.

54 οὐ ἀπὸ φιλοσοφίας. App. III. 13 ἐφθειραν βέβαιον ἄνδρα ἀπὸ βουλῆς = βουλευτήν. Hisp. 99 ἐπεμψαν ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς ἄνδρας δέκα. Civil. I, 65 οὐσι ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς ἐπεδῆμον. Soer. 160 A Διονυσίου τοῦ ἀπὸ ὑπατικῶν. Acta Xanth. 65, 22 ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ φιλοθέου τοῦ ἀπὸ ἐπαρχῶν. Chal. 849 A. 852 A. Arophth. 105 A δ ἀπὸ λρστών 'formerly a robber.' 301 C ἦν δὲ ἀπὸ δούλων = ἀτελευθέρους. Callin. 78, 12 Μοναζίου τοῦ ἀπὸ ὑπάτων. 103, 3 ἀπὸ σχολαστικῶν τινες. Mal. 227, 7 ἀπὸ ὑπάτων. 393, 21 τὸν ἀπὸ μαγίστρων. 393, 23 ἀπὸ ἐπισκόπων. 286, 13; etc. 'Αφρόνιος δ ἀπὸ ἐπαρχῶν. 252, 3 Διονύσιος δ ἀπὸ φιλοσόφων. 436, 5 'Ἡσαίας δ τῆς 'Ρόδου δ ἀπὸ νυκτεπαρχῶν Κωνσταντινουπόλεως. Leont. Neap. V. S. 1744 D δ εἰρημένος ἀπὸ 'Εβραίων 'formerly a Jew' [1].

1515. 12. Latin influence underlies finally the usage of ἀπὸ in a distributive sense : *apiece, at a time*, where A would employ either ἀνὰ or κατὰ (662, 2. 1497 ff. 1589<sup>b</sup>). This new function of ἀπὸ cropped up during T, and has ever since remained in popular favour. It is now universal in N (663). Cp. 1511.

Pallad. 1081 D παζμάτας τέσσαρας ἔχοντας ὥς ἀπὸ ἑξ οὔγκων 'each weighing about six ounces.' 1100 D ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλα μοναστήρια ἀπὸ διακοσίων καὶ τριακοσίων ψυχῶν. Chal. 1557 D θανείζει ἀπὸ νομισμάτων διακοσίων καὶ τετρακοσίων. Arophth. 277 A πέντε ψαλμοὺς ἀπὸ ἑξ στίχων καὶ ἐν 'Αλληλούϊα. Callin. 70, 17 ἀπὸ πενήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν οἰκοῦντες ἀδελφοί. Mal. 441, 7 χαρισμένη ταῖς κύραις ἀπὸ νομίσματος ἑνός. JMoschos 2989 D παρείχεν πᾶσιν τοῖς οὖσιν εἰς τὸν ναὸν ἀπὸ δύο λεπτῶν. 2992 A διδούσα ἀπὸ δύο νομμίων. Leont. Neap. V. J. 16, 17 τοῖς μὲν ἀνδράσιν ἀπὸ κερατίου ἑνός ἐδίδου, ταῖς δὲ γυναῖξιν . . . ἀπὸ δύο. So too 57, 14; 58, 15. Alchem. 325, 23 ταῦτα ποίει ἀπὸ πέντε καὶ ἑξ φορές [2].

1516. 13<sup>a</sup>. From P downwards ἀπὸ is frequently put before adverbs of place and time (516).

Polyb. 40, 6, 1 ἀπ' ἐντεῦθεν.—Sept. Jos. 3, 4 ἀπ' ἐχθρῶν καὶ τρίτης ἡμέρας. 2 Reg. 20, 2 ἀπὸ ὕψους Δαυὶδ.—2 Esdr. 5, 16 ἀπὸ τότε ἕως τοῦ νῦν ὀκδομήθῃ.—NT Matt. 16, 21 ἀπὸ τότε. So Luke 16, 16.—Matt. 23, 39 (26, 29, 26, 64) ἀπ' ἄρτι (so John 13, 19. 14, 7).—CGL 229, 25 ἀπὸ πότε; ex quo? Apoll. D. Synt. 235, 25 ἀπ' ἐχθρῶν; also 340, 8. A. P. ii. 76.—Great Lounge Pap. 923 ἀπὸ μακρόθεν. So Acta Tho. 3, 5. 12, 2 & 20 ἀπ' ἐμπροσθεν. Epiph. i. 276 A ἀπ' ἐκείθεν. Chron. 625, 5 ἀπ' αὐτοῦ (= αὐτόθεν). Porph. Adm. 77, 20 ἀπὸ κάτω. Cer. 357, 20 ἀπ' ἐκεῖ [3]. See also 516.

[1] So further : Hrdn. 7, 1, 4 τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς ἀπάντων. 7, 9, 1 Καπελλιανὸς ἦν τις ὄνομα τῶν ἀπὸ συγκλήτου. 7, 11, 1. Eus. ii. 1192 B Διονύσιον τῶν ἀπὸ ὑπατικῶν. Basil. iv. 609 B Οὐίκτορι ἀπὸ ὑπάτων 'ex-consul.' Epiph. ii. 185 B οἱ μὲν ἀπὸ στρατιωτῶν ὄντες, οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ κληρικῶν ὑπάρχοντες. 502 D Ἀστερῖφ τινὶ ἀπὸ σοφιστῶν 'ex-teacher.' Chrysm. iii. 598 D οἱ ἀπὸ ἡγεμόνων σοφισταί, οἱ ἀπὸ τριβούνων. Pallad. 1035 B Ἀπολλωνίου τις ὄνομα ἀπὸ πραγματευτῶν. 1204 A Καπίταν τις ἀπὸ λρστών γεγονὼς μοναχός. 1218 B. 1244 D τοῦ ἀπὸ ἐπαρχῶν. Nil. 105 D Ἀθρηλιανῷ Ἰλλουστρίῳ ἀπὸ Ἑλλήνων. 220 A Ἀλεξάνδρῳ μοναχῷ ἀπὸ γραμματικῶν. 224 C. 336 C Κρίσπῳ ἀπὸ αἰχμαλωσίας. 420 A Ἀκύλα ἀπὸ ὑπάτων.—Hence even compounds with ἀπο- are occasionally formed in B, as ἀποδούλος, ἀποεπίσκοπος, ἀπόθρονος.

[2] So further : Cosm. Ind. 444 C ἔχων δὲ δόδοντας ἑξ αὐτοῦ μεγάλους ὥς ἀπὸ λιτρῶν δεκατριῶν 'each weighing about thirteen pounds.' 445 A οὐ βάλλει δὲ καρπὸν εἰ μὴ δύο ἢ τρία στάθια ἀπὸ τριῶν ἀργελλίων 'each bearing three nuts.' JMoschos 2941 B λαμβάνεν αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ ἡμίσεως μοδίου σίτου.

[3] Acts 28, 23 ἀπὸ πρὸς ἕως ἑσπέρας. 2 Cor. 8, 10. 9, 2 ἀπὸ πέρυσιν. Method. 400 B ἀπ' ἐντεῦθεν. So Macar. 541 C. Epiph. ii. 737 C. Cyrill. Scyth. V. S. 265 C ἀπὸ ὧς ἕως πρὸς. Porph. Adm. 148, 9 ἀπ' ἐκείσε, ἀπ' ἐντεῦθεν, etc.

1516<sup>b</sup>. 13<sup>b</sup>. This usage is now very common in *N* speech: ἀπό κάτω, ἀπό πέρα, ἀπό πάνω, ἀπό ὅω, ἀπό κεῖ, ἀπό σήμερον, ἀπό αὐριο, ἀπό τότε, etc.

1517. 14. Lastly ἀπό began, during *G-T*, to lose its syntactical force and exchange the genitive for the accusative:

Herm. Vis. 4. ἰ ὡσεὶ ἀπὸ στάδιον. Gr. Pap. Br. Mus. p. 122, 30 (+IV–V<sup>th</sup>) ἀπὸ ἡμίονον. Gregent. 589 Δ τὴν γλῶσσαν αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ μέσον τμηθῆναι. JJejun. 1912 D ἀπὸ τούτῃ κατηχουμένους. Theoph. 75, 25 ἀπὸ Ἀντιόχειαν. 428, 1 ἀπὸ δεκάτην τοῦ φεβρουαρίου μηνός. Porph. Cer. 53, 3 ἀπὸ τοῦς Ἁγίους Ἀποστόλους. 211, 9 ἀπὸ τὴν μέσην. 580, 12 ἀπὸ Ἰσπανίαν, etc. Adm. 74, 22 ἀπὸ τὸ Κάστρον. Leo Gram. 232, 18 ἀπὸ ὥραν πέμπτῃν μέχρις ἑσπέρης.

1517<sup>b</sup>. This syntactical construction is the only one known to *N* (cp. *ἐκ* 1570), seeing that expressions like *ἐρχομαι ἀπὸ τοῦ δασκάλου* are elliptical: ἀπὸ τοῦ στίτι τοῦ δασκάλου (cp. 1289. 1553<sup>b</sup>. 1565<sup>b</sup>).

1518. Sometimes, too, the macaronic construction with the dative is met with. Porph. Cer. 619, 3 ἀπὸ τῇ πρώτῃ ἡμέρᾳ. Leo Gram. 352, 4 ἀπὸ τῇ πεντηκοστῇ.—This usage is of course unknown to *N*.

1519. 15. In its *M-N* stage, ἀπὸ is often dialectally changed (by dissimilation from ἀπὸ τὸ) to ἀπὸν, ἀπαι or ἀπεί (so even in Achem. 325, 11 ἀπεί τὸ δόσημν, also ABC 31, 6), and, before the article, to ἀφ', as: EGeorg. Θαν. 459 νδ φυλαχθῆς ἀφ' τοῦ κακόν, ἀφ' τῇ βροχῇ καὶ χιόνια. Sachl. 1, 347 καὶ ἀφ' τὴν λαβάρδα. 2, 398 καὶ ἀφ' τὴν δγάπην τὴν πολλήν. 599 ἀφ' τὸ παλαιόν.

## Διά.

1520. 1<sup>a</sup>. Διά with ACCUSATIVE and GENITIVE.

*A* with Accusative:

1. Of Place: *through, throughout*, only poetical: διὰ πόντον=διὰ πόντου. διὰ στόμα ἔχειν=διὰ στόματος ἔχειν.

2. Of Cause: *by reason of, on account of, owing to*:

ΔΙΑ ΤΑΥΤΗΝ ΤΗΝ Αἰτίαν, διὰ τοῦτο, διὰ ταῦτα. διὰ τί; 'on what account?' 'why?' δι' ἄγνοιαν 'out of ignorance.' διὰ φόβον 'for fear.' διὰ φιλίαν 'out of friendship.' δι' ἡμᾶς 'through us.'

1520<sup>b</sup>. This causal function of διὰ still fully survives in its *N* representative γιά (155, α): γιά μένα, γιά σένα, γι' αὐτό, γιά τὴν κακὴν τοῦ κεφαλῆν, γι' ὅλα αὐτά.

1521. When in *G* times ἐνὲρ began to retreat from popular speech (1491), its function *in behalf of, on account of, for the sake of*, was gradually assumed by διὰ with accusative (1534. 1680), as: Acta Tho. 6, 5 διὰ μείζον τι τῆς βράσεως ἦλθον ἐνταῦθα καὶ ἵνα τὸ θέλημα τοῦ βασιλέως τελέσῃ.

1522. 2. Peculiar to *G-B* is the use of the combination διὰ τὸ with the infinitive in the room of *A* ἵνα or ὅπως with the appropriate finite mood: *in order to* (App. vi. 21). This telic use is uncommonly frequent, especially in *T-B* (cp. 1542):

Jos. Ant. 9, 4, 5 διὰ τὸ κοῦφοι πρὸς τὸ φεύγειν εἶναι=ἵνα ὦσιν. Epiph. i. 956 c διὰ τὸ εἶναι=ἵνα ᾖ. Antec. 3, 7, 3 (p. 580) διὰ τὸ πᾶσιν εἶναι πρόδηλον=ἵνα ᾖ. Acta Pil. ii. 4, 3 οἶμαι γὰρ ὅτι διὰ τὸ πάντας ἀναστήσαι νεκροὺς ὥδε παραγίνεται=ἵνα πάντας ἀναστήσῃ. Narrat. Jos. 3, 4 κατελθὼν εἰς τὸν κόσμον διὰ τὸ σαρκωθῆναι καὶ σταυρῶ προσκληθῆναι. Arophth. 292 c διὰ τὸ εὐλογηθῆναι με παρὰ σοῦ ἐτόλμησα τοῦτο ποιῆσαι. Mal. 32, 21. 33, 8. 81, 7. 275, 18. 307, 22. 328, 12; et passim. 388, 4 διὰ τὸ τοὺς ἀέρας ἀλλάξαι 'for



a change of air.' Leont. Neap. V. S. 1741 *Δ* *διὰ* τὸ κοιμᾶσθαι. Anast. Sin. 709 *Δ* *ἐὰν ἄνθρωπος ποιήσῃ ἀμάρτημα, καὶ ποιήσῃ τινὰς μισθοὺς διὰ* τὸ συγχωρηθῆναι αὐτόν. Apoc. Mar. 126, 18 *τῷ σταυρῷ προσηλώσθην διὰ* τὸ ἐλευθερώσαι ὑμᾶς *ἐκ τῆς ἀρχαίας κατάρας*.

**1523.** 3. With the retreat of the infinitive and its final replacement by *ἵνα* or *νά* (App. vi. 13-18), the infinitival construction of *διὰ* τὸ was naturally exchanged for *διὰ* *νά* or *διανά* (1769; cp. Italian *per che*, English *for to*), a complex which has thus usurped the office of ancient *ἵνα* or *ὥπως* with the subjunctive, and is now very common in *N*.

Alchem. 329, 7 *διὰ* *νά* κολλήσῃ *ἴσια*. Prodr. 3, 533 *διὰ* *νά* μὴν παραβάλλῃ. CGeorg. Const. 780 *ὅταν ὁρίσῃ ὅλοι εὐθὺς διὰ* *νά* καβαλλικεύσων. So too now: *γὰ* *νά* *με* λυπηθῇς, *γὰ* *νά* *του* θυμᾶσαι, etc. See also 1769.

**1524.** 4<sup>a</sup>. *B* with Genitive: *through, throughout*:

(1) Of Place: *through, throughout*: *διὰ* μέσης τῆς πόλεως 'right through the town.' *διὰ* τῆς ἀγορᾶς 'through the market.'

**1525.** 4<sup>b</sup>. In *P-N* times this local function of *διὰ* has been usurped successively by the adverbial expressions *διὰ* μέσον, 'through the midst,' then *ἀνὰ* μέσον (1498), also *εἰς* (τὸ) μέσον (as Mal. 329, 7; 464, 2) or *κατὰ* (τὸ) μέσον (Mal. 233, 6. 339, 3), and still later by simple μέσον, 'through,' 'between,' 'in the midst.' Now it is usually expressed by *ἀνάμεσα* *εἰς* or *ἀπὸ* μέσ' ἀπό.

Great Louvre Pap. 2136 μέσον (= ἐν μέσῳ). Mart. Pauli 117, 3 *ὅν* εἶδομεν μέσον ἡμῶν. Acta Pauli et Theclae 262, 2 *ἔδραν* αὐτὴν μέσον τῶν ταύρων. Acta Xanth. 81, 4 μέσον αὐτῶν πορευομένου μου. Apophth. 141 *Β* *ἐμείνα* μέσον βάρμων στήκων. Mal. 126, 5 μέσον τῶν ἱππέων. 479, 5. 204, 15. 221, 20, etc. Porph. Cer. 76, 17 *διέρχεται* μέσον τοῦ ναοῦ. 102, 21 & 166, 19 *διερχόμενος* μέσον τῆς ἐκκλησίας. 133, 14 *διέρχεται* μέσον αὐτῶν.

[However cp. Mal. 432, 19 *διὰ* θαλάσσης *ἔπεμψε*, *διὰ* γῆς κτλ. 460, 8 *ἀγωνισασθαι* *διὰ* γῆς *τε* καὶ θαλάσσης.]

**1526.** 5<sup>a</sup>. (2) Of Time: *throughout, during; within*: *διὰ* νυκτὸς 'through the night.' *διὰ* πολλοῦ (sc. χρόνου) 'for a long time.' *Δι'* ὀλίγου 'for a short time.' *διὰ* παντὸς τοῦ βίου 'through life.'

**1527.** In the sense of *during* the preposition *διὰ* is sometimes omitted in *P* (1344).

**1528.** 5<sup>b</sup>. This usage of *διὰ* began, as early as *A*, to be transferred first to *εἰς* then to the accusative simple, and the latter alternative has finally become the ordinary means of expressing duration of time (1275. 1550):

*εἰς* ἐνιαυτὸν 'for a (whole) year.' *εἰς* τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον 'for ever.' Xen. An. 1, 2, 6 *ἐνταῦθα* Κύρος *ἔμεινεν* ἡμέρας πέντε. Thuc. 7, 77 *σπουδῇ ὁμοίως καὶ νύκτα καὶ ἡμέραν ἔσται* τῆς ὁδοῦ 'through the night and the day.' John 2, 12 *ἐκεῖ ἔμειναν* οὐ πολλὰς ἡμέρας.

**1529.** 6<sup>a</sup>. (3) Of the interval of time or space traversed: *with an interval of, every; after, at the end of*:

Th. 3, 21 *διὰ* δέκα ἐπάλξεων 'at every tenth battlement.' *διὰ* δεκάτογ *ἔτος* 'every tenth year.' *Δι'* ἐτῶν εἴκοσι 'every twenty years.' *διὰ* πέντε ἐτῶν 'after five years,' 'every five years.'

**1530.** 6<sup>b</sup>. This usage of *διὰ* seems to have been peculiar only to *A* literary style.

**1531.** 7<sup>a</sup>. (4) Of *means* (agent or instrument), especially in *P* Greek: *δι' ἑρμηνέως λέγειν* 'to speak through an interpreter.' *δι' ὀφθαλμῶν ὁρᾶν* 'to see through the eyes.'

Polyb. 5, 58, 5 *φρουρουμένη διὰ τῶν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ βασιλέων*. Paus. 3, 9, 2 *πυνθάνεσθαι δι' ἀγγελῶν*. 10, 32, 4 *δι' ὀνειράτων δεῖξαι*. 8, 37, 11 *ἀναβήσῃ διὰ κλίμακος*. M. Aurel. 1, 12 *διὰ τοῦτο τοῦ τρόπου*. Hdn. Hist. 7, 6, 3 *γράμματα δι' ὧν ἐδήλου*. 2, 13, 6 *κτᾶσθαι (ἀρχὴν) δι' ἀνδρείας ἐναρέτου*. 7, 8, 9 *ταῖς διὰ χειρὸς ἀπειλαῖς*, et passim. Mal. 118, 9 *κατασκευάσας διὰ βοτανῶν τινῶν φάρμακον*. 281, 1 *στρώσας διὰ μγλίτου λίθου*. 302, 9, 321, 18, 329, 2, etc.

**1532.** 7<sup>b</sup>. In *A* this function of *διὰ* was generally performed by the instrumental dative (1379) which was later (especially since Christian times) occasionally preceded by *ἐν* (1559-62), rarely *σύν* (1669 f.). Another mode of expressing instrumental relation was sometimes resorted to, even by *A* writers, by means of the preposition *μετὰ* with genitive (1606). This last expedient met during *G-B* with a great popularity, and so ended by becoming universal in *N*, chiefly in the abbreviated form *μέ* (1608).

**1533.** 8. *Phrases*: *διὰ χειρὸς ἔχειν* 'to have in hand.' *διὰ στόματος ἔχειν* 'to have in one's mouth.' *διὰ ταχέων, διὰ τάχους*, 'quickly.' *διὰ τέλους* 'finally,' 'completely.' *διὰ φόβου εἶναι* 'to be in fear.' *διὰ πέντε σταδίων* 'at a distance of five stades.' *διὰ πολλοῦ* 'at a great distance,' 'for a long while.' *δι' ὀλίγου* 'at a short distance,' 'for a little while.' *διὰ μακρῶν* 'at great length.' *διὰ βραχέων* 'in a few words,' 'briefly.' *δι' αἰῶνος* 'for ever.' *δι' ὀργῆς* 'angrily.' *δι' ἔχθρας εἶναι τινί* 'to quarrel with one.' *διὰ δίκης εἶναι τινί* 'to go to law with one.' *δι' οὐδενὸς ποιέσθαι* 'to attach no importance to.'

**1534.** When, with the opening of *T*, the construction of all prepositions became uniform by substituting the accusative for the other oblique cases (1493<sup>b</sup>), the various meanings of *διὰ* with genitive were naturally transferred to its accusative construction. Accordingly *διὰ* with the accusative appears, since *T*, in the following additional senses:

(a) *By means of, through*: Pallad. 1105 *A* *τρεφέσθωσαν διὰ τὰ σινιάσματα* 'with the chaff.'

(b) *During, for*: JMoschos 3000 *c* *ἐλάλει σὺν αὐτῷ διὰ πολλὴν ὥραν* 'for a long time.'

(c) *Concerning, about; for, for the sake of, for the purpose of*: Hermas Sim. 9, 28, 3 *ἐπαθὼν διὰ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ*. Alchem. 36, 11 *ὁ θεὸς τὸ ἔδωκεν διὰ τοὺς πτωχοὺς καὶ ἀηλιπισμένους*. Aproc. Mar. 124, 27 *οὐ δέομαι διὰ τοὺς ἀπίστους*. Apophth. 252 *c* *ἔλεγεν ὁ ἀββᾶς Ποιμὴν διὰ τὸν ἀββᾶν Κόπριν ὅτι κτλ.* 253 *D* *παρεκάλεσαν αὐτὸν διὰ κελλίων*. 265 *c* *οὐ δι' ἐμὲ γέγονε τοῦτο (οὐδὲν γὰρ εἰμι), ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν χήραν καὶ τὰ ὀρφανὰ ὁ θεὸς ἐποίησε τὸ πᾶν*. Vita Epiph. 60 *B* *ἀπόλυσόν με διὰ τὸν θεὸν ὃν σέβῃ*. Callin. 65, 23 *διὰ τὸν θεὸν τοῦτο ἐποίηε καὶ διὰ τὴν ταπεινώσιν*. 66, 3. 65, 4. 96, 12 *ἑάσαντες τὸν κόσμον διὰ τὸν θεόν*. 134, 16 *ἀναγκάζομαι λέγειν διὰ τὴν ὑμῶν ἀφέλειν*. Mal. 102, 1 *γρόντες δὲ πάντες διὰ τὴν Βρίσσου θυγατέρα*. 133, 4 *ἀκούσασα διὰ τὸν ἑαυτῆς ἀνδρα ὅτι τὴν Κασάνδραν φιλεῖ*. 135, 10. 159, 18. 184, 18. 219, 18. 297, 22. 387, 7. 466, 20 *γράψας Ῥωμαίοις διὰ Σέργιον τινα διάκονον*. Aproc. Mar. 117, 7 *πῶς δι' ἡμᾶς ἐρώτησας . . . καὶ δι' ἡμᾶς οὐ κατεράτησεν Ἀβραὰμ ὁ προπάτωρ*. ib. 12 *παρακαλοῦσα πολλὰ διὰ τοὺς Χριστιανοὺς*. 126, 23 *ἐκλαυσεν δι' ὑμᾶς*. Vita SA 34\* *c* *διὰ τὴν τῶν οὐρανῶν βασιλείαν ἀγωνίζομενος*.

1535-1542.] PREPOSITIONS : εἰς (ές).

1535. This last usage gradually assumed the ascendancy and is now the leading function of διὰ (γὰρ) in *N.* (1769.)

Εἰς (ές).

1536. 1. εἰς (from ἐνς, cp. 169),—in old *A* also ἐς (reduced from ἐνς), current in *CIA* previous to 334 B. C.—with ACCUSATIVE only: *into*; *to*.

It follows expressions of *motion*, and thus is opposed on the one side to ἐξ 'from' (1566), and on the other to ἐν 'in' (1555).

1537. 1. Of *Place*: *into*:—εἰς τὴν πόλιν 'into the town,' εἰς τὸ πλῆθος λέγειν 'to speak to (or before) the crowd,' 'to address the crowd.' παρεῖναι or ἀφικέσθαι εἰς 'to arrive in or at,' ἀθροίζεσθαι, συλλέγεσθαι εἰς, 'to assemble in.' εἰς χεῖρας ἔρχεσθαι τινι 'to come to close quarters (or to blows) with.'

1538. Not rarely, however, the distinction between motion and rest is lost sight of, and thus εἰς is used for ἐν, and conversely (1548. 1564):

Xen. An. 3, 4, 13 εἰς τοῦτον τὸν σταθμὸν Τισσαφέρνης ἐπεφάνη. So often παρεῖναι εἰς. Th. 4, 42 ἐν Ἀμπρακίᾳ καὶ ἐν Λευκαδίᾳ ἀπήσαν. *CIA* (κατα-)θεῖναι εἰς πόλιν or ἐν πόλει, ἀναγράψαι εἰς στήλην or ἐν στήλῃ, κείσθαι εἰς τύμβον, ἀναπαύεσθαι εἰς τόπον, KMeisterhans<sup>2</sup> 176, 20-22.—IGS 1811 κοπιᾶσαντι ἐν ταῦτα τὰ χωρία. NT 2 Tim. 1, 11 εἰς ὃ ἐτέθη ἐγὼ κήρυξ. Cleemans 91, 5 γράψας ἐν τὰ δύο μέρη. ib. 99, 3 γνώθι τίνος ἡμέρα ἐστίν ἐν τὸ Ἑλληνικόν, etc. See 1547 & 1557. (Cp. GHatzidakis 210 f.)

1539. 2. Of *Time*: *until*:—

εἰς τὴν νύκτα 'until night,' εἰς ἡμᾶς 'to our times,' εἰς τὴν ὑστεραίαν 'until (or for) the next day,' εἰς ὕστερον, εἰς ἔπειτα 'until or for later on,' ἐς αὔριον 'until or for to-morrow,' εἰς (τὸν) καιρὸν 'at the right moment,' εἰς τὸ λοιπὸν 'for the future,' 'in future,' εἰς τὸν ἀπῶτα χρόνον 'for ever,' εἰς ἀπαξ 'for once.'

1540. 3. *Metaphorically*:

a. Of the *object* or *purpose*: χρῆσθαι τινί εἰς τι 'to use something for some purpose,' παρασκευὴ ἢ εἰς τὸν πόλεμον 'preparations for war,' τὰ εἰς τὸν πόλεμον 'necessaries for war,' εἰς δέον 'in time of need,' 'in the right moment,' εἰς καιρὸν 'in season,' εἰς ἀπαξ 'for once.' So χρήσιμος, ἐπιτήδειος, ἱκανὸς εἰς τι.

b. To denote a feeling *towards*, as: φιλία, ἔχθρα εἰς τινα; διαβολὰς λέγειν εἰς τινα. ἀμαρτάνειν εἰς τινα, εἰς τι.

1541. In *A* the above relations, 1540 a-b, can also be expressed by πρὸς (1657, c), or by the simple dative (1353-8), a circumstance which brought about an inter-relation among εἰς, πρὸς, and the dative respectively, and ultimately resulted in the retreat of both πρὸς and the dative before εἰς.

1542. Peculiarly frequent, especially in Biblical compositions and imitations, is the use of εἰς τὸ with the infinitive to denote the

PREPOSITIONS : εἰς (ές). [1542-1550<sup>b</sup>.

purpose or the designed consequence (App. vi. 22; cp. 1522):—εἰς τὸ ἐσθίειν καὶ πίνειν, εἰς τὸ σταυρωθῆναι, εἰς τὸ ἐμπαῖξαι.

1543. c. To denote a *limit of measure or number*:—εἰς διακοσίους 'to the number of 200.' εἰς τοὺς ἑκατὸν 'as many as 100.' εἰς δύναμιν 'to the best of one's ability.' εἰς τοσοῦτο ἀνοίας 'to such a degree of madness.'

1544. In this usage εἰς is often confused with ἐν (1638).

1545. d. In respect of, with regard to, as: φρόνιμος εἰς τι πρῶτος εἰς πάντα, (ἀπο)βλέπειν εἰς τινα, εἰς τι.

1546. 4. As already observed (1348), a P feature of εἰς is that it often supplies the place of the dative of the indirect or remote object. This usage, though not unknown to A, becomes increasingly popular, especially since G times. See 1348.

1547. 5. As a signal departure from A literary usage may be noted the neglect or obliteration, in the common language, of all distinction between motion and rest (1538. 1557). Hence P compositions, in particular those of unscholarly character, show an ever increasing confusion and interchange of εἰς and ἐν, until ultimately εἰς, owing to the popularity of its final sound (-s) as well as to its convenient construction (accusative), displaced and obliterated ἐν (1564).

1548. Accordingly in P-N εἰς stands for ἐν—

i. After expressions denoting *rest*, and that very frequently since G times, if not earlier (1538).

Sept. Num. 35. 33 τὴν γῆν εἰς ἣν ὑμεῖς κατοικεῖτε. Mark 1, 39 ἦν κηρύσσων εἰς τὰς συναγωγὰς αὐτῶν εἰς ὅλην τὴν Γαλιλαίαν. Luke 11, 7 τὰ παῖδιά μου μετ' ἐμοῦ εἰς τὴν κοίτην εἰσίν. John 1, 18 θεὸς ὁ ὢν εἰς τὸν κόλπον τοῦ πατρὸς. Acts 25, 4 τηρεῖσθαι τὸν Παῦλον εἰς Καισάρειαν. Diod. 3, 44 ὁρᾶται χειρρόνησος καὶ λιμὴν εἰς αὐτὴν κάλλιτος. 5, 84 διατρίβων εἰς τὰς νήσους τὰς καταντικρὺ τῆς Ἰωνίας. 13, 12 καθήμενος εἰς Σικελίαν. Luc. Asin. 1 εἴπερ ἐπίσταται ἄνδρα κατοικοῦντα εἰς τὰ Ὑπάτα. Ael. 7, 8 Ἑφαιστίαν εἰς Ἐσβάτανα ἀπέθανε. Proc. ii. 51, 1 ἐς τὸν πύργον φυλακὴν εἶχον. 116, 14 διεχείμαζον εἰς τὰ ἐπ' Αἰτωλίας καὶ Ἀκαρνανίας χωρία. i. 339, 22 ἐκίτης ἐκάθητο ἐς τὸ ἱερόν. ii. 8, 9 κείται ἐς τοῦ Ἰονίου κόλπου τὰ ἔσχατα, et passim. Leont. Neap. V. J. 7, 3 καὶ εἶδον εἰς αὐτὸν ἔργα. 7, 6 εὔρησα εἰς αὐτὸν κατορθώματα. 38, 22 πόσοι εἰς ὄρος ἐκοιμήθησαν. 39, 6 πόσοι εἰσίν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ταύτην, et passim. Mal. 29, 16 εἰς τὸ Σίλπιον ὄρος φησαν, et passim. Nic. ii. 865 Δ ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἐστὶν εἰς μοναστήριον.—See also 1565.

1548<sup>b</sup>. This usage of εἰς is now most common in N:—κοίτομαι εἰς τὸ κρεβ-βάτι, κάθεται εἰς τὰ σαμάρη, μένει εἰς τὸ σπίτι, etc.

1549. 6. Conversely during the period of confusion ἐν very often performs the function of εἰς (1564 f.).

1550. ii. To denote space of time: *within, in the space of, during* (1526-8. 1558).

Polyb. 32, 13, 5 προδοθέντων πάντων τῶν ἐπίπλων εἰς δέκα μῆνας. Diod. 19. 15 μισθοδοτήσας δὲ τοὺς Μακεδόνας εἰς ἕξ μῆνας 'for six months.' Strab. 17. 1, 2 διεστᾶσι δὲ εἰς δέκα ἢ δώδεκα ἡμερῶν ὁδόν. Athen. 4. 53 χοίρικα κριθῶν εἰς τέσσαρας ἡμέρας διεμέτρει τοῖς ἀνοήτοις Ἀθηναῖοις. See also 1528.

1550<sup>b</sup>. Also this usage of εἰς is most common in N, as: εἰς ἓνα μῆνα, εἰς εἴκοσι μέρες, εἰς δέκα ὥρες.

1551. iii. To denote the instrument: *with*. In this usage, which is a translation of Hebraistic ἐν (1562), it is uncommon in *P*, and utterly unknown to *N*.

Martyr. Areth. 10 εἰθ' οὕτως εἰς πύλους λακμηθῆναι τὴν τέφραν εἰς τὸν δέρα. JMoschos 2949 B ἐσφόγγισεν τὸν ποῦρον εἰς τὸ ἱμάτιον αὐτοῦ. 2996 C εἰς τὸ θανατικόν. Leont. Neap. V. J. 39, 14 εἰς γονάχιον θερμαίνῃ. 38, 17 εἰς παλλὴν σκεπάζεται. Mal. 381, 3 ἐσφάγη εἰς καλάμια δυνθέντα. 407, 15 εἰς ἀξίνας ἐκοπτον τὸν ἀργυρον. 426, 9. 178, 15.—See also 1562.

1552. As a distinctly foreign element may be considered the use of εἰς before the predicate of a substantive (1159. 1285). This is an Hebraism (*beth substantiae*) which, through the influence of the Septuagint, became a favourite expression with Biblical imitators, but remained alien to popular speech. It is utterly unknown to *N*.

Sept. Gen. 2, 24 ἔσονται οἱ δύο εἰς σάρκα μίαν. 12, 2 ποιῶσα σε εἰς ἔθνος μέγα. 34, 12 δώσατέ μοι τὴν παῖδα ταύτην εἰς γυναῖκα. 48, 19 οὗτος ἔσται εἰς λαόν, et passim. 1 John 5, 8 οἱ τρεῖς εἰς τὸ ἓν εἰσιν. Clem. R. ad Cor. 11, 2 εἰς κρίμα καὶ εἰς ἡμείωσιν γίνονται. Ignat. ad Eph. 11, 1 ἵνα εἰς κρίμα γένῃται. Hermas Sim. 9, 13, 5 ἔσονται εἰς ἓν πνεῦμα. Test. xii. 1077 B ἔλαβον αὐτὴν εἰς γυναῖκα. 1125 B ἐπράβην εἰς δούλον, εἰς αἰχμαλωσίαν ἐλήφθην. Hdn. Hist. 5, 6, 5 χρήματα ἀμπλείστα τῇ θεῷ εἰς προῖκα ἐπιδοῦναι. Neocaes. Can. 12 εἰς πρεσβύτερον ἀγεσθαι οὐ δύναται 'he cannot be made a presbyter.' Acta Tho. 22, 22 ἔσται ὑμῖν αὕτη ἡ εὐχαριστία εἰς εὐσπλαγχνίαν καὶ ἔλεος καὶ ἀμοιβήν. 36, 14 ἔσται σοι τοῦτο εἰς ἀφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν. 82, 10 γενέσθαι ταῖς ψυχαῖς ταύταις εἰς ἀφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν. 80 ib. 28. Macar. 533 B ὁ θεὸς ἔχρισεν αὐτὸν εἰς βασιλεία. ib. C τοῦτον προορίσας εἰς ἡγούμενον. Socr. 7, 23 δεχθῆναι εἰς βασιλεία δέμενος. Lyd. 220, 3 προσελάβοντό με εἰς πρῶτον χαρτουλάριον. Leont. Neap. V. J. 49, 22 κύρην ἔχων εἰς γυναῖκα.

1553. To Hebraistic influence seems further to point the use of εἰς (like that of ἐν 1563) to denote the price: *for*, as: Greg. Nyss. iii. 1097 C τριάκοντά μοι τεχνίτας συνέβητο εἰς τὸν χρύσινον ἐπὶ τῷ τετραπενδικῷ ἔργῳ. JMoschos 2992 A ἔλαβον εἰς τὰ δύο λεπτά θερμιά. Const. iii. 1017 A ἀγοράσαι εἰς νομίσματα ἕξ. Codin. 99, 7 πιπράσκεισθαι τοῦ σίτου μόδιον ἐν εἰς τὸ νόμισμα 'one bushel for a coin.' Leont. Neap. V. J. 28, 5 οὐ συνεχώρησας τῷ δούλῳ σου εἰς χρήματα πωλῆσαι τὴν χάριν σου. 39, 25 ἡγόρασεν αὐτὸ εἰς τριάκοντα ἕξ νομίσματα. So 44, 17. 55, 20 τὸν μισθὸν ὃν ἐποίησεν εἰς τὰς ἑπτὰ ἡμισυ λίτρας. (1340. 1660.)

1553<sup>b</sup>. Elliptical is the construction of εἰς with genitive in phrases like πορεύομαι εἰς διδασκάλου (sc. οἴκον), a peculiarity which still survives in *N*: πάγῳ 's τοῦ δασκάλου, 's τοῦ γειτόνου, εἰς τοῦ λατροῦ. (1289 f. 1517<sup>b</sup> f.)

1554. In *N* εἰς shows, beside this ancient form, two by-forms caused by phonopathy:

a. An abbreviated form 's due to the weakness of the i-sound (146-154), and found even in MSS of the IX<sup>th</sup>, a circumstance which points to its still greater age. (Cp. ἡ 's for ἡ εἰς in Ar. Ran. 186 f. Thesm. 1122, and FBechtel 174, a, 2, Chios.)

CGL iii. 648 'c τὸ φόρον. 649 'c τὰ δεξιὰ κρούσατε. κατέβη 'c τὸν δαφνῶνα. 650 'c τὴν οἰκίαν εἰμί. ἀκολούθησόν μοι 'c τὸ κρεπωλεῖον. 651 'c τὸ δημόσιον ἡ ἐν τῷ ἰδιωτικῷ. μήτι θέλεις ἐλθεῖν 'c τὸν ἀφεδρῶνα; 652 ἔρχου 'c τὸ ἰδρωτήριον. 653 καὶ 'c κανίσκιον εἰσοίσει. Prodr. passim;—and so on ever since.

b. An amplified form εἰσέ, now very frequent before consonants (208).

1554<sup>b</sup>. As a *N* curiosity mark that the frequent association with topographical names of εἰς, especially in the form 's, led to its provection and incorporation with the succeeding name (130), so that in *N*, topographical

names often begin with a parasitic σ, as : εἰς Καρδαμύλην Σ-καρδαμούλα, 's Κάρπαθον Σ-κάρπαθος, 's Ἀμυσόν (Σ-αμ'σος) Σ-αμφούς, 's Ἥτειαν Σ-ητεία (in east Crete). 's Ἰτανον Σ-ίτανος (ib.), etc.—So too Turkish Σ-ταμπούλ ('s τὴν Πόλιν), Σ-τάν-Κιοϊ ('s τὴν Κῶν), etc.

### Ἐν.

**1555.** Ἐν (from ἐνς, 1536) with the DATIVE only : *in*.

It follows expressions of *rest* and thus is opposed to εἰς (1536); also to ἐξ (1566).

**1556.** 1. Of Place :

*a. in* :—ἐν Ἀθήναις, ἐν τῇ πόλει, ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι. ἡ ἐν Μαραθῶνι μάχῃ 'the battle in M.'

*b. among* :—ἐν τοῖς φίλοις, ἐν Μήδοις. ἐν πολλοῖς λέγειν 'to speak in the presence of many people.'—So too in *P-B* Greek, as Sept. Ps. 50 (51), 7 ἰδοὺ γὰρ ἐν ἀνομίαις συνελήμφθην καὶ ἐν ἁμαρτίαις ἐκίσσησέ (read ἐκύησέ) με ἡ μήτηρ μου.

**1557.** In this local usage (*a* & *b*), ἐν is sometimes identified with εἰς (1538). In either case, *G-B* uses sometimes (ἀνὰ) μέσον (1525), sometimes ἐντός or εἰσω.

**1558.** 2. Of Time : *in* ; *during* ; *within* :

ἐν νυκτί. ἐν τῷ χειμῶνι. ἐν πέντε ἡμέραις. ἐν ταῖς σπονδαῖς 'during the armistice.'

**1559.** 3. Metaphorically : of *manner* and *means* : *in* ; *with* :

ἐν τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ 'in this manner.' ἐν σιωπῇ 'in silence.'—Xen. An. 6, 1, 4 ἔπινον ἐν κερατινοῖς ποτηρίοις. Lys. 26, 9 ἐν τῷ ἑκαστον δικαίως ἄρχειν ἡ πολιτεία σώζεται. Isocr. 3, 61 τὴν εὐνοίαν τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις ἐνδείκνυσθε μᾶλλον ἢ ἐν τοῖς λόγοις.—ὄρω ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς 'I see with my eyes' ; so Luc. Amor. 29 ἐν ὄμμασιν βλέπειν.

**1560.** 4. *Phrases* : ἐν φόβῳ εἶναι 'to be in fear.' ἐν σοὶ εἶναι 'it is in your power.' ἐν αἰτίᾳ ἔχειν τινά 'to hold one responsible.' ἐν παρασκευῇ εἶναι 'to be in preparation.' ἐλπίδας ἔχειν ἐν τινι 'to have one's hopes on some one.' ἐν ὅπλοις εἶναι 'to be under arms.' ἐν βραχεί 'briefly.' ἐν δέοντι 'in the right moment.' ἐν τάχει 'speedily.' ἐν ὄμμασιν 'before one's eyes.'

**1561.** 5. Peculiarly frequent, especially in Biblical writers and their imitators, is the use of ἐν τῷ with the present (also aorist) infinitive, instead of the present (or aorist) participle (1601. 2075<sup>b</sup>. 2141<sup>c</sup>. 2163<sup>b</sup>. 2170, i. App. vi. 21) :—ἐν τῷ σπεῖρειν, ἐν τῷ καθεύδειν, ἐν τῷ ἀκοῦειν, ἐν τῷ λαλῆσαι—for σπεῖρων (σπείρας), καθεύδων, etc.

**1562.** 6. The metaphorical (instrumental) use of ἐν (1559-1561), which on the whole is uncommon in *A*, becomes considerably frequent in *P* times, notably among Biblical writers and their imitators, who often go as far as to place it before any dative ; a phenomenon which points to Hebrew influence, and moreover indicates the retreat of the loose (instrumental, etc.) dative (1381<sup>b</sup>).

Sept. Gen. 48, 22 ἦν ἔλαβον ἐκ χειρὸς Ἀμορραίων ἐν μαχαίρᾳ μου καὶ τόξῳ. Judith 1, 15 κατηκόντισεν αὐτὸν ἐν ταῖς ζιβύναις αὐτοῦ. Esai. 10, 15 μὴ

1562-1566.] PREPOSITIONS : *ἐν*, *ἐξ* (*ἐκ*).

δοξασθήσεται *ἀξίην* *ἀνευ* τοῦ κόπτοντος *ἐν* αὐτῇ. Matth. 7, 2 μετρεῖν *ἐν* μέτρῃ. 5, 13 δλίξιν *ἐν* ἁλάτι. Luke 22, 49 πατάσσειν *ἐν* μαχαίρᾳ. Mark 14, 1 ἐζήτουν πῶς αὐτὸν *ἐν* δόλῳ κρατήσαντες ἀποκτείνωσιν. Rev. 6, 8 ἀποκτείνειν *ἐν* βομφαίᾳ, et passim. Luc. Asin. 44 τεθνηκὼς *ἐν* ταῖς πληγαῖς. Dial. Mort. 23, 3 καθικύμενον *ἐν* τῇ ῥάβδῳ. Conser. hist. 12 *ἐν* ἀκορτίῳ φονεύειν. Hdn. Hist. 7, 5, 2 *ἐν* βρόχῳ τοῦ βίου ἀνεπαύσατο. 1. 5, 4 τῶν *ἐν* ὄπλοις ἔργων. Acta Tho. 8, 16 αἱ πασάδες *ἐν* καλᾶμῳ κεκόσμηνται. Test. xii. 1125 β *ἐν* λιμῷ συνεσχέσθη. Acta Xanth. 62, 4 ἐπικερασθῆναι *ἐν* τῇ θλίψει ἐτέραν θλίψιν. ib. 16 ἐτέρφθη πᾶν *ἐν* αὐτῷ. Callin. 57, 12 *ἐν* δίψῃ ζητούντες ποῦ εὐρεῖν ἄνδρα. 91, 2 *ἐν* ἰδίσμασι τρέφειν τὸ σῶμα. 113, 10 ἔκρουσεν *ἐν* ξύλῳ. 129, 10. Mal. 50, 11 *ἐν* ἡ ἐβάσταζεν *ἀξίην* ἔκλασε τὸ ξύλον.—Cp. also 1551.

1563. 7. Another *P* but rare use of *ἐν* is that denoting the *price* : *for*. This is a paraphrase of *εἰς* under Hebraistic influence (cp. 1553). 1 Chr. 21, 24 ἀγοράσω *ἐν* ἀργυρίῳ. Rev. 5, 9 ἀγοράζειν *ἐν* τῷ αἵματι.

1564. 8. But the most notable feature in the *P-N* history of *ἐν* is that, owing to its final *ν* and its dative construction, it retreated before its synonym *εἰς* prior to *T* (1548), its continuance in the subsequent literature being due solely to scholastic affectation (1247). As a matter of course there is no trace of *ἐν* in *N*. See 1548.

1565. 9. As was to be expected, during the period of confusion, *ἐν* was used very frequently for *εἰς*, occasionally even with the accusative.

1. *Ἐν* for *εἰς* : Sept. Judic. 6, 35 καὶ ἀγγέλου ἐξαπέστειλεν *εἰς* πάντα Μανασσῇ καὶ *ἐν* Ἀσῇ καὶ Ζαβουλὼν καὶ *ἐν* Νεφθαλί. Tobit 5, 5 πορευθῆναι μετὰ σοῦ *ἐν* Ῥάγοις. Luke 9, 46 εἰσῆλθεν δὲ διαλογισμὸς *ἐν* αὐτοῖς. 23, 42 ὅταν ἔλθῃς *ἐν* τῇ βασιλείᾳ σου. 1 Cor. 11, 18 συνέρχεσθαι *ἐν* ἐκκλησίᾳ. Dion. H. i. 185, 12 ἔλθειν *ἐν* Ἰταλίᾳ. Epict. 1, 11, 32 *ἐν* Ῥώμῃ ἀνέρχῃ. Luc. Tox. 17 *ἐν* ταύτῃ φεύγειν *εἰς* δαί τεταγμένος. Ael. 4, 18 κατήλθε Πλάτων *ἐν* Σικελίᾳ. Paus. 6, 20, 4 αὐτοὶ κομίσει φασὶ τῆς Ἰσποδαμείας τὰ ὀστά *ἐν* Ὀλυμπίᾳ. Proch. 8, 3 εἰσελεῖν *ἐν* Ἐφέσῳ καὶ μέινον ἐκεῖ μῆνας τρεῖς. 10, 10 κρατήσαντες με ἀπήγαγον *ἐν* τῇ φυλακῇ. Καὶ τῇ ἐπαύριον προσήνεγκάν με *ἐν* δημοσίᾳ τόπῳ, et passim. Mal. 27, 6. 28, 19. 34, 20. 35, 10. 36, 6. 89, 9. 135, 14. 184, 25. 212, 4 ; et passim. Leont. Neap. V. J. 11, 18 εἰσέρχεσθαι *ἐν* τῷ οἴκῳ τοῦ θεοῦ. 20, 21 κατερχομένου ποτὲ τοῦ ἁγιατοῦ τούτου *ἐν* κυριακῇ *ἐν* τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ. 28, 2 πέμψας *ἐν* Σικελίᾳ διὰ οἶτον—et passim.

2. *Ἐν* with accusative : Apoc. Mar. 119, 26 πλῆθος ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ γυναικῶν ἐκαίοντο *ἐν* αὐτά.

1565<sup>b</sup>. Elliptical is the construction of *ἐν* with genitive in phrases like *ἐν* τῷ Πλούτῳ, *ἐν* Πανδίῳ (sc. *ἱερῷ*), οἰκοῦσα *ἐν* Ἑφαιστιαδῶν (sc. *δήμῳ*), etc. KMeisterhans<sup>1</sup> 176 f. (cp. 1517<sup>b</sup>)<sup>(1)</sup>.

*Ἐξ*.

1566. *Ἐξ*, before consonants *ἐκ*, with GENITIVE only : *out of*, *from*.

It denotes *motion from inside* and thus is opposed to *εἰς* (1536) and *ἐν* (1555.)

<sup>(1)</sup> Clerical errors seem to underly such instances, as : Mal. 483, 10 ἀμφία ἐγένετο *ἐν* ἀμφοτέρων τῶν μερῶν. Porph. Cer. 540, 17 εἰ δὲ *ἐν* δευτέρᾳς λέχῃ ἢ πρώτῃ τοῦ Αὐγούστου. 541, 5 εἰ δὲ *ἐν* παρασκευῇς λέχῃ ἢ πρώτῃ τοῦ Αὐγούστου. 646, 17 κατετίθη *ἐν* τῇ αὐτῇ μονῇ *ἐν* χαμοσουρίου.

1. Of Place: *out of, from* : ἐκ τῆς πόλεως φεύγειν. ἐκ τῆς γῆς φύεσθαι.

*Phrases* : ἐκ πολλοῦ 'at a great distance.' ἐκ δεξιᾶς 'on the right hand.' ἐξ ἀριστερᾶς 'on the left hand.' ἐκ τῆς ἐναντίας 'opposite.' ἐξ ἀπόπτου 'at an invisible distance.'

[In Mart. Pauli 108, 3 for ἐξ αὐτοῦ γενόμενος write ἐξ αὐτοῦ γενόμενος.]

1567. 2. Of Time: *from, since* : ἐκ παίδων 'since childhood.' ἐκ παλαιοῦ 'from of old.' ἐκ τῆς εἰρήνης 'soon after the peace.' ἐξ ἄρχῃς 'from the outset.' ἐκ τούτου 'thereupon.' ἐξ οὗ 'since.' ἐκ πολλοῦ 'a long time since.'

### 1568. 3. Metaphorically :

(a) *origin* : ἐκ πατρὸς εὐγενοῦς εἶναι. ἐκ μητρός. ἐκ Διός.

(b) *cause* : *owing to, by reason of* : ἐξ ἔριδος 'in consequence of a dispute.' (Cp. Ν ἐξ αἰτίας 'on account of.')

(c) *agency* (= ὑπὸ 1695, a), *by, an uncommon use* : τιμᾶσθαι ἐκ τινος. πόλεως ἐκ βασιλείας δεδομέναι. Hdt. 7, 175 τὰ λεχθέντα ἐξ Ἀλεξάνδρου.

(d) *material* : *from, of* :—ἐκ πωμα ἐκ ξύλου. (1503, 3, b.)

(e) *Inference or agreement* : *according to* :—ἐκ τῶν παρόντων 'under present conditions.' ἐκ τῶνδε 'in these circumstances.' ἐκ τῶν δυνατῶν 'to the best of one's ability.' ἐκ τούτων 'accordingly,' 'hence.' ἐξ ὑποψίας 'on suspicion.' σκοπεῖν or κρίνειν ἐκ 'to judge by.' ἐξ ἴσου 'equally.' ἐκ βίας, ἐκ χειρός, 'violently.'

1568<sup>b</sup>. In all the above usages (1566-8), ἐξ has been replaced by ἀπὸ in N speech. See 1506.

1569. 4. Under Latin influence, and agreeably to the usage of its synonymous ἀπὸ (1512), ἐξ sometimes denotes :

(a) a member or follower of a particular school or class (1512) :—Sept. Judic. 15, 2 ἔδωκα αὐτὴν ἐνὶ τῶν ἐκ τῶν φίλων σου. Nicol. D. 87 ἀπὸ τῶν ἐκ τῆς συγκλήτου.

(b) The title or office, corresponding to the Latin *ex-* (1514) :—Aster. 224 c τὸν ἐκ στρατηγῶν . . . τὸν ἐξ ὑπάτων ἐκείνων, 'ex-general, ex-consul.'

1570. 5. Lastly it is to be noted that, following the vicissitudes of all other prepositions (1493<sup>b</sup>), ἐξ lost its syntactical force and thus exchanged the genitive for the *accusative*. This appears in written composition since the VIII<sup>th</sup> [1].

Alchem. 21, 24 ἐξ αἰτόν (ubi ἐξ αὐτοῦ, but cp. ib. 317 note). 317, 1 ἐκ τῆς πόρον. 326, 13 ἐκ τὰ μέταλλα. Syncell. 72, 9 ἐκ τὰ Χαλκιδικά. Porph. Cer. 214, 14 ἐκ τὰς πατρικίας. Leo Gram. 359, 20 ἐκ τοῦς εὐγενεῖς.—Prodr. 6, 340 λαπάραν 'κ τῆς λαπάραν σου ἐξ αἰτήν τῆς βαστάξεις. GSpata 90 (A.D. 1096) ἐκ τὸν ἄγιον Πέτρον. 114 (1142 A.D.) ἐκ τοῦς ἀνθρώπους. 122 (1142 A.D.) ἐκ τὸ δουμάνιον. 124 ἐκ τὸν ἄγιον Φίλιππον—et passim.

1571. It is in this accusative construction that ἐξ survived down to the XVI<sup>th</sup>. However, even here it usually appears accompanied by the article (τὸν, τὴν, τοὺς, τὰ, τὰς), in the form of ἐκ or rather ἐκ (174), dialectally also ὁκ or ὄκ, a form probably due to the influence of ἀπὸ (Pul. 243 ὁκ τῆς κεφαλῆν σου).

[1] But cp. Louvre Pap. 54 (B.C. 163-2), 79 ἐξ Ἡρακλείου πολέιν(?).



## ἐπί.

1572. Ἐπὶ *upon*—with ACCUS., GEN. and DAT.

A. With ACCUSATIVE :

1573. 1. Of Place (motion) : *upon, to ; against* :

ἐφ' ἵππον ἀναβαίνειν 'to mount on horseback.' ὁδὸς ἐπὶ Σοῦρα φέρουσα 'leading to.' ἐπὶ τὰ ὄπλα τρέχειν. ἐπὶ δεξιὰ 'to the right.' ἐπὶ τριάκοντα στάδια 'to the extent of 30 stades.' ἰέναι οὐ πορεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τινα 'to march against some one.'

1574. 2. Of Time : *during* :

ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας. ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον, ἐπὶ πολὺ 'for a long time.'

1574<sup>b</sup>. For P-B see 1275 f. & 1344.1575. 3. *Metaphorically : with the object of, for, in search of* :

ἐπὶ λείαν ἐξίέναι, ἐφ' ὕδωρ πέμπειν. ἐπ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο πάρειμι 'for this very thing.' [Mal. 469, 17 ἐξέπεμψε Ναρσὴν ἐπὶ τῷ (read τὸ) παραλαβεῖν.]

1576. *Phrases* : ἐπὶ πολὺ 'over a great space,' 'for a long while.' ὥς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ 'mostly.' ἐπὶ δόρυ (sc. ἀναστρέφειν) 'to the right.' ἐπὶ τὴν ἀσπίδα (sc. μεταβάλλεσθαι) 'to the left.'

1576<sup>b</sup>. For P-B see 1583.1577. B. With GENITIVE : *upon* :1. Of Place *upon, on* :

(a) rest on :—ἐφ' ἄρματος ὀχεῖσθαι. ἐφ' ἵππων 'on horseback.' ἐπὶ τοῦ ὄρους. ἐπὶ τοῦ δεξιοῦ κέρως 'on the right wing.' ἐπὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ 'by the river.'

(b) motion : *towards, to* :—ἐπ' Ἰωνίας ἀπιέναι, ἐπὶ Σάμοι πλεῖν. ἐπὶ οἶκου ἰέναι 'to return home.'

1578. 2. Of Time : *in the time of* :

ἐπὶ Κροίσου 'in the reign of K.' ἐπὶ Περικλέους ἀρχόντος 'under the archonship of P.' ἐπ' ἐμοῦ 'in my time.' οἱ ἐφ' ἡμῶν 'our contemporaries.'

1579. 3. *Metaphorically* :

(a) distribution (1497, b. 1589, b) : *by* :—ἐπὶ τεσσάρων 'four men deep.' ἐφ' ἐνός 'in single file,' 'one by one.' ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν 'each by himself.'

(b) superintendence, *at the head of* :—ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ οἴνου 'butler.' ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν δεσμών = δεσμοφύλαξ. ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν νομισμάτων 'master of the mint.' δς ἦν ἐπὶ τῶν βιβλιοθηκῶν 'librarian.' (1582, a.)

1580. C. With the DATIVE : *upon*.1. Of Place (rest) *on, upon* :

ἐπὶ ναυσίν 'on board the ships.' ἐπὶ τοῖς ὀρίοις 'on the frontier.' ἐπὶ τῇ θαλάσῃ 'on the shore,' 'by the sea.'

1581. 2. Of Time : *immediately after* :

ἐπὶ τῷ τρίτῳ σμηΐφ. ἐπὶ τούτοις 'thereupon.' ἐπ' ἐξειργασμένῳ 'this being done.'

1582. 3. *Metaphorically* :

(a) superintendence : *at the head of* :—ὁ ἐπὶ τῷ στρατεύματι. ὁ ἐπὶ τῇ πόλει. οἱ ἐπὶ τοῖς ναυσίν 'commanders.' (1579, b.)

(b) dependence: *in the power of*:—ἐφ' ἡμῖν ἐστιν 'it lies in our power.' τὸ ἐπ' ἐμοί 'as far as it depends on me.' ἐπὶ τῷ ἀδελφῷ. ἐπὶ βασιλεῖ γίγνεσθαι 'to come under the power of the king.'

(c) condition: *for*:—ἐπὶ μισθῷ 'for pay.' ἐπὶ τοῖς 'on these conditions.' ἐφ' ὧτε 'on the condition that.'

(d) cause (chiefly with verbs denoting emotion, 1387 ff. 2128): *at*:—ἐπὶ τινὶ χαίρειν, ἀλγεῖν, ᾔδεσθαι, γελᾶν, μέγα φρονεῖν, ἐκπλαγῆναι.

(e) aim or object: *for* (cp. 1657, c):—ἐπὶ τοῦτῳ 'to this end.' ἐπὶ νίκῃ τρέχειν. ἐπὶ τόκῳ δανείζειν 'to lend upon interest.' ἐπ' ἀργύρῳ 'for money.'

[A popular reminiscence of this use seems to underlie the expressions: ἐπὶ τούτου, ἐπὶ ταύτῳ (or rather ἐπιτ.) 'on purpose.']

(f) accumulation: *upon*:—ὄρχη ἐπ' ὄρχη γηράσκει 'pear upon pear.'

**1583.** The *P* history of ἐπὶ is rather obscure. It is true that, to judge from the written compositions, it was on the whole common as late as *M* times, but since it comes here to an abrupt close, and no genuine trace of it is shown in subsequent popular compositions, there is strong reason to suspect that its post-Christian record was due, at least since *T*, to an Atticistic or scholastic zeal. This may be also inferred from the fact that ἐπὶ is often used, since *G* times, in a perverted sense and construction, and moreover too frequently replaced by some other appropriate expression according to the sense. In its usual broad meaning of *upon* it is mostly replaced by the adverb ἐπάνω, which at still later times is often accompanied by the preposition ἐἰς.

1. Matt. 13, 2 ὁ ὄχλος ἐπὶ τὸν αἰγιαλὸν εἰσῆκει. 9, 9 εἶδεν ἄνθρωπον καθήμενον ἐπὶ τῷ τελώνιον. So Mark 2, 14. Matt. 24, 2 λίθος ἐπὶ λίθον Phil. 2, 27 λόπην ἐπὶ λήπην. (But cp. Pl. Legg. 718 D πῦρ ἐπὶ πῦρ ὀχετεύειν.) Luke 11, 17 ὁ ἄκος ἐπὶ οἶκον πίπτει. Luc. Zeux. 4, 1 ἐπὶ πλεῦραν κειμένης. Hdn. Hist. 4, 8, 2 καυσίαν ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν φέρον. Acta Xanth. 62, 6 ὁδὸν ἐπ' ὁδὸν κερδαίνει. Leont. Neap. V. J. 15, 18 εἶχεν στέφανον ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτῆς.<sup>[1]</sup>

2. App. Hesp. 41 διέμειναν ἐς πλείστον ἐπὶ εἰρήνης. 101 ἤλυνεν ἐς Ῥώμην ἐπὶ τόλμῃς καὶ φρονήματος λαμπροῦ. Syt. 40 ἐς τὸ δικαστήριον αὐτὸς παρήλθεν ἐπὶ λαμπρῷ σχήματι. M. Aur. 6, 21 βλάπτεται δὲ ὁ ἐπιμένων ἐπὶ τῆς εἰρήνης ἀπάτης καὶ ἀγνοίας. 6, 23 ἐφ' ἅπασιν δὲ τοῖς θεοῖς ἐπικαλοῦ. 5, 4 κατασκευάσθαι ἐπὶ τι.<sup>[2]</sup>

3. Matt. 5, 14 ἐπάνω ὅρος κειμένη. 23, 20 ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς ἐπάνω αἰτοῦ. Luke 19, 17 ἐρουσίαν ἔχον ἐπάνω δέκα πόλεων. John 3, 31 ἐπάνω πάντων ἐστίν. Leont. Neap. V. J. 154, 2 συναξιν εὐθέως ἐποίησεν τελείαν ἐπάνω αἰτοῦ. 15,

[<sup>1</sup>] So further: 2 Cor. 3, 15 κάλυμμα ἐπὶ τὴν καρδίαν κεῖται. Acts 10, 17 ἰδοὺ οἱ ἄνδρες... ἔστησαν ἐπὶ τὸν πηλῶνα. 1 Pet. 4, 14 τὸ πνεῦμα ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ἀναπαύεται. (Cp. Rev. 14, 9 ἐπὶ τοῦ μετώπου αὐτοῦ ἢ ἐπὶ τὴν χεῖρα αὐτοῦ.)—Luc. Hermot. 4, 1 ἐπὶ τὸ ἄκρον ἔσεσθαι σε. Diod. 20, 7, 4 στὰς ἐπὶ τὴν πρυμναν. Leont. Neap. V. J. 100, 10 ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν στέφανον περιβεβλημένην. 58, 8.

[<sup>2</sup>] So further: App. Civil. 2, 71 ἐπ' ἀργίας ἐν Κερκύρᾳ κατέμεινον. 4, 37 ἐπ' ἀδείας ἐξέπλευσεν. Hesp. 32 Μάγαν ἐπὶ ἀργίας ἦν. 36 ἐφ' ἡσύχιας ἦν σκυθρωποῦ. 9 ἐπὶ κλέους ἀθανάτου γενήσεσθαι. Pan. 93 ἐπὶ θαυμαστῆς ἐγγίγοντο μεταβολῆς τε καὶ τόλμης. Civil. 1, 7 ἐπ' ἀργίας διετίθετο. M. Aur. 8, 49 οὕτως οὖν μένει δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν πρώτων φαντασιῶν. 6, 40 ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν ἐπὶ φύσεως συνεχομένων ἐνδον ἐστὶ καὶ παραμένει ἡ κατασκευάσασα δύναμις. 9, 23 τὴν ἀναφορὰν ἔχειν ἐπὶ τὴν τέλος. 7, 4 ἀναφορὰ ἐπὶ τι γίνεται.

17 εἰσελθεῖν ἐπάνω μου. 34, 12 ὁ ἐπάνω τῆς ἀγορᾶς. Theoph. 297, 17 ὁ ἐπάνω τοῦ ἁρμαμέντου. Alchem. 302, 12 ὅπτα ἰγλῶν ἐπάνωθεν.—J Moschos 2864 β ἐπάνω εἰς τὸ χεῖλος τῆς κολυμβήθρας.<sup>11</sup>

4. Matt. 15, 32 σπλαγχνίζεσθαι ἐπὶ τῖνα. So Mark 8, 2. Narr. Zos. 104, 14 χαίρομεν μετὰ τῶν ἀγγέλων περὶ τῶν ἔργων τῶν δικαίων, ἐπὶ δὲ τὰ ἔργα τῶν ἀμαρτωλῶν λυπούμεθα. Vita SA 8\* ο λυπηθεὶς ἐπὶ τὸ συμβεβηκός αὐτῷ. 14\* ε ἀγανακτεῖν ἐπ' αὐτόν. 28\* β θαμβηθεὶς ὁ νέος ἐπὶ τὸ ὀρώμενον. 37\* β ἐφρίξεν ἐπὶ τὴν πρόρρησιν.—Mark further *N* ὀργίζομαι τινος 'hate one' (1336).

## Κατά.

1584. Κατὰ with Accus. and GEN.: *down*—opposed to *ἀνά*.

1585. A. with Accusative :

1. Of Place, *down along* :

κατὰ τὸν ποταμόν 'down the river.' κατ' ἀγροῦς 'over (or in) the fields.' παῖειν τινὰ κατὰ στέρνον 'to strike one on the breast.' κατὰ τοὺς Μῆδοὺς τετάχθαι 'over against the M.' ἡ κατὰ Κέρκυραν ἡπειρος. κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν 'by land and by sea' [cp. 1525]. τὸ καθ' αὐτοὺς 'the part opposite them.'

1586. In the common language from *G* times to the present day, κατὰ with the Accusative of place denotes direction *towards* :

Jos. Ant. 15, 9, 6 τὰς κατὰ λίβα προσβολάς. Diosc. 4, 169 κατὰ ἄνεμον. Arr. P. Eux. 39 νεφέλη ἐπαναστάσα ἐξερράγη κατ' εὔρον μάλιστα.—So now: κατὰ τὴν ἀνατολήν 'eastward' (cp. 1588 & 1636).

1587. 2. Of Time : *at, in* :—κατ' ἐκείνον τὸν χρόνον 'at that time.' οἱ καθ' ἡμᾶς 'our contemporaries.'

1588. In *N* this relation of κατὰ is expressed by the simple accusative (1274 f.). It is true that κατὰ is now used of time, but then it is equivalent to *περὶ* 'about' (1636 ; cp. 1640).

1589. 3. Metaphorically :

a. According to, after :—κατὰ τοὺς νόμοις 'according to the laws.' κατὰ Πλάτωνα. κατὰ τὴν ἐμὴν δόξαν 'in my opinion.' τὸ κατ' ἐμέ 'I for one,' 'as regards me.' κατὰ δύναμιν 'to the best of one's ability.' μείζων ἢ κατ' ἀνθρώπον 'beyond man's power.' κατὰ ταῦτά 'in the same manner.' κατὰ πάντα 'in all respects.' κατὰ κράτος διώκειν 'to pursue hard.' καθ' ἡσυχίαν 'at leisure.' τὰ κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον 'military affairs.' τὰ κατὰ τὸν Τέλλον 'the affairs of Tellos.'

b. Distributively (662, 2) : *by, per* :—κατὰ τετρακισχιλίους 'every 4000.' κατὰ ἔθνη 'each people separately.' καθ' ἓνα 'singly.' ἕκαστος καθ' ἑαυτόν 'each by himself.' καθ' ἡμέραν 'day by day,' 'daily.' κατ' ἔτος, *G-N* καθ' ἔτος (as Gr. Urk. Berlin 197 [+ 18] thrice), 'annually.' (For *N* see 1590<sup>b</sup>.)

1589<sup>b</sup>. In this distributive sense, κατὰ is sometimes constructed with the nominative. 664.)

[<sup>11</sup>] So further: Matt. 28, 2 ἐκάθητο ἐπάνω αὐτοῦ. Leont. Neap. 34, 18 ὁ ἐπάνω τῶν καπῆλων. Chron. 697, 14 ὁ ἐπάνω τῶν χειροτονιῶν. Herdn. Hist. 6, 7, 7 ἐπ' αὐτό (if not corrupt) for ἐπ' αὐτῷ (1582, d). 2, 10, 7 ἐπιτηδεύειν ἐπὶ τὸ ἀποσκάψαι. Leont. Neap. V. Sy. 1692 β εἶχον χαρὰν ἐπὶ τοῦτο (if not ἐπὶ τούτῳ).

**1590.** The above metaphorical usage of *κατά* (1589, *b*) still survives in *N*: *κατά τὰ φαινόμενα* (more popular *κατά τὸ φανή*, App. vi. 26 f.) 'according to appearances.' *κατά τὰ λόγια τοῦ Πέτρου*, 'according to what Peter says.' *ὀλίγο κατ' ὀλίγο* (also *ἐλίγο κατ' ἐλίγο*) 'little by little.'— Sometimes the accusative is omitted and *κατά* then stands elliptically with the genitive dependent on the omitted accusative, as: *κατά τοῦ Πέτρου* 'according to Peter's account.' *κατά* (sc. *τὰ μέρη τοῦ*) *διαβόλου* = in the direction of the devil (1586), 'to the devil.' (Cp. 1594.)

**1590<sup>b</sup>.** Also in its distributive usage (1589, *b*), *κατά* is still preserved in *N*, but in the modified form *κάθε*, on which see 664 f.

**1591.** During *T-B* the curious combination *ὁ κατά (τὸν)* followed by a proper name was sometimes used to denote a *supra*name: *Ἰωσὼς 3069 B* 'Αθανάσιος ὁ κατά Ζήμαρχον Ἀντιοχείς. *Mal.* 494, 3 *Ἰσαάκιος ὁ ἀργυροπράτης ὁ κατά Βελισάριον τὸν πατρικίον.* *Theoph.* 237, 26 *Ἰωάννη τῷ λογοθέτῃ τῷ κατά Δομεντίολον (= ἐπονομαζομένῳ).* 438, 16 *Θεοφύλακτος κωνιδάτος ὁ κατά τὸν Μαρινάκην.* *Theoph. Cont.* 17, 6 *Ἰωάννης οὗτος ὁ κατά τὸν Ἐξαβούλιον.* 69, 18. 122, 8. 137, 8. *Porph. Cer.* 629. 6 ὁ πατρικίος ὁ κατά Ἰέσδην.— This usage is foreign to *N*.

## 1592. B. With GENITIVE :

### 1. Of Place :—

*a. down from*: *κατ' οὐρανοῦ. κατά τῶν ὀρώων. ῥίπτεσθαι κατά τείχος, κατά κρημνῶν.*—Hardly current in popular Greek even in ancient times.

*b. down upon; on*: *πίπτειν κατά πετρῶν. κατά χειρὸς χεῖν. κατά νότον* 'on the rear.' *κατά γῆς* 'underground,' 'on the ground.'

**1593.** In this usage, *b*, *κατά* remained more or less popular through all antiquity. But since *G* times it is peculiarly common in expressions denoting to *give a blow* (on the head, etc.: *δίδω κατά κεφαλῆς* κτλ.):

*Mal.* 269, 2 *ἔδωκε τῷ βασιλεῖ κατά τοῦ μετώπου.* 163, 4 *δίδωκε τῷ Συχαίῳ κατά τοῦ νότου αὐτοῦ τῇ λόγχῃ.* 165, 1 *τοξεύει αὐτὸν κατά τοῦ μαστοῦ.* 296, 22. 333, 1. 387, 15. *Chron.* 594, 19 *ἔδωκεν αὐτὸν κατά τῆς ἀκοῆς.* *Theoph.* 283, 22 *δὸς αὐτῷ κατά κρανίου.* 351, 31 *δίδωσι κατά κορυφῆς τοῦ βασιλείως.* So *Theoph. Cont.* 704, 13 *ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ κατά κεφαλῆς μετὰ ῥάβδου.* (Cp. also 1607, 3.)

**1594.** In similar (adverbial) expressions it still survives in *N*, as: *κατά γῆς, κατά κεφαλῆς. κατά θάνατον* 'deadly,' *κατά διαβόλου* (1590), *κατ' ἀνέμου* 'to the winds,' *κατά κράτος* (cp. 1589, *a*) 'completely,' *κατά μεσῆς* (*καταμεσῆς*,—*T-B κατά μέσον* [cp. *Il.* π 8; *Od.* κ 157], as: *Mal.* 339. 3. 418, 10; and *κατά μέσος* as: *Mal.* 200, 16. 264, 3. 286, 5) 'right in the middle' (1596)— though it is now more commonly used as a prefix: *κατακέφαλα*, = *κατά κεφαλῆς*, *κατάμουτρα* = *κατά προσώπου* 'on the face,' *καταχαρούμενος* = *περιχαρής*.

**1595. 2. Metaphorically**: (*down upon*), *against*: *λέγειν κατά τινος. ὁ κατ' Ἐρατοθένογος λόγος.*

**1595<sup>b</sup>.** Hence *καταψηφίζομαι, κατηγορῶ, καταφρονῶ* *τινος* (1346).

**1596.** This usage of *κατά*, though very common in *A-P* Greek, is unknown to *N*. Its loss however can be traced back to *T*, as may be gathered from such blunders as: *Vita-Epiph.* 92 *ἄ παρείχεν αὐτῷ τὸν σῖτον*

κατὰ τριῶν μοδίῳν (for κατὰ τρεῖς μοδίους) 'at the rate of three modii (for a coin).' Mal. 436, 15 φόβος ἐγένετο κατὰ τῶν νοσοῦντων (for eis τοὺς νοσοῦντας) τὴν τῶν ἀρρέων ἐπιθυμίαν. 262, 21 Βῆτιος δ' σοφὸς χρονογράφος συνεγράψατο κατ' αὐτῶν (for περὶ αὐτῶν). 365, 21 λυπούμενη κατὰ Μαξιμοῦ. 447, 14 ἡγανάκτησε κατὰ τοῦ δογκός (cp. 1583, 4). 264, 3 & 286, 5 κατὰ μέσῳ (for κατὰ τὸ μέσον, now κατὰ μεσῆς 1594) 'in the centre.' Theoph. 353, 20 τὴν τοιαύτην τῶν Θεομάχων κατὰ Κωνσταντινοπόλει κίνησιν ἐγνώκας.

1597. The *A* use of κατὰ = *against* is expressed in *N* by the adverb ἐναντία, commonly ἐναντίας, ἀνάντια, also ἐναντινὰ or ἀναντινὰ.

### Μετά.

1598. *Metà* with ACCUS. and GEN.

1599. *A*. With ACCUSATIVE :

1. Of Place: *among, between*—only poetic, except in the phrases μετὰ χείρας ἔχειν 'to have in hand,' and μετὰ χείρας φέρειν 'to hold in the hand.'

1600. 2. Of Time: *after, next to*—very frequent :

μετὰ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον, μετὰ ταῦτα. μετὰ τὴν μάχην—Pl. Leg. 726 A μετὰ θεοῦς ψυχὴ θεϊότατον 'next to the gods the soul is most divine.' νύκτωρ καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν 'by night and by day.'—So too in *P-B* (1602. 1607).

1601. Peculiarly frequent is, especially in Biblical compositions and their imitations, the use of μετὰ τὸ with the infinitive aorist for the temporal participle of that tense (cp. 1561. 1601. 2075<sup>b</sup>. 2141<sup>c</sup>. App. vi. 21), as: μετὰ τὸ ἰδεῖν, μετὰ τὸ ἐλθεῖν, μετὰ τὸ ἐξερεθῆναι—for ἰδών, ἐλθών, ἐγερθεῖς.

1602. This usage of μετὰ survived until after *T*, when a confusion in the construction led to its gradual disappearance from the popular language (1607).

1603. Noteworthy for *P* Greek is that in clauses beginning with a temporal accusative, μετὰ is not infrequently placed before it by way of prolepsis, and then either repeated in the proper place of the sentence or omitted; in the latter case the noun depending on μετὰ is curiously put in the genitive (cp. 1513. 1651. EASoph. Lex. s. v. μετὰ) :

Sept. Jos. 9, 22 μετὰ τρεῖς ἡμέρας μετὰ τὸ διαβέσθαι πρὸς αὐτοὺς διαθήκη. 23, 1 μεθ' ἡμέρας πλείους μετὰ τὸ καταπαῦσαι κύριον τὸν Ἰσραὴλ ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν ἐχθρῶν αὐτοῦ. Gen. 16, 3 μετὰ δέκα ἔτη τοῦ οἰκῆσαι (for δέκα ἔτη μετὰ τὸ οἰκῆσαι). Dion. H. iv. 2443, 9 οὐ μετὰ πολλοὺς τοῦ γάμου τεκοῦσα χρόνους. Inst. Tryph. 27 πρὸ μᾶς ἡμέρας ἢ μετὰ μίαν ἡμέραν τοῦ σαββάτου. Dioec. 2, 21 ποθεῖσα μετὰ ἡμέρας τρεῖς μετὰ τὴν ἀφῆδρον. Const. Apost. 5, 20, 2 μετὰ δέκα ἡμέρας τῆς ἀναλήψεως. Soor. 464 B μετὰ τριάκοντα ἡμέρας τῆς αὐτοῦ ἀνακηρύξεως. Theod. ii. 276 A μετὰ πέντε μέντοι ἔτη τοῦ ἀλῶναι τὴν πόλιν. iii. 576 A μετὰ μῆνας πέντε τῆς ἐν Νικαίᾳ συνόδου. iv. 68 C μετὰ πλείστον τῆς ἐνώσεως χρόνον. 76 D μετὰ πολλὰς τῆς ἐνώσεως γενεάς. Theod. Lector 2, 1 ἠνώθησαν μετὰ ἱκατὸν ἔτη τοῦ θανάτου Εὐσταθίου. Anteo. 1, 20, 1 μετὰ διετία τῆς αὐτοῦ τελευτῆς. Callin. 114, 12 μετὰ πολλῶν χρόνων τοῦ ἐξορσθῆναι Νεστόρῳ. 122, 27 μετὰ ἐνιαυτὸν τῆς τελευτῆς τοῦ Ὑπατίου. Mal. 10, 11 μετὰ δύο ἔτη τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ. 88, 14 μετὰ οὖν νβ' ἔτη τοῦ τελευτῆσαι τὴν Πασιφάν.

1604. *B*. With GENITIVE: *with*—denoting *union*:—μετ' αὐτοῦ 'with him.' μεθ' ὧμων 'with you.' οἱ μετὰ Λεωνίδου

'those with L.' μάχεσθαι μετὰ τῶν συμμαχῶν 'to fight in common with the allies.'

### 1805. 2. Metaphorically :

*a with, in*—denoting *manner*:— μετὰ δακρύων 'with tears.' μετὰ κινδύνων 'with danger.' μετ' ἀδικίας 'unjustly.' μετὰ σπουδῆς 'in haste.' μετὰ παιδιᾶς 'in joke.' μετ' ἀκριβείας 'with precision.' μετὰ λόγου 'with reason.'

*b with, by means of*—denoting the instrument. This usage is rather rare in *A*, but common in *P*, especially in post-Christian Greek:—Lycurg. 124 μετὰ πολλῶν παραδειγμάτων διδάσκειν.

For *P-N* see 1607, 3.

1806. In its instrumental usage, *μετὰ* is naturally associated or identified with the instrumental dative (1381), and through this with the dative of the remote object or its prepositional analysis. Hence *μετὰ* often stands, from *G* times onwards, for the simple dative as well as for its analytical substitutes *ἐν*, *σύν*, *πρός*, *ἐκ*, etc. (1351). See 1607 ff.

1807. Since *G* the popular construction of *μετὰ* has been with the *accusative* only, and that chiefly in the sense of *with*, the force of 'after' having early disappeared (cp. 1602). Hence unscholarly writers of subsequent times not rarely confound the construction of the *accusative* with that of the *genitive*, and conversely. On the whole *μετὰ* is now identified with *σύν* and *ἀνά*.

#### 1. *Μετὰ + accusative = with, together with :*

Test. Patr. 1060 *A* μετὰ τὸν πατέρα ἡμῶν 'with our father.' Epiph. ii. 48 *C* χρῶνται γὰρ οἱ πλείστοι τῶν Περσῶν μετὰ (τὰ) Περσικὰ στοιχεῖα καὶ τῷ Σύρῳ γράμματι. 196 *B* τοῦ πλῆθους τοῦ μετὰ Ἀθανάσιον. Doroth. 1741 *C*. Mal. 5, 14 μετὰ τὴν ἐ' ὁμοῦ. 61, 15 ἔστιν οὖν ἀπὸ Ἀβραὰμ ἕως ἐξόδου τῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραὴλ μετὰ Μωσέα ἀπὸ Αἰγύπτου γενεαὶ ε'. 90, 11 τῶν δὲ Κορινθίων μετὰ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἐβασίλευσε τότε Ἀλήτης ἐτη λε'. Theoph. Cont. 174, 6 μετὰ τὰς θυγατέρας ὁμοῦ. Porph. Adm. 144, 11 συμπεθερίας μετὰ τοὺς Τοῦρκους καὶ ἀγάπας ἔχοντες. 91, 13. 242, 16. 279, 8. 293, 9.

#### 2. *Μετὰ + accusative = with, by means of, by way of :*

Alchem. 32, 9 ἀνάλαβε μετὰ μέλιτι (ubi male μέλιτι). 301, 5 σύμμιζον μετὰ τὸ ὕδωρ τοῦτο. 321, 11 μετὰ τὸ χργκίον. 322, 2 μετὰ ἄλας. 333, 26 μετὰ τὸν ἀμβικα; etc., etc. Nicet. Byz. 704 *D* μετὰ τὰς εἰς τὸν ὕψιστον δυσφημίας ἀνάμεστον. Porph. Cer. 316, 22 κατασφραγίζουσι μετὰ τὸ ἄκρον τῶν χλανιδίων αὐτῶν. Apoc. Mar. 115, 8 μετὰ τοὺς ἀγγέλους. FTrinch. 31 († 1033) μετὰ ὄρκον 'cum iuramento.'

#### 3. *Μετὰ + Genitive = with, by means of :*

Gr. Pap. Br. Mus. p. 67, 64 f. († IVa.) ἐγχευε τὸν δεξιὸν ὀφθαλμὸν μεθ' ὕδατος. 91, 226 († IV<sup>b</sup>) γράφε *M*[ετ]*A* μέλανος γραφικοῦ. Acta Xanth. 68, 10 μετὰ ἡλῶν παγείς. Acta Pil. ii. 2, 2 μετὰ τῆς χειρὸς μου ἐβάπτισα αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ Ἰορδάνῃ ποταμῷ. Alchem. 311, 13 ἐμφραζον τὴν βῆσσαν μετὰ ἄλατος. Callin. 73, 13 μετὰ πηλοῦ χρομένης. 98, 20 τὴν βάβδον μεθ' ἧς ἐτυπτεν τὸν παῖδα. 82, 4. 137, 28 μετὰ μαχαίρας ἔτεμεν. 110, 2. Leont. Neap. V. S. 1712 *B* ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ μετ' αὐτοῦ 'struck him with it.' Vita SA 35\* *D* δίδωσιν αὐτῷ μεθ' ἧς ἐκράτει βάβδον. Theoph. 318, 22 δίδωκεν αὐτῷ μετὰ δόρατος εἰς τὸ χεῖλος. Theoph. Cont. 704, 13 ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ κατὰ κεφαλῆς μετὰ βάβδου ἰσχυρὰς καὶ παχείας. Porph. Adm. 116, 9 δίδωκεν αὐτῷ μετὰ μεναύλου εἰς τὸν πόδα. Apoc. Mar. 123, 21 ἀποκτείνοντες μετὰ ζίφοις. Prodr. passim,—and so on through all *M* compositions.

4. Μετὰ + dat. (due to ἅμα and σύν): with: Alohem. 384, 8 ὑδράγγυρον βράσκει μετὰ ρεφανίου ἐλαίου θείῳ τε. Vita SA 101\* ο ὦ μετὰ τῷ πατρὶ δόξα ἅμα τῷ ἀγίῳ πνεύματι.

5. Μετὰ + gen. = after (for μετὰ τὸ 1601): Mal. 187, 14 μετὰ τοῦ διοικῆσαι τοὺς ὑπάτους. 362, 13 μετὰ τοῦ δοῦναι εἰρήνην προσωμίλησεν οὕτως. 384, 10 διὰ τῆς αἰῶνος καὶ τῆς μετ' αὐτῆς. 17, 16.

1608. Finally it should be noted that the too frequent association of μετὰ with the article (μετὰ τὸν, μετὰ τὸ, μετὰ τήν, μετὰ τοὺς, μετὰ τὰ, μετὰ τὰς etc. led to dissimilation, μετὰ being reduced to simple μέ (cp. A-P καὶ τάδε, καὶ τοὺς νόμους, καὶ τὰ εἰσθότα in CIA [345-127 B.C.], App. i. 16, a; KMeisterhans<sup>2</sup> 178, 32). This phonopathic abbreviation appears accomplished even in the earliest popular M compositions, and the form μὲ has ever since been in universal usage. (Cp. GHatzidakis 153).

Alohem. 322, 19 χρύσωσε αὐτὸ μὲ τὸ χρυσοθήριον. 323, 5 ff. μὲ τὸ ἀκόνιν, μὲ τῷ ἀπαρικόν, μὲ κισήριν, μετὰ κάλαμον, μὲ κάρβουνοκ, μὲ σπηδό-γαστρον, et passim. SCusa 318 (A.D. 1112) μὲ τὸν μέγαν ποταμόν. FTrinch. 125 (A.D. 1125) μὲ τὴν γυναικάν. Span. 210 μὲ τοὺς οικειοὺς μου. Prodr. 1, 111 μὲ τὰ συνοχυρίσματα καὶ μὲ τὰς κομποσίας. 3, 147 μὲ τὸ ζέμαν. 164 καὶ δεύτερον ἀνέ-βραστον μαζί μ' ἀρβελισμένον. 177 καὶ καθαγύς ὑπτούτσικος ἀκέραιος μὲ τὸ γάρσο. 231 καὶ μὲ ψωμὸν λιγούτσικον. 255 τὸ. πῶς νὰ ζήσω ἐξαγορῶ μὲ ταύτας τὰς τρε-δέλλας. 4, 230 ἅμα μὲ τὸ σκουτέλλιν. So 2, 19-20 ἄλλα μὲ τὴν ἐνοῦσαν μοι πολλὴν στενοχωρίαν μὲ τὴν ἐξανεπλήπιστον πολλὴν πεζοπορίαν (ubi male μά-μά), et alibi. Boboam 2 μὲ τὸν ἀφέντην σου. 17 μὲ ταῦτα. 19 μὲ ὄλην σου τὴν καρδίαν. 31 μὲ ταῖτην. 55 μὲ φίλαν. 60 μὲ ψυδὴν συντυχίαν. 82 δικασθῆς μὲ ταῖτην. 102 μὲ τὴν δύναμίν του. Hatzpou. 1, 254 μὲ τὰ μῦλον. 2, 175-6 ἐσυνέτευξεν αὐτῇ γὰρ μὲ υἱὸν γὰρ τοῦ Ἀρτίου. 188-9 μετὰ τῶν αὐτῆς δουλίδων καὶ μὲ γυναικῶν ἑτέρων. 277 ἡ Ἑλένη μὲ τὴν θεάν, and passim. Balth. 81 καὶ μὲ τὰ (ubi male μετὰ) τριά παιδοπούλα καβαλλικεύει, μόνος. 116 εἶπτε τον με τὸ καλὸν ἂν θέλῃ νὰ γυρίσῃ. 123 ἐπέφευσε κ' ἐκάθισε μὲ τὰ παιδοπούλα του, etc.

1609. The full form μετὰ is still lingering in a few phrases, as: μετὰ χαρᾶς 'with pleasure.' μετὰ μένα, μετὰ σένα, μετ' αὐτόν (also, μετ' αὐτῶν), μετὰ μᾶς, μετὰ σᾶς, μετὰ κείνο, etc. In Cyprus μετὰ μου, μετὰ της etc.

## Παρά.

1610. Παρά with ACCUS., GEN. and DAT.

1611. A. With ACCUSATIVE:

### 1. Of Place:

a. along, beside, by: παρά τὴν θάλασσαν 'along the sea-shore.' παρά τὸν ποταμόν. παρά τὴν ὁδὸν πορεύεσθαι, οἰκεῖν.

b. to (like πρὸς and ὡς, 1655 and 1699): ἀφικνεῖσθαι, ἵκναι, πέμπειν, γράφειν παρά τινά.

1611<sup>b</sup> Post-christian Atticists sometimes misunderstand usage b, and so on the one hand extend it to things, and on the other substitute the dative for the accusative, as: Proc. i. 186, 15 Παῦλον παρά τὸν περιβόλον στείλας. 191, 14 παρά τὸν ποταμόν Ὀρόστην ἐλθεῖν. ii. 528, 11 (πύλαι) φέρονσαι παρά τοῦ λόφου τὴν ὑπώρειαν.—Mal. 440, 10 τὰς θυγατέρας ἀχθῆναι κελεύω παρά τῇ Ἀγροῦστῃ Θεοδώρᾳ 389, 10. Cp. 1631.

1612. 2. Of Time: during:—παρὰ πότον, παρ' ὅλον τὸν βίον.

1613. Both the above usages of place and time (1611-2) occur also in P Greek, but it may be doubted whether they outlived T speech. No trace of them is found in N.

## 1614. 3. Metaphorically.

a. Of comparisons in the sense of *as compared with*; *rather than*; *more than, beyond* (cp. *πέρα*);—bordering on and often confounded with *ὑπέρ* (1676):

Pl. Apol. 28 c δὲ (Ἀχιλλεύς) τοῦ κινδύνου κατεφρόνησε παρά τὸ αἰσχρὸν τι ὑπομείναι. Ion 539 E. Lach. 183. Xen. Mem. 4, 4, 2 διάδηλος ἦν παρά τοῖς ἄλλοις εὐτακτῶν. 1, 14, 4 παρά τὰ ἄλλα ζῶα ὥσπερ θεοὶ οἱ ἄνθρωποι βιοτεύουσι. Ages. 5, 3. Th. 4, 6 χειμῶν μείζω παρά τὴν καθεστηκυῖαν ὥραν. Polyb. 10, 27, 5 πλοῦτῳ μέγα τι παρά τὰς ἄλλας πόλεις διαφέρειν.

1615. In this usage παρά assumed, during *P* times, a steadily increasing popularity, and eventually established itself as the regular second member of comparison, thus ousting both the genitive and ἢ after comparatives proper and comparative ideas (ἄλλος, ἕτερος, διάφορος, etc., 1187. 1328). In progress of time this process affected also positives, so that παρά ultimately appropriated the office of ὑπέρ as well (1686). The confusion of παρά and ὑπέρ seems, moreover, to have been furthered by their partial homophony (*para*—*iper*), and the ultimate disappearance of the latter was only the natural outcome, since ὑπέρ was phonetically weaker than παρά, and, furthermore, closed with ρ, which had become untenable as a final consonant (219). Cp. J. Cramer An. Ox. i. 338 παραλαμβάνεται δὲ πολλάκις καὶ ἀντὶ τῆς ὑπέρ, οἶον ὥραιοι κάλλει παρά τοὺς υἱοὺς τῶν ἀνθρώπων. ἔστι γὰρ ἀντὶ τοῦ ὑπέρ τοὺς υἱοὺς. Cp. Hesych. παρά πάντας ὑπέρ πάντας.

Polyb. 3, 29, 5 μὴ προσλαμβάνειν ἑτέρους συμμάχους παρά τοὺς ὑπάρχοντας. Plat. Alc. x. Sept. Ge. 37, 3. Luke 3, 13 πλεόν παρά τὸ διατεταγμένον. Rom. 12, 3 ὑπερφρονεῖν παρ' ὃ δεῖ. 1 Cor. 3, 11 θεμέλιον γὰρ ἄλλον οὐδεὶς δύναται θεῖναι παρά τὸν κείμενον. Hebr. 1, 4 διαφορότερον παρ' αὐτοῦ. 9, 23 κρείττοσιν θυσίαις παρά ταύτας. Luke 13, 2 ἀμαρτωλοὶ παρά (= ὑπέρ) πάντας. 13, 4 δρελεῖται ἐγένοντο παρά (= ὑπέρ) πάντας τοὺς ἀνθρώπους. [Conversely Luke 16, 8 φρονιμώτεροι ὑπὲρ τοὺς υἱοὺς τοῦ φωτός. Hebr. 4, 12 τομώτερος ὑπὲρ πάντων μάχαيران. 2 Cor. 12, 13 ἡσώθητε ὑπὲρ τὰς λοιπὰς ἐκκλησίας.] Hermas Sim. 9, 18, 2 πλείονα πονηρίαν ποιεῖν παρά τὸν μὴ γινώσκοντα τὸν θεόν. Iren. 1, το, 3 ἄλλον θεὸν παρεπιποιεῖν παρά τὸν δημιουργόν. Iud. 178, 5 μηδὲν ἄλλο παρά τὴν ποίμιν ἐπισταμένον. Acta Petri et Pauli 79 ὁ Παῦλος ἀβῶς φαίνεται παρά (= ὑπὲρ) τὸν Πέτρον. Acta Tho. 74, 1 οὐδὲν κρείττον ἐστὶν παρά τὸ τὸν ἄνδρα τῇ ἰδίᾳ ἐπαναπαύεσθαι γυναικί. 42, 6 ἡ μοιχεία παρά τῷ θεῷ πάνυ χαλεπὸν ἐστὶ κακὸν παρά τὰ ἄλλα κακά. Mal. 341, 2 δοῦσαν παρ' ὃ ἦν τὸ πρόστειον ἔξιν.

Prodr. 5, 114 παρά κρανιοκέφαλον πάντως νά μ' ὀνομάσουν | νὰ τὸν εἶπ' ὅτ. μᾶθε το τσαγκάρη τὸ παιδί σου. Belth. 882 τὴν εἶχε πλέον ἐμπιστὴν παρ' ὅσας τὰς βαγίτσας.

1616. As a matter of course, παρά in *N* is regular not only after comparatives (in the sense of *rather than*, as κάλλια σκοτῶμένος παρά ντροπισσμένος), but also in cases where ancient usage would require ὑπέρ. Even in composition, ὑπέρ has been mostly dislodged by παρά, as: παραπολύ = ὑπέρπολυ 'too much.' παραβέβαιος = ὑπερβέβαιος 'more than sure.' παραπικραίνω 'grieve too much' παραπεινῶ 'am very hungry.' παρακάνω 'overdo.' παρατρώγω, 'eat too much.' παρακοιμῶμαι 'oversleep.' παράνω = ὑπεράνω (524).

1617. That in *N* articular comparatives and superlatives are conceived in a partitive sense, and consequently followed by *ἀπὸ*, has already been explained in 1311 f. and 1504 f.

1618. On the same principle παρά is often prefixed, from *T* downwards, to adverbs to form the comparative (524), as: παράνω (also παρεπάνω, = ὑπεράνω or ἀνωτέρω, παρακάτω = κατωτέρω, παρεκί = προσωτέρω. (1616.)



1619. *b.* Of comparisons in the sense of *minus, less* ; then *except, but* (644. 1734) :

Th. 1, 23, 3 ἄλλο λέγουσιν παρά τὴν αὐτῶν δόξαν. 4, 6 ἄλλο τι παρά ταῦτα. Pl. Lach. 178 β παρά μικρόν, παρ' ὀλίγον 'but for a little.' Phaedr. 235 c. Rep. 294 c. 296 B. 300 c. 468. παρά πολύ 'by far,' 'completely.' Hdt. 9, 33, 3 παρά ἐν πάλαϊσμα ἔδραμε νικᾶν Ὀλυμπιάδα. Th. 8, 29 παρά πέντε ναῦς. Pl. Apol. 36 A οὐ γὰρ ὤμην οὕτω παρ' ὀλίγον ἔσεσθαι ἀλλὰ παρά πολύ. Dem. 24, 138 Φιλίππον παρ' ὀλίγας ψήφους ἐτιμήσατε. So 688, 26 παρά τρεῖς ψήφους. Ilocr. 19, 22 παρά μικρόν ἦλθον ἀποθνήειν. Isae. 41, 36 παρά τέσσαρας ψήφους.

1619<sup>b</sup>. This usage is peculiarly common in *P-N*. Polyb. 3, 29, 5 μὴ προσλαμβάνειν ἐτέρους συμμάχους παρά τοὺς ὑπάρχοντας. 2, 55, 4 παρ' ὀλίγον ἦλθε τοῦ ἐκπεσεῖν. 1, 43, 7 παρά μικρόν ἦλθον ἀπολέσσαι. So 12, 12, 1. Strab. 10, 2, 14 παρά δὺ τοὺς ἡμίσεις. Nicom. 77 παρά μονάδα. Plut. i. 133 c παρ' οὐδὲν ἔλθόντες ἀπολέσθαι. 933 c. 1046 d. App. i. 344, 94 παρά τοσοῦτον ἦλθον αἰχμαλωτίζεσθαι. Aristid. 34, 652, 137 εἰ δὲ δεῖ εἰπεῖν παρά πάντα τὸ γνωριμιάτων. A. P. 695 Μᾶρκος, θηρίον εἰ παρά γράμμα 'you are a beast all but one letter' (i.e. ἄρκος 'bear'). NT 2 Cor. 11, 24 τεσσαράκοντα παρά μίαν. Epiph. i. 940 A παρά ἡμέρας τέσσαρας. Vita Epiph. 105 d ἐκατὸν καὶ πέντε ἐτῶν εἰμι παρά τρεῖς μῆνας. So 168 A. Synes. 1445 B παρ' ἐνίους τῶν δακτύλων ἐγένετο, 'he lost some of his fingers.'

1619<sup>c</sup>. Ar. Nub. 698 οὐκ ἔστι παρά ταῦτ' ἄλλα. Vesp. 1166. Pax. 110. Th. 1, 41, 2. Pl. Phaedr. 235 c παρά ταῦτα εἰπεῖν ἕτερα μὴ χεῖρω. Pol. 295 c. ib. B μὴ ἐξέστω παρά ταῦτα ἕτερα πράττειν. Dem. 28, 139 μὴ γράφειν παρά ταῦτα ἕτερα. Xen. Cyr. 1, 6, 2. Pl. Gorg. 507 A. Xen. Hell. 1, 5, 5. Dem. 28 235 οὐδεὶς ἂν ἔχοι παρά ταῦτ' εἰπεῖν ἄλλο οὐδέν. Pl. Phaed. 244. 93 A. 107 A. Legg. 693. 799. Tim. 51 c. Lys. 213 c. Theast. 167 A. Rep. 492 c. Theast. 156 A. ἄλλο παρά τοῦτο οὐδέν. See FHRau in Curt. Stud. iii. 74 f.

1619<sup>d</sup>. So *N* : παρά λίγο (i. e. παρ' ὀλίγον). παρά τρία, παρά πέντε, 'minus 3, 5,' ἔνα μῆνα παρά τρεῖς ἡμέρας. δὲν ἔχω παρά εἰκοσι λεπτὰ 'I have but 20 lepta.'

1620. That in this exceptive usage *παρὰ* has become in *N* synonymous and interchangeable with *ἐμὴ* or *ἀμμή* and *ἀλλὰ* will be seen in 1734 ff.

1621. *c.* In alternations : *every (other)* :—παρ' ἡμέραν 'day by day.' παρ' ἡμέραν μίαν 'every other day.' παρά μῆνα τρίτον 'every third month.'

1622. This usage is peculiarly common in *P-N*, as :

Arist. H. A. 7, 2 ταῖς μὲν συνεχῶς φοιτᾷ, παρά δὲ μῆνα τρίτον ταῖς πλείστας. Polyb. 3, 110, 4 παρά μίαν 'every other day.' 6, 33, 9 παρά τετάρτην ἡμέραν 'every fourth day.' Diod. 4, 65, 1 παρ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἄρχειν 'every other year.' 32, 12, 1 παρά μέρος 'alternately.' NT Rom. 14, 5 ἡμέραν παρ' ἡμέραν. Nicom. 94 ἔνα παρ' ἔνα 'every other one.' Cornut. 163 παρ' ἕξ μῆνας 'every six months.' Plut. ii. 106 F ἐν παρ' ἐν 'alternately.' So 942 F. Porphyry. V. Plot. 58, 18 σιτεῖσθαι παρά μίαν 'every other day.' Chrys. i. 180 B ἡμέραν παρ' ἡμέραν τριφόμενον. Theod. iv. 425 B παρ' ἡμέραν μίαν ὑδαὶ τὸ σῶμα καθαίρειν. Mal. 52. 19 ἐνιαυτὸν παρ' ἐνιαυτὸν.

1622<sup>b</sup>. So still in *N* : μέρα<sup>a</sup> παρὰ μέρα<sup>a</sup>, μῆνα παρὰ μῆνα, etc.

1623. *d.* Of cause : *through, because of* :—Th. 1, 141 παρά τὴν αὐτοῦ ἀμέλειαν. Dem. 9, 2 οὐ παρ' ἐν οὐδὲ δύο εἰς τοῦτο τὰ πράγματα ἀφίκεται. Polyb. 3, 103, 2 μὴ παρά τὴν τῶν δυνάμεων ἀποδειλιάσιν ἀλλὰ παρά τὴν τοῦ προκιστῶτος εὐλάβειαν γεγενῆαι.

1624. This usage is foreign to *P-N* speech.

1625. *e*. Denoting a violation: *contrary to, against*:—*παρά τοὺς νόμους, παρά τοὺς ὅρκους, παρά δόξαν, παρά γνώμην, παρ' ἐλπίδα, παρά φύσιν, παρά λόγον.*

1626. This usage is common to all *P* compositions, but foreign to *N* speech, except in a few adverbial phrases, as: *παρὰ φύσιν (παρὰ φύσιν).*

1627. *B*. With GENITIVE: *on the part of, from, of*—opposed to *πρὸς* + accus. (1655):—

*ἦκεν παρά βασιλέως. αἰτεῖν παρά φίλων. μανθάνειν, πυνθάνεσθαι παρά σοφοῦ ἀνδρός. ὑπαίτιος παρά τῆς πόλεως. παρ' ἐαυτοῦ προστιθέναι τι.*

1628. Sometimes *παρά* performs the function of *ὑπὸ* after passive verbs, such as *δίδασθαι, λέγεσθαι, ὁμολογεῖσθαι*, etc. This usage appealed particularly to the taste of *P* writers, and so *παρά* gradually came to be identified with *ὑπὸ* and almost indiscriminately substituted for it (1510; cp. FHRau in Curt. Stud. iii. 26 ff.).—When further the preposition *ὑπὸ* became confounded with *ἀπὸ*, and this again with *ἐξ*, there ensued a struggle among *ὑπό, ἀπό, παρά*, and *ἐξ*, which resulted in the retreat and final disappearance, one after another, of *ὑπό, παρά*, and *ἐξ*, before the victorious *ἀπό* (1487 ff. 1506 ff.).—See also 1632.

1629. Another *P* feature of *παρά* is that its frequent association with the genitive led to the partial obliteration of its original force (*from*), so that it eventually became a mere sign of the simple but emphatic genitive, chiefly after the article: Polyb. 3, 70, 4 *τὰ παρ' αὐτῶν στρατόπεδα*. 3, 78, 5 *ἡ παρ' αὐτῶν χώρα*. 3, 9, 2 *ἡ παρά τοῦτων ἀλογία*. 9, 19, 9 *τὰ παρά τῶν μαθηματικῶν = τὰ τῶν μ-*. Hdn. Hist. 2, 13, 1 *τὰ παρά τῆς συγκλήτου ἐδηλώθη*. (Cp. *ἡ ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου βουλή*, as Isocr. 7, 37.)

1630. *C*. With DATIVE (mostly personal): *at, (apud) by, with*:

*Παρά Κλεάρχου εἶναι. παρά τοῖς Μήδοις καὶ ἐν τοῖς Πέρσais. παρά τοῖς εἵ φρονοῦσιν. παρά τῷ ποταμῷ ὀρμίσσεται. παρά τῷ βωμῷ θύειν. ἡ παρ' ἐαυτῷ δύναμις.*

1631. Rarely *παρά* stands with the dative instead of the accusative, as Xen. An. 7, 2, 25 *τὰ παρά θαλάττῃ χωρία*. 6, 2, 2 *ὀρμίσαντο παρά τῇ Ἀχεροχιάδι Χερρονήσῃ*. Nevertheless, this exception did not fail to find imitators among the Atticists, as: Luc. Dial. Mort. 20, 5 (i. 418) *ἦκε παρά σοι Ἀρίστιππος*. Dio. Cass. Exc. 15 *ὡς φίλον παρά φίλοις ἰόνταν*. Cp. 1611<sup>b</sup>.

1632. After passive and intransitive verbs the usage of *παρά* in the above sense (1630) sometimes naturally borders on the meaning of agency (*by*), and thus appears equivalent to *παρά* with the genitive (1627 f.), as: *ἀξιούσθαι παρά τινι, νομίζεται παρά πᾶσι, ὁμολογεῖται παρά τῷ δήμῳ*. Isocr. 4, 56 *παρά πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἀγαπᾶσθαι*.—This uncommon construction, which occurs chiefly among the orators, was mistaken by *P* writers for *παρά* with the genitive, and thus led to a frequent interchange of the two cases. Polyb. 11, 14, 2 *ὁμολογούμενος παρά πᾶσι* (beside 11, 34, 13 *ὁμολογηθεὶς παρά τοῦ βασιλέως*). 10, 46, 4 *ἱτοιμασθεὶς παρ' ἀμφοτέροις* (beside 11, 20, 3 *ἱτοιμασθεὶς παρά τούτου*). So *παρά τινι καλεῖσθαι, προσαγορεύεσθαι, ἀγροῖσθαι, γιγνώσκεισθαι, διοικεῖσθαι*, etc. (FKrebs. 49 f.) 1, 34, 9 *οἱ παρά τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις μισοφόροι*. 5, 3, 2 *τὰ παρ' αὐτοῖς πλοῖα*. 8, 14, 7 *ἐτυχε τιμῆς παρά τῇ πατρίδι*. Hdn. Hist. 5, 2, 4 *τῆς τοιαύτης πολυτελείας παρά τοῖς Ῥωμαίων στρατιώταις οὐκ ἐπαινουμένης*. Acta Xanth. 71, 13 *σύνες τὰ λεχθέντα σοι παρ' ἐμοί*.

## Περί.

1633. *Περί* with ACCUS., GEN., and DAT.

## A. With ACCUSATIVE :

1. Of Place : *round, about* : *περί τὴν πόλιν, περί τὰ ὄρια, περί τὴν Σικελίαν. οἱ περί τὸν Κῦρον.*

1634. This usage has been in universal favour down to *N* times. On the other hand, popular speech has since *G* substituted for it *γύρωθεν* (= *κύκλω*), *N* γύρου or more commonly *τριγύρου* (also *τριγύρω*) (1491). *Apollod. Arch.* 43 γύρωθεν τοῦ σταγυρώματος. *Acta Pil. B* 10, 2 *ιστάμεναι* γύρωθεν αὐτῆς. *Porph. Cer.* 208, 22 ἀπλύντες αὐτὸ γύρωθεν αὐτῆς. *Nic. Phocas* 211, 10 *πυρὰ πλείστα ἀνάπτειν* γύρωθεν αὐτῶν.

1635. 2. Of Time : *about* :—*περί μέσας νύκτας, περί πληθογ-  
σαν ἄγοράν.*

1636. *N* usually expresses this relation by *κατὰ* (1588), as : *κατὰ τὰ μεσάνυκτα* 'about midnight.' [*κατὰ τὰς δέκα* 'about 10 o'clock.']

1637. 3. *Metaphorically* :—(a) *about* : *περί τὰ ἐξήκοντα ἔτη, περί τριχιλίους.*

1638. In *G-N* this relation is usually expressed by ἕως, ὥς (152 ; cp. 1544. 1785) 'to the number of,' 'up to,' as : *Mal.* 5, 7 ἕως ἑπτάκις, ἀλλ ἕως ἑβδομήκοντα &c. ὥς ἔζητα 'up to sixty,' ὥς τρεῖς χιλιάδες 'up to three thousand.'

1639. (b) *about, concerning ; towards* :—

*διατρίβειν, σπουδάζειν, εἶναι περί τι, 'to be busy with something.'* τὰ περί τὸν πόλεμον 'in matters of war.' *εὐσεβεῖν, σωφρονεῖν, ἀμαρτάνειν* περί θεός, 'towards the gods.' *ἀδίκος, κακός, πονηρός, ἀγαθός* περί τινα, περί τὴν πόλιν, 'towards.'

1640. In this construction of *περί*, post-Christian common diction sometimes confounds the accusative with the genitive, as : *Acta Tho.* 68, 36 ἔστω καὶ περί σέ ἡ σπουδὴ τοῦ κυρίου ὡς καὶ περί τῶν ἄλλων. So too perhaps *Mal.* 455, 20 ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀνεδύη περί τὸ (if not τοῦ?) ποιῆσαι τὰ πάντα.] (Cp. 1588.)

1641. On the other hand, *περί* with accusative has in present speech taken the place of the ancient *περί* with genitive (1642<sup>b</sup>), at least partially, for *διὰ* (i.e. γὰρ 155, a) is the commoner representative (1534, c).

1642. B. With GENITIVE : *about, concerning, of, on* :—*περί τινος λέγειν, ἀκούειν, βουλευέσθαι, εἰκάζειν, ἐρίζειν, μάχεσθαι.*

*περί πολλοῦ (πλείονος, πλείστου) ποιεῖσθαι, 'to value much (more, very much).'* *περί ὀλίγου (οὐδενός) ποιεῖσθαι τι 'to attach little (no) importance to something.'* (Cp. 1339 & 1647.)

1642<sup>b</sup>. In this relation *περί* in *N* is either constructed with the accusative or replaced by *διὰ* (1641).

1643. C. With DATIVE : (uncommon in prose) *about, as* : *στρεπτοὺς* περί τοῖς τραχήλοις ἔχειν. *CIA II.* 754 (349-344 B.C.), 35 ἀμπεχονον περί τῷ ἔδει. *περί τάρβει* 'in terror.'

1643<sup>b</sup>. In this construction, *περί* is foreign to *P-B* diction, and naturally unknown to *N*, seeing that the latter has altogether discarded the dative.

*Πρό*.

1644. *Πρό* with GENITIVE : *before*.

1. Of PLACE : *before* :—*πρό τῆς πόλεως*, *πρό τῶν πηλῶν*, *τὰ πρό ποδῶν*. (1649.)

1645. 2. Of TIME : *before*, *prior to* :—*πρό τῆς ἡμέρας*, *πρό τῆς μάχης*. *οἱ πρό ἡμῶν* 'our predecessors.' (1649.)

1646. So further *πρό τοῦ* (*προτοῦ*) 'formerly,' 'previously,' an adverbial combination still preserved in *N* (1197, *a.* 1198. 1787).

1647. 3. *Metaphorically* : *before*, i.e. *in preference to*, *rather than*; *for* :—*βούλου γονεῖς πρό παντὸς ἐν τιμαῖς ἔχειν*. *πρό πολλῶν ποιεῖσθαι*, *τιμᾶσθαι*, *αἰρεῖσθαι*, *ἡγεῖσθαι*. (Cp. 1642. 1649.)

1648. This metaphorical usage of *πρό* naturally borders on the sense of *protection*. Hence *πρό* is sometimes almost equivalent to *ὑπὲρ* 'for the sake or benefit of,' as :

Xen. An. 7, 6, 36 *πρό ὧν ἀγρυπνήσαντα*. Cyr. 1, 6, 42 *πάντες ἀξιώσουσι σε πρό αἰγῶν βουλευέσθαι*. Polyb. 5, 4, 1 *πρό τῆς χώρας εὐκαίρως κείσθαι*. App. Hisp. 72 *φιλοκινδυνύτατος ἰς ἅπαντα πρό ἀπάντων (γενόμενος)*. Paus. 9, 17, 1 *ἀποθνήσκειν πρό τοῦ δήμου*.

1649. In its above threefold function (1644-8), *πρό* is common also in *P* compositions down to *M* (but cp. 1492). At the same time, mark that from *G* onwards—

(a) the temporal usage comes more and more to the front; and—

(b) the genitival construction makes room for the accusative (under the influence of Latin *ante*?) :—J Moschos 2985 c *πρό ἐτι εἰκοσιδύο* (cp. even Moechion 114 *πρό ὀλίγας ἡμέρας*). Nevertheless even in this temporal use, *πρό* is commonly replaced by *πρὶν* (1491), as ; Arr. An. 3, 18, 6 *πρὶν φάοις*. Thdt. Dan. (init.) 42 *πρὶν γενέσεως*. Sext. 226, 16. 463, 17, etc. Eus. Alex. 432 o *πρὶν τῆς πανηγύρεως διαλυθείσης ante conventum dissolutum* (a Latinism, cp. 1652).

1650. Occasional instances of *πρό* with dative, such as CIG 841 (A.D. 149) *τὸν πρό πύλαις ἤρωα* . . . Κλαυδιανοῦ *πρό δόμοις*, and Acta Xanth. 81, 30 *εἶθε ἡμῶν πρό τῇ χθρὲς ἡμέρᾳ ἀποθανόντων*—point to the influence of Latin *pro* with ablative (then associated with the Greek dative) and at the same time indicate the advanced retreat of *πρό* from the living language.

1651. A striking peculiarity of *πρό*, proper to *P* Greek, and pointing to Roman influence (*ante*), is its frequent proleptic construction in dates or definitions of time. (Cp. *μετὰ* 1603 and *ἀπὸ* 1513.)

Sept. Amos. 1, 1 *πρό δύο ἐτῶν τοῦ σεισμοῦ* (= *δύο ἐτη πρό τοῦ σεισμοῦ*). John 12, 1 *πρό ἐξ ἡμερῶν τοῦ πάσχα ἦλθεν εἰς Βηθανίαν*. Strab. 2, 1, 20 *πρό πέντε καὶ τεσσαράκοντα ἡμερῶν τῆς θερινῆς τροπῆς*. Plat. ii. 717 c *πρό μᾶς ἡμέρας τῶν γενεθλίων*. App. Mac. 19 *πρό τριῶν ἡμερῶν τοῦ θριάμβου*. Luc. Cronos. 14 (iii. 396) *πρό πολλοῦ τῆς ἑορτῆς*. Ael. N. A. 11, 19 *πρό πέντε ἡμερῶν τοῦ ἀφανισθῆναι τὴν Ἑλίην* (!).—So even in a local sense, as :

(!) So further: Diosc. 1, 77 (p. 80) *πρό δύο ὥρων τῆς ἐπιβολῆς*. 4, 190 (p. 193) *πρό μᾶς ὥρας τῆς ἐπισημασίας*. Plat. ii. 319 A *πρό μᾶς ἡμέρας νῶντων Ιανουαρίων*. Inst. Tryph. 27 *πρό μᾶς ἡμέρας ἢ μετὰ μίαν ἡμέραν τοῦ σαββάτου*. App.

1651-1658.] PREPOSITIONS : *πρό, πρός.*

Mal. 142, 18 *πρό μικροῦ τῆς πόλεως.* 207, 11. 324, 7 *πρό ὀλίγου διαστήματος τῆς πόλεως.*

1652. With the establishment of the Roman system of dating (οἱ. 1653), the use of *πρό* in the sense of Latin *ante* naturally became general. As a further peculiarity we may note here that the word *ἡμέρα* (*dies*) is very often dispensed with by placing the article *τῇ* before *πρό*:

Dion. H. ii. 1246, 3 *ἡμέρᾳ τετάρτῃ* *πρό* *τριῶν εἰδῶν δεκεμβρίων.* CIG. 5879 (A.D. 78) *πρό* *ἡμερῶν ἑνδεκα καλανδῶν ἰογνίων.* CIG 5906 *πρό* *τριῶν νωνῶν μαίων.* Jos. Ant. 13, 9, 2 *βουλὴν συνήγαγε* *πρό* *ὀκτώ εἰδῶν φεβρογαρίων.* Plut. i. 61 D *πρό* *δεκαμιάς καλανδῶν μαίων.* Athan. i. 408 A *ἰδύθη* *πρό* *δεκαπέντε καλανδῶν ἰογνίων.* Jos. Ant. 14, 10, 10 *τῇ* *πρό* *τριῶν εἰδῶν ἀπριλίων, τῇ* *πρό* *πέντε εἰδῶν φεβρογαρίων.* Plut. i. 23 F *τῇ* *πρό* *ἑνδεκα καλανδῶν μαίων.* CIG 5898 *τῇ* *πρό* *ᾧ νωνῶν μαίων = τῇ πρώτῃ* *πρό* *νυνῶν μαίων.* Mal. 227, 3 *τῇ* *πρό* *ῇ καλανδῶν.* 236, 15. 257, 2. 316, 3.—So *πρό* *μίας pridie.*

1653. With the adoption of the Christian era the above mode of dating necessarily fell into disuse and oblivion (οἱ. 1).

*Πρός.*

1654. *Πρός* with ACCUS., GEN., and DAT. : *in face of.*

1655. A. With ACCUSATIVE :

1. Of Place denoting a direction *towards, to* (mostly a person)—opposed to *παρά* + gen. (1627):

*πρός* *μεσημβρίαν.* *λέγει* *πρός* *βασιλέα.* *λέγειν* *πρός* *τινα.*

1655<sup>b</sup>. When it is used with a personal accusative, *πρός* is occasionally replaced by *ὡς*, as : *πορεύεσθαι ὡς βασιλέα* (1699).

1656. 2. Of Time : *towards* :—*πρός* *ἐσπέραν.*

1657. 3. Metaphorically :

(a) *in reference to* :—*ἄθυμος* *πρός* *τὴν ἀνάβασιν.* *τρέπεσθαι* *πρός* *τὰς συμφοράς.* *βουλευέσθαι* *πρός* *τοὺς καιροὺς* ‘according to circumstances.’ *οἰκείως διακείσθαι* *πρός* *τινα,* ‘towards.’ *πρός* *ταῦτα* ‘in this respect.’ *οὐδὲν* *πρός* *ἐμέ* ‘it is nothing to me.’

(b) *as compared with* (cp. 1614) :—*οὐδὲν τὰ χρήματα* *πρός* *τὴν σοφίαν.* *πρός* *τὴν φύσιν* ‘according to nature.’

(c) *to the effect of, with a view to* (1582, e) :—*παιδεύεσθαι* *πρός* *ἀρετὴν,* *λέγειν* *πρός* *χάριν, πίνειν* *πρός* *ἡδονήν.* *πρός* *τί;* ‘to what end?’

1658. All these usages (1655-7) of *πρός* hold substantially good also for P-M Greek (1492) with an increasing popularity of the metaphorical acceptation. In this way *πρός* since G came to stand—

(a) Frequently for *κατὰ* or *ἀνά* in a distributive sense (1589, b. 1497, b) : *at the rate of*:

Civil 4, 101 *μέχρι* *πρό* *μιάς τῆς μάχης ἡμέρας ἀπέστησαν.* Luc. De Mort. peregr. 1 (iii. 326) *οὐ* *πρό* *πολλῶν ἡμερῶν τοῦ τολμήματος.* Maor. 12, 3, 216 *πρό* *δυοῖν ἐτοῖν τῆς τελευτῆς.* Mart. Polyc. 5, 2 *πρό* *τριῶν ἡμερῶν τοῦ συλληφθῆναι αὐτόν.* Pallad. 1042 B *πρό* *ἐννέα μηνῶν τῆς κοιμήσεως τοῦ ἀθλητοῦ.* Callin. 139, 15 *πρό* *τριῶν ἡμερῶν (τοῦ θανάτου) τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτῆς.*

Polyb. 5, 15, 9 *πρός εἰκοσι τάλαντα καταγεγραμμένοι*. Diosc. 5, 35 *μῶν πρὸς ὅσους ζέστας πέντε μίσγουσιν* 'one mina to every five xestae.' Apophth. 92 B *ἰδὼθ' ποτὲ εἰς Σαῖτιν* *πρὸς ὀλίγα ἰσχάδια*. Chron. 732, 13 *ἵνα πρὸς ἓνα ἵππον εἰς ἕκαστος αὐτῶν ἔχῃ*. Porph. Adm. 176, 9 *τὰς τρεῖς ῥάβδους δίδωκε τοῖς τριπλὶ πρὸς μίαν*. Cer. 432, 17 *ἐκάστῳ δίδόναι κατὰ τὸ ἔθος πρὸς πέντε νομίσματα*. 487, 13 *καὶ παύρουσι πρὸς ἓν ζύλον*.

(b) Frequently of time (cp. 1574) : *during, for* :

Luc. De hist. conscr. 40 (ii. 54) *ἥδώς ἂν πρὸς ὀλίγον ἀνεβίουν*. Philops. 30 (iii. 57) *πρὸς τὸ λοιπὸν οἰκείσθαι τὴν οἰκίαν ἐποίησε*. So De Luct. 16 (ii. 929). De Dom. 14 (iii. 198). Dial. Deor. 18, 1 (i. 248).—Hrdn. Hist. 1, 3, 5 *πρὸς τὸ παρόν*. 1, 6, 7 *πρὸς ὀλίγον*. 1, 14, 2 *πρὸς τὸ μέλλον*. 2, 5, 6 *πρὸς τὸ νῦν*. Mal. 29, 10 *πρὸς μικρὸν ἔμειναν ἐκεῖ*. 488, 7 *πρὸς ὀλίγον*,—so 489, 8.

(c) Sometimes for *παρὰ* + dative, like Latin *apud* aliquem :

Mal. 451, 3 *διέτρεψε πρὸς αὐτόν*. 348, 15 *διατρίψαντος ἐν Ῥώμῃ Ἀρκαδίου πρὸς τὸν αὐτοῦ δδελφόν*.

1659. The occurrence of *πρός* (with accus.) in sporadic *N* phrases and in epistolary addresses points to literary influence : *πρὸς τὸν Κύριον* 'To Mr. X.,' *πρὸς τὸ ξημερῶματα* 'towards daybreak,' *πρὸς τὸ μεσημέρι* 'towards noon.'

1660. In instances like Acta Tho. 78, 22 *πρὸς γυναῖκα ἔχειν*, and Callin. 134, 25 *λογίζομαι ἔμεινεν πρὸς ἓνα τῶν ἐλαχίστων*—*πρός* is an obvious paraphrase of the Hebraistic use of *εἰς* (1552).

## 1661. B. With GENITIVE.

### 1. Of Place : *in face of, facing, opposite* :

τὸ πρὸς ἐσπέρας *τείχους*. *πρὸς Θράκης κείσθαι*. *ἑστάναι πρὸς τοῦ ποταμοῦ*.—*πρὸς νότον* 'south.' *πρὸς ἄρκτον* 'north.' *πρὸς ἡλίον δυσμένου*, *ἀνίσχοντος*, 'west,' 'east.'

1662. So too with verbs of swearing and imploring : *by* (*N* μά 1746) :—*ὀμνύναι*, *ἐκτενεῖν πρὸς θεῶν*.—For *G-N* see 1746 ff.

### 1663. 2. Metaphorically : 'from the side of,' *on the part of* :

*ἔπαινον ἔχειν πρὸς τινος*. *πρὸς μητρός*, *πρὸς πατρός*. *πρὸς τινος εἶναι* 'to be on the side of.'

1664. In this metaphorical function *πρός* was identified by the Atticists with *ὑπὸ* of the agency (*by*), and so came to be used as a 'stylish' alternative (1695, α).

Αἰτ. *πρὸς τινος ἄγεσθαι*, *ἀλίσκεσθαι*, *ἀπόλλυσθαι*, *ἐξελέγχεσθαι*, *στεφανοῦσθαι*, *κατακοντίζεσθαι*, etc., etc., *passim*. (ABoehner 42 f.). App. Syr. 67 *σωτήρ καὶ δδὲ πρὸς τῶν Συρίων ὀνομασθεῖς*. Civil. 5, 66 *πρὸς πάντων ἱπαινούμενον*. Pun. 1, 30 *ὕβριζόμενοι πρὸς τοῦ Ἀπογλήσιος*. Mithr. 67 *πρὸς τινῶν ἐνοχλοῦμενος*. Civil. 5, 79 *πρὸς θηρίων δδεδανημένος*, et *passim*. Luc. Jup. Conf. 16 (ii. 639) *ἀνεσκολοπίζοντο πρὸς αὐτοῦ*. Tim. 9 (i. 117) *ἀμεληθῆναι πρὸς ἡμῶν*. De Paras. 26 (ii. 856) *ἀμολόγηται πρὸς ἀπάντων*, et *saepe*. Hdn. Hist. 3, 9, 6 *ἀμείψθαι πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων*. 5, 6, 2 *κελεύεσθαι πρὸς τῶν ἱερῶν νόμων*. 2, 10, 4 *μσεῖσθαι πρὸς τοῦ δήμου*. 7, 9, 7 *πλείους ὑπὸ τοῦ οἰκείου πλῆθους ἐφθάρησαν ἢ πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων*. Froc. *πρὸς τινος δηλοῦσθαι*, *ἐλέγχεσθαι*, *ἐπιτάττεσθαι*, *φρουρεῖσθαι*, *τυραννεῖσθαι*, *πέμπεσθαι*, *ἀδικεῖσθαι*, *βιάζεσθαι*, *κακίζεσθαι*, *διαφθείρεσθαι*, *ἀπολωλέναι*, *θνησκεῖν*, etc., etc., *passim*. (JSchefflein 48-52).

## 1665. C. With Dative : *near, by the side of* :

1. Of Place : *by* :—*πρὸς Βαβυλῶνι*, *πρὸς ταῖς πηγαῖς*, *πρὸς τῇ ἀγορᾷ*.—*πρὸς τινι εἶναι* 'to be engaged in.'

1666-1670.] PREPOSITIONS : πρὸς, σὺν.

1666. This usage appears to be peculiarly common in Alexandrian Greek (WSchmid iii. 288), but *T-M* substituted πλεον (N κοινά) for it, as : Mal. 47, 2 ; 48, 16, etc.

1666<sup>b</sup>. Constructions like App. Civil. 4, 105 ἔχει δὲ πρὸς μὲν ἄρκτον δρυμὸς πρὸς δὲ τῇ μεσημβρίᾳ ἔλος ἐστίν are macaronisms (cp. 1655. 1661).

1667. 2. **Metaphorically** : *in addition to, besides* :—πρὸς τῷ ὑπάρχοντι πόνῳ. πρὸς τοῦτοις 'moreover,' 'besides.'

1667<sup>b</sup>. This usage is common also in *P-B* compositions, but unknown to *N*.

ΣΥΝ.

1668. Σύν (before 400 B.C. also ξύν) with DATIVE only : *with*—rare in *A* writers (except Xen.), its place being supplied by μετά (1604).

1. *Together with, in company with* :

σὺν τοῖς φίλοις εἶναι. σὺν τινὶ πολεμεῖν 'in alliance with.' οἱ σὺν Φαλίῳ 'the followers of Ph.' Μένων καὶ οἱ σὺν ἀγῶ. —σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς 'with the help of the gods.' σὺν τῷ νόμῳ 'in conformity with the law.'

σὺν κραγῇ 'shouting.' σὺν φρονήματι 'in high spirits.' σὺν τῷ δικαίῳ = δικαίως. σὺν τῷ καλῷ = καλῶς. σὺν τάχει = ταχέως. σὺν τῷ σῷ ἀγαθῷ 'for thy benefit.'

1669. 2. Sometimes instrumentally : *with, by means of* :

σὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις 'with their arms.' σὺν βίᾳ 'by force.' Xen. Mem. 2, 1, 28 τὸ σῶμα γυμναστέον σὺν πόνοισι καὶ ἰδρωτί. Polyb. 8, 6, 4 τροχιλία προήρτηνται σὺν κάλοις.

1670. Though used as a mere variety of μετά (1668), σὺν maintained itself through all *P* antiquity down to *N* times, as far as regards written composition. On the other hand, it seems questionable whether σὺν actually formed part of the living language in *G-B* times, in view of its scariness even in previous ages, and the striking frequency for it of ἅμα in subsequent times (1671). That ordinary writers were no longer familiar with its proper force, is clearly shown from cases where it is completely identified with or mistaken for μετά, and thus constructed with the genitive or even the accusative (cp. 1607 and WSchmid iii. 289).

Gr. Pap. Br. Mus. p. 46, 11 (146 35 B.C.) σὺν τέκνοις καὶ πάντων (also 12 & 20 f.); ib. 23 σὺν τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ νεκρῶν. Gr. Urk. Berlin 183 (+85), 43 σὺν τραπέζῃς καὶ τοῖς αὔτοις λγσί. CIG 539 (II<sup>nd</sup>+) εὖν δὲ σὺν ἡρώων χάρον ἔχουσ φθίμενος. 2114 c & d (± II<sup>nd</sup>+) σὺν γυναικόσ. 2131 b (add.) σὺν ἀδελφῆς. 9853 (± VII<sup>th</sup>+) ἐνθάδε κατέκιντε Σέργιος καὶ Μαρούση ἅμα Ἀναστασίῳ . . . τοῦ αὐτῶν οἰοῦ σὺν Ἀγάθῃ (= αὐτῶν υἱοῦ, Ἀγάθης) τῆς συνζύγου αὐτοῦ καὶ Μαίματος . . . τούτων οἰητός σὺν Μουσχούσι αὐτοῦ συνβίον. CWessely, Akad. Wiss. 1889 p. 115 (V-VII<sup>th</sup>) σὺν τῶν φοινίκων, σὺν τῶν φγνίκων, σὺν φοινίκων. [Diosc.] 2, 205 σὺν λίπῳς. Louvre Pap. 20, 15 σὺν (ubi οὖν) τῶν πάντων. Great Louvre Pap. 709 μένε σὺν ἐμῇ. Alohern. 301, 25 σὺν ἄλατος ἀμμανιακοῦ. Theoph. 294, 15 σὺν τῶν βασιλικῶν λαγράτων. Porpb. Cer. 654, 1 στρατὸς σὺν ἀρχόντων. 669, 21 σὺν κόρδων διπλῶν. 680, 14 σὺν τῶν ἀρχόντων. FTrinch. 11 (1000 A. D.) σὺν καὶ τῆς διακρατήσεως. 11 (1005 A. D.) σὺν ἡμεροδέκδρων καὶ ἀγριοδέκδρων. GSpata 90 (1095 A.D.) σὺν τῆς διακρατήσεως. 44 σὺν τοῦ ἡμῶν τοῦ νεροῦ. 60 (1095 A.D.) σὺν τῶν χωραφίων.—[Nil.] 545 A τοὺς βίους τῶν πατέρων σὺν τὰ γεροντικά. Prodr. 3, 634 σὺν τῇ ζητήσιν.

1671. The work of σύν (or μετά with gen.) is sometimes performed by the particle ἅμα with dative, as:

ἔπομα ἅμα τινί. ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ or ἅμ' ἡμέρᾳ 'with daybreak.' ἅμα τῷ θεῷ 'with the opening of summer.'

1672. When σύν had signally retreated before μετά (1670) and the latter had become a commonplace particle, a variety was sought in the revival of ἅμα, as JCramer 199, ὁ ἅμα τῇ Αἰθρᾷ καὶ πέντε δουλίσι τῆς Ἑλένης. Mal. 51, 17. 115, 12, et passim [66 times]. As however the ἅμα construction of this particle was now inconvenient in consequence of the retreat of the dative from popular speech (232. 1242 ff.), the difficulty was obviated by altogether identifying the two particles, that is by constructing ἅμα with the genitive (cp. 1607, 1670, and 1794).

Acta Pil. A, 10, 1 ἅμα τῶν δύο κακοῦργων (CI). Parad. Pil. θ ἅμα πλῆθος στρατιωτῶν. Const. († 536) 1208 ο ἅμα τῶν δσιωτάτων ἐπισκόπων. CIG 9853 († VI †) ἅμα Ἀναστάσιω τοῦ αὐτῶν οἰνοῦ (= νιού). Method. Conf. 684 D ἅμα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος. Mal. 51, 15 φορεύσας ἅμα τοῖς (ἦτορ τῆς) αἰτίας πολλούς. 95, 10 ἅμα τῆς Αἰθρας. 219, 22 ἅμα τῷ αὐτῷ Ἀγρίππᾳ στρατηγῷ καὶ στρατιωτικῶν δυνάμεων αὐτοῦ. Theoph. 192, 3 ἅμα διχχιλίων. 193, 15 ἅμα τῶν πεζῶν. 358, 29 ἅμα πέντε δρομῶνων. Porph. Cer. 20, 22. 72, 4. 122, 4. 680, 9 ἅμα τῶν ἀγιοτάτων ἐπισκόπων.

1672<sup>b</sup>. This use of ἅμα is foreign to present N.

1673. For a distributive use of σύν see 662, 1.

### ὑπέρ.

1674. ὑπὲρ with ACCUS. and GEN. : *over*.

1675. A. With ACCUSATIVE :

1. Of place : *over, beyond* :—ὑπὲρ τὸν Ἑλλησπόντον οἰκεῖν. ὑπὲρ τὰς στήλας ταῦ Ἡρακλέους πλεῖν.

1675<sup>b</sup>. So too in P-M (cp. 1680), though ὑπεράνω is frequently used instead, as: Mal. 141, 18; 201, 2; 233, 5, etc. (Cp. 1491 f. 1678.)

1676. 2. Metaphorically : (a) Denoting excess : *above, beyond* :—ὑπὲρ τὴν δυνάμιν μου 'beyond my power.' ὑπὲρ ἄνθρωπον 'beyond man's power.'—(b) beyond a measure : *upwards of, above* :—ὑπὲρ τὰ πεντήκοντα ἔτη γεγονώς.

1676<sup>b</sup>. So too in P-M compositions, but N speech substitutes for it παράνω (or παραπάνω) ἀπὸ, πέρα ἀπὸ, etc.

1677. B. With GENITIVE.

1. Of place : *over, above* :—

ὑπὲρ τῆς γῆς. γήλοφος ὑπὲρ τῆς κόμης ἦν. στήναι ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς. Xen. Mem. 3, 8, 9 ὁ ἥλιος ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν πορεύεται. Polyb. 5, 30, 4 ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως κείσθαι.

1678. Rare in P-T, except in Atticist compositions. As to popular speech, it has substituted for it ὑπεράνω (ἐπάνω) now παράνω ἀπὸ (1491 f. 1675<sup>b</sup>).

1679. 2. Metaphorically.

(a) *in behalf of, for* :—

στρατηγῶν ὑπὲρ Φιλίππου. φοβεῖσθαι ὑπὲρ τῶν παίδων, ὑπὲρ τῆς ἡμετέρας ψυχῆς. ὑπὲρ πατρίδος μάχεσθαι, ἀποθνήσκειν. νῦν ὑπὲρ πάντων ἀγών. λέγειν ὑπὲρ τοῦ βελτίστοι.



**1680.** So too in *P-M* Greek, though often misconstrued with the accusative, as: FTrinch. 34 (+ 1034) ὑπὲρ τοὺς προλεχθέντας γίους καὶ ὑπὲρ τὰς ἡμετέρας ψυχὰς. Otherwise διὰ began to assume this function as early as *G* times (1521. 1534, c).

**1681.** (b) *on account of, for* :—

ὀργίζεσθαι ὑπὲρ τῶν γεγενημένων. χάριν ὑπὲρ τῶν εἰρημένων εἰδέναι.

**1681<sup>b</sup>.** Hardly popular since *P* times.

**1682.** (c) *Instead of, for* (= ἀντί 1501) :—

ἐγὼ τοῖθ' ὑπὲρ σοῦ ποιήσω. Eur. Alc. 701. Pl. Apol. 22 Ε εἰαυτὸν ἀνερωτῶν ὑπὲρ τοῦ χρησμοῦ. Ael. V. H. 10, 29 τὸν ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἄλογ μισθόν. 135, 27 ὑπὲρ τοῦ γάλακτος παρατιθείσας μέλι.

**1683.** Uncommon in *A*, but not rare in *P* compositions, though hardly ever current in uncultivated speech (1686).

**1684.** (d) = περί : *concerning, about, on* :—ἡ ὑπὲρ τοῦ πολέμου γνώμη.

**1685.** This use is rare in *A*, but becomes more and more common since, as :

CIA ii. 307 (290 B. C.), 6 περὶ ὧν [ἀπαγγέλλ]ει ὁ ἀγανοθέτης ὑπὲρ τῶν θγσιῶν. So 390, 8. Polyb. 2, 71, 2 μνήμην ποιεῖσθαι ὑπὲρ τινος. 1, 2, 3 ἀμφισβητεῖν ὑπὲρ τινος. 9, 37, 3 φιλοτιμεῖσθαι ὑπὲρ τινος, et saepe. Arr. An. 1, 5, 3 ἐπειδὴ ἔμαθεν ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἀγριαριῶν πυνθανόμενον Ἀλέξανδρον, et passim. App. πρὸς βεῖναι, σεμνολογεῖν, ἐκλογεῖσθαι, παρακαλεῖν ὑπὲρ (beside περὶ) τινος, etc. saepe (FKrumbholz 42 f.). Paus. ἐρωτῶν, ἐρεσθαι, ἐπέρεσθαι, ἐπιερυκεῖν, σιωπῇ ἀγειν, βουλεύεσθαι, στασιάζειν, δικάζειν etc. ὑπὲρ τινος, saepe (ARüger 51 f.). Luc. De Salt. 9 (ii. 273) ὑπὲρ τοῦ παιδὸς πυνθανόμενος. Phal. A. 10 (ii. 197) ἄλλα μὲν ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ ἀκηκόως. Hdn. Hist. 4, 14, 6 φιλονικία ὑπὲρ παίδων καὶ συγγενῶν. 3, 12, 1 ἀγγέλλειν ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας. 7, 6, 6 πεμφθῆναι ὑπὲρ ἀσφαλείας τοῦ βασιλέως. Proc. passim.

[1685<sup>b</sup>. The monstrous construction ὑπὲρ ἐγὼ or ὑπὲρ ἐγώ, found in 2 Cor. 11, 23, rests on an itacistic misspelling for εἰπὲρ ἐγώ (1980<sup>b</sup>).]

**1686.** The frequent interchange of ὑπὲρ and περὶ is due partly to their affinity, but more particularly to their partial homophony (*iper*—*peri*). (Cp. 1615 f.) Notwithstanding this disadvantage of rivalry and the drawback of its final ρ (219), ὑπὲρ in consequence of its unusual frequency in the Greek liturgy and prayer-book (εὐχομαι or δέομαι ὑπὲρ τινος), resisted longer than any other particle of its class. Hence it occurs in all compositions down to recent times, though occasionally in a misconception, as Louvre Pap. 21 (+616), 7 ὑπὲρ αἰτῶν for αὐτῶν. (Cp. 1679<sup>b</sup>.)

## ‘Υπό.

**1687.** Ὑπὸ with Accus. GEN. Dat. : *under*.

**1688.** A. With Accusative : *under*.

1. Of Place (chiefly after expressions of *motion*) : *under* :—

ὑπὸ τὰ δένδρα ἀπλῆθον. ὑπ' αὐτὸ τὸ τεῖχος ἀγειν. ὑπὸ τὸν λόφον. Xen. An. 3, 4, 37 ὑπὸ τὴν ἀκρωνυχίαν τοῦ ὄρους ἢ κατὰ βάσιν ἦν.

**1689.** This use of ὑπό is very frequent also in *P-M* compositions, where moreover the difference of rest and motion is lost sight of (1698<sup>b</sup>). In *N*, it has been replaced by the adverb (ὑποκάτω) ἀποκάτω ἀπὸ (1491 f., 1693).

**1690. 2. Of time : towards, about :—**

ὑπὸ νύκτα. ὑπὸ τοῖς αἰτοῖς χρόνοις. ὑπὸ τὴν ἑαρινὴν ὥραν.

**1691.** In *P* this use is scarce, especially in unscholarly compositions subsequent to *G*.

**1692. 3. Metaphorically (denoting a dependence, cp. 1698) : under :—**

ἄφ' ἑαυτὸν ποιεῖσθαι τινά 'to bring under one's power.' ὑπὸ τινά γίγνεσθαι 'to come under one's power.' ὑπάγειν τινά ὑπὸ τοῖς νόμοις. ὑπὸ τὸν ζυγὸν ἄγειν.

**1693.** This metaphorical use is still more popular in *P* Greek (especially after the retreat of the dative) in a new phraseology : ὑπὸ τὴν ὅψιν ἔχειν or εἶναι 'to have or to be under consideration.' ὑπὸ τὴν ὅψιν λαμβάνειν 'to take into consideration.' But in *N* all these relations are expressed either by (ὑποκάτω) ἀποκάτω ἀπὸ (1689), or by some other turn.

**1694. B. With GENITIVE—**

**1.** Of place—(a) *from under* :—λύειν ὑπὸ ζυγοῦ, ὑπὸ τῆς ἀμάξης. ὑπὸ γῆς ἦλθεν εἰς φῶς.—(b) *under, beneath* :—ὑπὸ γῆς οἰκεῖν. οὐτ' ἐπὶ γῆς οὐθ' ὑπὸ γῆς.

**1694<sup>b</sup>.** This use is rare even in *A*.

**1695. 2. Metaphorically : under the influence of an agency :**

(a) With passive and intransitive verbs or notions : *by* :—

ὑπὸ τινος νικᾶσθαι, ἀρχεσθαι, ἀποθνήσκειν, κακὰ πάσχειν, εὖ ἀκοῖεν.—So ὑπὸ κήρυκος, ὑπὸ ἀγῶν, 'led by.'

(b) Of the efficient cause : *owing to, through, out of, from* (cp. *εἰς*, 1568, b) :—οὐ δύναμαι καθεύδειν ὑπὸ λύπης. ὑπὸ λιμοῦ ἀπόλλυσθαι.

**1696.** In this double function (a, b), ὑπὸ is very common through all antiquity down to *M* times. Nevertheless an interchange with ἀπὸ set in already during *G*, and gradually led to the disappearance of ὑπὸ before ἀπὸ. (See 1506-9).—But mark also the use of the simple genitive in *N* ψοφῶ τῆς πείνας, δίψας κτλ., 'I die of hunger, thirst, etc.'

**1697. C. With Dative : under.**

**1.** Of place (after expressions of *rest*, cp. 1688, 1) : *under* :—

ὑπὸ τῷ ὄρει, ὑπὸ τῷ τείχει, ὑπὸ τῇ ἀκροπόλει. τὰ ἐπὶ γῆς ὑπὸ τῷ οὐρανῷ ἔστιν.

**1698. 2. Metaphorically (denoting a dependence, cp. 1692) : under :—**

ὑπὸ τυράννοις, ὑπὸ τῷ βασιλεῖ εἶναι. ἄφ' ἑαυτῷ ποιεῖσθαι τινά. ὑπὸ τινι γίγνεσθαι.

**1698<sup>b</sup>.** Altogether the datival construction of ὑπὸ shows signs of retreat, ever since *A*, before the accusative construction. The former is rare in Polybios (he uses it only in standing expressions), and entirely absent in the NT writings, as well as in all other subsequent unscholarly compositions. On the other hand, it is more or less popular with the Atticists, though even they do not always use it in a correct sense (e.g. Luc. ὑπὸ τῇ ἀγνοίᾳ ἐλάνθοντο, ὑπὸ νόμῳ τι δρᾶν, ὑπὸ μιᾷ τῇ ὁρμῇ, etc. Cp. *A*Mesnii 39 f.).

**1699. Ὡς with Accusative of person in the sense of πρὸς (1655<sup>b</sup>) :**

Antiph. 5, 20 (ἐπλεον) ἐγὼ ὡς τὸν πατέρα. CIA ii. 86 (314-364 B.C.), 3 παρευθύνονται οἱ πρέσβεις ὡς βασιλείᾳ. So too Xen. An. 1, 2, 4. ib. 24 πέμπη τινά ὡς αὐτόν. Mith. viii. 211 (325 B.C.), 39 ἀφικόμενος ὡς Διονύσιον.

## B. CONJUNCTIONS.

1700. Although the *P-N* history of this class of particles has been determined by the same morphological and syntactical agencies which have operated on the prepositions (1487 ff.), the conjunctions exhibit this further peculiarity that all *postpositives* among them have, in the course of *P-B*, one after another, disappeared from the living language, their office having been either taken by kindred *prepositives*, or, more generally, given up altogether; in a few cases again, as in *τοιγαροῦν* and *τοίνυν*, before retreating, they became prepositives (as NT, Clem. R. Cor. 15). To an advanced stage of the phenomenon, even as early as *H*, points the testimony of Dion. Thrax, who states (p. 96, ed. Uhlig) that expletive particles or *παρὰπληρωματικοὶ (σύνδεσμοί) εἰσιν ὅσοι μέτρον ἢ κόσμος ἔνεκεν παραλαμβάνονται. εἰσὶ δὲ οἷδε: δὴ, ῥά, νί, ποῦ, τοί, θήν, ἄρ, δῆτα, πέρ, πῶ, μὴν, ἄν, αὖ, νῦν, οὖν, κ'ν, γέ* <sup>[1]</sup>. Subjoined is here a list of the principal of these postpositives with indication of their proportionate frequency in Thucydides, Xenophon, Polybios, and the NT. (For *ἄν* see 1774.)

	Thuc.	Xen. Anab. I-III.	pro- port.	Polyb. I-V.	New Test. as far as Col.	whole		Thuc.	X en. Anab. I-III.	pro- port.	Polyb. I-V.	New Test. as far as Col.	whole
ἀρα ..	38	4	±24	1	48	48 (also preposi- tive.)	μέν ..	±1750	±280	±1420	1900	164	199
αὖ ..							μέντοι ..	69	29	±170	7	6	8
γάρ ..	1116	173	±1050	±900	±980	±1200	μήν ..	17	7	±140	156	—	—
γέ ..	170	37	±220	131	10	10	οὖν ..	236	67	±400	324	437	421
γούν ..	19	1	±6	6	—	—	πέρ ..	210	34	±200	250	71	79
δέ ..	±4560	±900	±5400	±4000	±2470	2800	(incl. compounds)						
δὲ ..	188	74	±445	109	6	6	τοί ..	—	3	±18	—	—	—
δῆ ..	2	1	(±6)	2	1	1	τοιγαροῦν ..	4	±24	13	2	2	(also preposi- tive.)
δῆτα ..	1	—	—	—	—	—	τοίνυν ..	—	7	±42	3	4	4
δῆθεν ..	6	—	(—)	—	—	—							

1701. The course of the process thus delineated may be best illustrated if we class under separate groups all associated items and then follow their historical changes since *A* antiquity.

1702. The *conjunctions*, that is particles which connect sentences or members of sentences with each other, are either *co-ordinating* or *subordinating*. (Cp. 1103.)

1703. In dealing here with the section of conjunctions, it will be well to bear in mind a very crucial point which, next to phonopathy, has been the most important factor in the *P-N* history of this group of particles. I mean the disinclination natural to popular speech for a periodic structure involving mental strain, and the decided preference for parataxis (1930). In other words, the leading peculiarity of popular Greek, as that of all popular languages, has been to place in the

[<sup>1</sup>] Cp. Schol. Dion. Thr. in Bekk An. 970, 10 where ἀλλὰ μὴν, τοίνυν, τοιγάρ, τοιγαροῦν, are also reckoned among the *παρὰπληρωματικοὶ σύνδεσμοι*. Further Schol. ib. 920, 24 *παρὰπληρωματικοὶ δὲ οὗτοι λέγονται, ὅσοι παρόντες οὐδὲν ὠφελεῖν δύνανται οὔτε μὴν χωρισθέντες λυμίνονται. οὗτοι δὲ παραλαμβάνονται τοῖς ποιηταῖς ἢ διὰ τὴν στενότητα ἢ διὰ καλλοπισμὸν τῆς φράσεως*. Cp. Apell. Constr. 166, 20.

simplest way of juxtaposition, that is in the form of little independent clauses, the several parts of a narrative which in the more reflective literary style are generally subordinated either to a leading sentence or to each other by means of conjunctions of more specific meaning, thus forming a complex whole. This popular or paratactic construction characterizes also the style of Homer, and to a considerable extent of Herodotus, where it is effected by means of several little copulative conjunctions. On the other hand, in *A* artistic literature (05) the number of paratactic conjunctions is limited to καί and τε (also δέ), and since *P* only to καί (also *P-B* δέ). Hence connexion by means of καί appears, from *G* onwards, times without number where *A* writers would have used either circumstantial participles or dependent clauses (2141<sup>r</sup>. 1711. 1487<sup>b</sup>. 1930. 1939. Cp. *AButtmann* 361).

### I. CO-ORDINATING CONJUNCTIONS.

A. COPULATIVE : καί, τέ, δέ,—οὐδέ, μηδέ, οὔτε, μήτε.

1704. 1. Καί, always *prepositive*, is either unemphatic and proclitic : 'and,' 'also,' *et* ; or emphatic and orthotone : 'and also,' 'even,' *atque* (hence καί—καί, 'both—and,' *et—et*).

Τέ is always *postpositive* and enclitic : 'and,'—*que*.

Καί connects, in a free and easy manner, a word or clause with another similar, preceding or following ; τε generally conjoins a clause with another either following it or parallel to it ; καί is the most common particle (1703. 1706. 1710), and the commonest word after the article in the Greek language, τε is comparatively infrequent.

1704<sup>b</sup>. Like English *and*, καί connects two or more co-ordinate members of a clause, or two or more whole co-ordinate clauses. But while English *and* is generally used only once, before the last member, Greek καί is repeated every time, as : Xen. Cyr. 1, 2, 1 φιλανθρώπωντος καὶ φιλομαθίστατος καὶ φιλοτιμότατος. Dem. 9, 72 ἐγὼ καὶ Πολύευκτος καὶ Ἡγήσιππος καὶ Κλειτόμαχος καὶ Λυκούργος καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πρέσβεις περιήλθομεν. Pl. Crit. 47 B ταύτη ἄρα αὐτῷ πρακτέον καὶ γυμναστέον καὶ ἔδεστέον γε καὶ ποτέον.

So still in *N* : ἐγὼ καὶ σὺ καὶ ὁ ἀδερφός σου. πεινῶ καὶ διψῶ καὶ κρύναι καὶ πονεῖ.

1704<sup>c</sup>. In the frequent combinations καὶ γάρ, καὶ μήν, καί is very often redundant, serving merely to place the postpositive γάρ or μήν at the head of the sentence.

1705. Δέ 'and,' originally adversative (1709. 1732), is post-positive and orthotone.—For its history see 1744<sup>b</sup> f.

1706. The close affinity or synonymy of the two conjunctions καί and τέ, the unqualified preponderance of καί through all classical antiquity over its associate, and its greater suitability in construction as a prepositive, were advantages which could not but determine the fate of τέ. For the latter copulative particle, though often convenient and useful as a variety of the unduly frequent καί, began to retreat from the common language as early as *P* times, and the NT writers—apart from the scholarly Luke—make but a limited use of it. In particular the combination τε—τέ, so favourite with *A* writers, appears but rarely in NT (Acts 17, 4 ; 26, 16 ; Hebr. 6, 2), except in compounds (εἶτε, εἰάν τε, οὔτε, μήτε).

1707. On the other hand, as a precursory attendant of *καί, τέ* appears not infrequently in NT Greek, and even in the unscholarly compositions of the first post-Christian centuries.

Matt. 22, 10 *πονηροὺς τε καὶ ἀγαθοὺς*. So 27, 8. 28, 12. Luke 12, 45 *ἰσθίειν τε καὶ πίνειν*. Luke 22, 66 *ἀρχιερεῖς τε καὶ γραμματεῖς*. So 2, 16. 21, 11. 23, 15. 24, 20. John 2, 15. Acts 1, 1; 1, 8; 1, 13; 2, 3; etc. Acta Tho. 18, 14, 15, 13; 30, 18 *τὰ καὶ παράδοξα κἀμοὶ τε καὶ τῷ δαλφ φανέντα*.

1708. With the close of *T*, if not earlier, *τέ* may be considered as extinct from the living language. This can be at least inferred partly from its decreasing frequency in unscholarly writings, and partly from its misuse, as: Acta Tho. 15, 13 *τά τε πρὸς τὴν ζωὴν αὐτοῦ τε καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἐργατῶν*.

1709. Closely associated with *καί* is *δέ*, a particle which, owing to its original and *A* function, is generally classed among the adversative conjunctions (1705). However, as early as *A* times, it had almost sunk to the level of a copulative particle, and it is in this one function, denoting mostly a progress or transition from one clause to another, that it lingered down to *B* times, when it finally shared the fate of all other postpositive particles (1700). With all that, its retreat from popular speech probably dates from a much earlier period, seeing that the NT writers make but a limited use of it. (AButtmann 363.)

1710. With the retreat and final disappearance of *τέ* and *δέ, καί* of necessity became the only copulative conjunction (in affirmative speech). But this circumstance alone does not afford an adequate idea of the scope and frequency gained by this particle. In consequence of the decided predilection of popular language for parataxis (1703), and its ever growing influence on the literary style, *καί* had, as early as *P*, established itself as the ordinary representative in cases where the literary language had been wont to resort to subordinate discourse (1703. 1930) or participial construction (2141<sup>c</sup>). With the opening of *G*, its extension in the directions just indicated assumed still greater proportions, and thus contributed very much to the peculiar complexion of Biblical Greek and other unscholarly compositions. But we are not on this account warranted in assuming that *καί* has appropriated the functions and meanings of the particles and constructions superseded by it. Notwithstanding its very great extension, *καί* has through all times retained its original and proper force *and, also*. (Cp. AButtmann 361; GBWiner 542 f.)

1711. The principal *P-N* features of *καί* may be summarized in the following sections:

1. *Καί* joins two or more co-ordinate clauses, one or more of which would have been expressed in the *A* reflective style by different conjunctions or by participial construction (1703. 1710. 2165), as:

Matt. 7, 25 *καὶ κατέβη ἡ βροχὴ καὶ ἦλθον οἱ ποταμοὶ καὶ ἐπνευσαν οἱ ἀνεμοὶ καὶ προσέπεσαν τῇ οἰκίᾳ ἐκείνῃ καὶ οὐκ ἔπεσεν*. So ib. 27. 14, 11 *καὶ ἠνέχθη ἡ κεφαλὴ αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ πῖνακι καὶ ἐδόθη τῷ κορασίῳ καὶ ἤνεγκεν τὴν μητρὴ αὐτῆς*. ib. 14 f. Mark 1, 12-14. Luke 13, 17 ff., 18, 32 ff. John 2, 13; 16. 10, 3. 1 Cor. 12, 5-6. Rev. 6, 2. 8, 12-16. 9, 1-4 (where nine *καί*). Matt. 26, 45 *καθεύδετε τὸ λοιπὸν καὶ ἀναπαύεσθε*; [where the interrogation is wrongly omitted; so Mark 14, 41] *Ἰδοὺ ἤγγικεν ἡ ὥρα καὶ (= ἐν ᾗ) ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου παραδίδοται εἰς χεῖρας ἀμαρτανῶν*. Mark 15, 25 *ἦν δὲ ὥρα τρίτῃ καὶ ἐσταύρωσαν αὐτόν*. Luke 23, 24. John 4, 35; 5, 1; 2, 13 *καὶ ἔγγυς ἦν τὸ πάσχα τῶν Ἰουδαίων καὶ (= ὅτε) ἀνέβη εἰς Ἱερουσόλυμα ὁ Ἰησοῦς*. 11, 5. Hebr. 8, 8 (= ἐν αἷς).—Matt. 5, 15 *οὐδὲ καίουσιν λύχνον καὶ τιθέασιν αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τὸν μῶλον, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ*

τὴν λυχρίαν, καί (= and so) λάμπει πᾶσιν τοῖς ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ. 23, 32. Hebr. 3, 19. Luke 11, 51. Callin. 80, 27 ὁ κύριος ἴασατο αὐτὸν καὶ ἀπῆλθε βλεπών. 99, 26 ἔχει ὑγιάναι καὶ εὐθὺς ἀπόλυσον αὐτόν. 102, 11 ἐψώμизεν αὐτόν καὶ μόλις ἔδεχτο, et passim (cp. id. 107, 20-26).

1712. Only in appearance does καί stand for final ἵνα (or ὅπως), as: Sept. Nehem. 13, 9, 19 εἶπα καὶ ἐκλείσαν τὰς πύλας. NT Rom. 10, 30 Ἡσαίας δὲ ἀποτολμᾷ καὶ λέγει. Chron. 74, 2 ἐκέλευσε καὶ ἐκαύθη ἡ μυσαρὰ κεφαλῇ; Vita SA 9\* ε κελεύει καὶ ἐκβάλλουσιν τὴν ἀλυσιν τοῦ αὐχένος. For all such cases, numerous though they are, constitute a pregnant construction or brachylogy. Thus the above instances are in reality condensed sentences: εἶπα ἵνα κλείσωσι τὰς πύλας καὶ ἐκλείσαν αὐτάς—Ἡσαίας δὲ ἀποτολμᾷ λέγειν καὶ λέγει—ἐκέλευεν ἵνα καύθῃ ἡ μυσαρὰ αὐτοῦ κεφαλῇ καὶ ἐκαύθη or ἐκέλευσε καυθῆναι τὴν μυσάρην αὐτοῦ κεφαλῇ καὶ ἐκάη—κελεύει αὐτοὺς ἐκβαλεῖν καὶ ἐκβάλλουσιν (cp. εἰ τις καὶ ἄλλος for εἰ τις ἄλλος καὶ ὅστις ἄλλος 1980). For further examples see Sept. Lev. 14, 5; Num. 5, 2; Sam. 2, 6; Eus. Alex. 385 A; Acta Andr. et Matt. 4; Mal. 39, 8; Porph. Cer. 474, 13.

1713. 2. Καὶ very commonly stands where artificial or polished style would have used either a simple *adversative* particle (δέ, ἀλλά, μέντοι), or the correlative μέν—δέ, as:

Luke 20, 19 καὶ ἐξήτησαν οἱ γραμματεῖς καὶ οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς ἐπιβαλεῖν ἐπ' αὐτόν τὰς χεῖρας ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ὥρᾳ καὶ ἐφοβήθησαν τὸν λαόν. Mark 12, 12 ἐξήτουν αὐτόν κρατῆσαι καὶ ἐφοβήθησαν τὸν ὄχλον. Matt. 11, 25. Mark 7, 24. John 8, 49, 6, 36. 17, 11. Jas. 4, 2. 1 Th. 2, 18 ἠβελήσαμεν ἰλθεῖν πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐγὼ μὲν Παῦλος καὶ ἄπαξ καὶ δὲς, καὶ ἐνέκυψεν ἡμᾶς ὁ στανάς. (However, similar cases are not wanting even in A: cp. RKühner ii.<sup>2</sup> 792.)

1714. 3. Καὶ frequently introduces the apodosis of a temporal clause denoting *as soon as*, *when*. This usage, however, is not peculiar to P-N, but rather a continuation and extension of the A practice of so introducing the apodosis in combinations like οὐκ ἔφθην—καὶ (1793. 2115), ἅμα—καί, ἤδη—καί, οὕτω—καί, ὥς—καί 'as soon as.'

Th. 2, 93 ὥς δὲ ἐδοξεν αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐχώρουν εὐθὺς. Xen. Hell. 7, 1, 28 ἅμα ταῦτ' ἔλεγε καὶ ἀπῆκε. An. 1, 8, 8 ἤδη τε ἦν μέσον ἡμέρας καὶ οὕτω καταφανεῖς ἦσαν οἱ πολέμοι. Polyb. 1, 24, 7 ἅμα τῆς θαλάσσης ἤσαντο καὶ τῶν παρὰ Σαρδόνια πραγμάτων εὐθὺς ἀντείχοντο. NT Luke 7, 12 ὥς δὲ ἤγγισεν τῇ πύλῃ τῆς πόλεως καὶ ἰδοὺ ἐξεκομίζετο τεθνηκὼς μονογενὴς υἱός. 2, 21 ὅτε ἐπλησθήσαν ἡμέραι ὀκτὼ τοῦ περιτεμεῖν αὐτόν καὶ ἐκλήθη τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ἰησοῦς. Soz. 1, 14 (p. 30, 20) ἅμα γὰρ ὁ βοῦς ἀπεδόθη καὶ τὸ πάθος τὸν παῖδα δέπλιπεν. (Cp. Callin. 138, 15 οὐ παρήλθον ἡμέραι τριάκοντα καὶ εὐθέως γέγονε χάλας.)—See also 1793.

1715. The opinion generally held (AButtmann 362; GBWiener 357) that καὶ in NT Greek introduces also the apodosis of other subordinate, especially conditional, sentences is erroneous, since the data adduced (Acts 13, 18; Phil. 1, 22; 2 Cor. 2, 2; 11, 12; Jas. 4, 15; Rev. 3, 20; 10, 7) are wholly irrelevant. Moreover in two of these instances (Jas. 4, 15; 2 Cor. 11, 12) καὶ is followed by a second correlative καὶ and thus obviously means *et-et*, *both-and*, *as well as*.

1716. 4. Καὶ very often follows indefinite relatives (*whoever*, *when-ever*, etc.), and is mostly attended by the modal particle ἄν (in G-B confounded with εἰ 1774) to intensify the generality of the case (2024). Καὶ then, or rather καὶ ἄν (καῖν), is equivalent to A simple ἄν, οὐν, ὅποτε, δημοτοῦν (-cumque, -ever, -soever). This colloquialism is now very common in the form καὶ ἄ' (κιᾶ') or καὶ νά (1771 ff.), and bears some analogy to the A pregnant construction εἰ τις καὶ ἄλλος and the like (1712. 1980), inasmuch as ὅποιος καὶ ἄν ἔρθη originally meant, and still may be resolved into, ὅποιος ἔρθη καὶ ἄν ἔρθη.

Epict. 3, 3, 9 ὅσον καὶ θέλει (rather -λη). Iren. 1, 6, 2 τὸ πνευματικὸν ἀδύνατον φοβρὰν καταδέξασθαι καὶν ὁποῖαις συγκαταγέγονται πράξεις. Dio C. 38, 2, 3 ὑπάπτευνον γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐφ' ὅπερ που καὶ ἐγίγνετο. Eus. ii. 725 B ὅποι καὶ βούλουντο. Mal. 33, 2 τὰς τῶν προβάτων ἐρίας οἷαι καὶν ἦσαν, ταύτας ἐποίουν ἰμάτια καὶ ἐφόρουν. So Chron. 79, 14.

N : ὅποιος καὶ ἄν (κίαν) ἔρῃ, ὅποιος καὶ νὰ ῥῃ (beside ὅποιος ἔρῃ) 'whoever may come.' ὅ,τι καὶ ἄνε (καὶ ἄ or κιά) θέλῃ, ὅ,τι καὶ θέλῃ 'whatever he wishes.' ὅπου καὶ ἄν (κίαν) εἶνε 'wherever he may be.' ὅντεν καὶ ἄν ἔρῃ 'whenever he may come.'—Sachl. 1, 7 εἰς ὅσα καὶ ἄν σου λέγω.

1717. 5. On a similar principle, καὶ in G-N often follows the conditional ἄν (άνε'), as a mere intensive particle. In that case ἄν καὶ is not concessive (1993 f.), but simply an emphatic form of the 'tiny' ἄν, as: Clement. 32 A εἰ δὲ καὶ τύχοι. Callin. 60, 1 εἰ δὲ καὶ βούλοιο. 63, 6. 92, 10 εἰ δὲ καὶ ἔλαβες. Apophth. 361 c ἐάν δὲ καὶ συμβῇ. [Cp. Xen. Cyr. 1, 3, 12 ἣν ἄρχων τις τύχῃ σοι καὶ ἀμάρτη πότερον ἑὸς ἀρchein ἢ ἄλλον καθίστης ἀντ' αὐτοῦ; N : ἄν καὶ τὸν ἀπαντήσης 'if you meet him perchance.'] For the sake of further intensification, M-N inserts ἴσως or τύχῃ (also λάχῃ): ἄν ἴσως (ἀνίσως) καί, ἄν τύχῃ καί, ἄν λάχῃ καί, as: ἀνίσως κ' ἔρῃ, ἄν τύχῃ κ' ἔρῃ, ἄνε λάχῃ κ' ἔρῃ, 'should he come' (1749. 2049<sup>b</sup>). The place of τύχῃ or λάχῃ and ἴσως is also frequently taken by εἶνε (M éne), but whether this εἶνε (éne) is an actual insertion or a development from άνε' (an amplified form of ἄν 132<sup>b</sup>. 1771), and consequent misconception—ἀνέν καὶ τὸν ἀπαντήσης, ἀν' ἐν' καὶ τὸν ἀπαντήσης—is a point which requires further inquiry.

Sachl. 1, 130 ἄν ἐν' καὶ ὁμῶς ψάμαν. 2, 61 καὶ ἄν εἶν' καὶ φαίνεται κἀνείς. 220. 273. 337. (Cp. Chron. Mor. Prol. 566 ἄν ἐν' ὅτι ἀρέσουν τον.)

1717<sup>b</sup>. 6. So further in N ἐπεὶ καί, ἐπειδὴ καί (1739), ἀπὸς (καί), ἀφοῦ (καί) 'since,' μὴν πῆς or μὴν πῆς (μήμπης) καὶ 'lest' (1749. 2049<sup>b</sup>).

1718. 1. Different from the above is the case where the article is followed by καὶ with an epexegetic apposition and so corresponds to *etiam*; or where a relative is conceived as a demonstrative, and so is followed by καί, as if the clause so appended were equally important and co-ordinate with the antecedent. This apparently superfluous καὶ is in reality *intensive* or *additive* (*etiam*, *qui idem—also, moreover*) and serves to emphasize the importance of the otherwise relative clause. The phenomenon, though not foreign to A, became a favourite mode of expression among G-B writers who seem to have been influenced by the parallel and preponderating Latin usage of *qui et*. But whether it was common in the uncultivated popular speech of the time is open to doubt, seeing that N shows no genuine traces of it.

Xen. Mem. 1, 2, 47 τὰ δὲ τῆς πόλεως ἐπραττον ὥνπερ ἔνεκεν καὶ Σωκράτης προσῆλθον. 1, 2, 31 ἐφ' ὧν δὴ καὶ ἐμίσει τὸν Σωκράτην ὁ Κριτίας. An. 2, 1, 22 καὶ ὅμιν ταῦτα δοκεῖ ἅπερ καὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ. Humann-Puchstein Reise in Kleinas. 283, 14 Ἀρταξέρξου τοῦ καὶ Μνήμονος. Dion. Thr. in Bekk. An. 637, 1 Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ καὶ Πάρις. ib. 3 ὁ καὶ διάνυνμον, ὁ καὶ πνευστικόν. Lounge Pap 7 (99 B.C.), 4 Ἀσκληπιάδῃ τῇ καὶ Σε[ιμουθίν]. 10, 3 φ' ὄνομα Ἑρμαν ὅς καὶ Νείδος. 14, 3 Ἑρμίου τοῦ καὶ Πετенеφάτου, etc. NT Hebr. 7, 4 θεωρεῖτε δὲ πηλίκος εὗτος ὃ καὶ δεκάτην Ἀβραὰμ ἔδωκεν ἐκ τῶν ἀκροθινίων. 6, 7. 8, 6. Luke 10, 30 λησταῖς περίεπεσεν οἱ καὶ ἐκδύσαντες αὐτὸν καὶ πληγὰς ἐπιθέντες ἀπηλθον. Acts 1, 10 ἄνδρες παρεστήκεισαν αὐτοῖς οἱ καὶ εἶπαν (cp. Latin *qui et*). 10, 39. 24, 6 ὅν καὶ ἐκρατήσαμεν. Gal. 2, 10. So ὡς καὶ Acts 11, 17; 1 Cor. 7, 8. 9, 5, etc. καθὼς καὶ Rom. 15, 7. 1 Cor. 13, 12. 2 Cor. 1, 14. Eph. 4, 17, 32. 5, 2. Διὸ καὶ Luke 1, 35. 11. 49. Acts 10, 29. Ro. 1, 24. Hebr. 13, 12. Phil. 2, 9. CIA III 1040 (± 180?), 1 Ἀσμίον τοῦ καὶ Ἀγρίππου. 2842 a Δαμόθεμος ὅς καὶ Ἡδύς, cp. ib. index p. 388. Acta Tho. 2, 3 Θωμᾷ τῷ καὶ Διδύμῳ. 3, 10 Ἰούδαν τὸν καὶ Θωμᾶν. 30, 19 τὰ

καί—οὐδε, μηδέ—οὔτε, μήτε. [1718–1723<sup>b</sup>.

καὶ παράδοξα κἀμοὶ τε καὶ τῷ ὄχλῳ φανέντα, ἃ καὶ ἀπόκρυφα τοῖς πολλοῖς τυγχάνειν εἰώθασι. 44, 13 ἀλλ' ὅπερ καὶ ἔχεις τοῖς δεομένοις παρέχεις. 55, 17. 59, 13 εὐχαριστοῦσιν σοι οὔστινας καὶ κατηξίωσας γενέσθαι οικητήρια τῆς ἐπουρανίου σου δωρεάς. 63, 32 ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ ἡ ἡμῶν θυγάτηρ ἢ καὶ πάσης οἶδεν τῆς κτήσεώς μου πρωτεύειν, et passim. FTrinch. 34 († 1034) τὰ χωράφια τὰ ἄπερ καὶ ἔχομεν. (Cp. WSchmid iii. 338f.)

1718<sup>b</sup>. This additive force of καὶ becomes more evident in the case, rather common during *G-M*, where it follows the kindred prepositions μετὰ and σύν, thus giving rise to such contaminatory and pregnant combinations, as: (μετὰ πολλῶν ἄλλων + καὶ πολλοὶ ἄλλοι) μετὰ καὶ πολλῶν ἄλλων, (σύν ἄλλοις πολλοῖς + καὶ πολλοὶ ἄλλοι) σύν καὶ ἄλλοις πολλοῖς. NT Phil. 4, 3 μετὰ καὶ Κλήμεντος. Clem. ad Cor. i. 65, 1 σύν καὶ Φορτουνάτῳ. Mal. 440, 14 Θεοδώρα μετὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀγαθῶν ἐποίησε καὶ τοῦτο. Porph. 293, 9 μετὰ καὶ τοὺς τῶν μερῶν πρoύχοντας. FTrinch. 11 († 1000) σύν καὶ τῆς διακρατήσεως. 15 († 1015) μετὰ καὶ χωραφίων.

1719. 2. For variety's sake *G-B* scribes often replace or rather paraphrase καὶ in the above combination by its equivalent classical associate δέ, an alternative which, as a matter of course, is unknown to *N* speech.

Moschion 55 (p. 26) εἰ τις δ' ἂν ἐξ αὐτῆς ἔξω ἐξελεθὲν ἀρῇται. Eus. ii. 385 b ἐξ οἷας δ' οὐν ἀποστάσεως. 884 a τημελεῖν ὅποιον δ' ἂν βούληται θεῖον. Acta Petri et Pauli 181, 3 ἵνα ὅπου δ' ἂν εὐρεθῇς ἀποκτανθῇς. Apophth. 336 c καὶ οἷαν δ' ἂν ὦραν δόξῃ τῷ ἔχθρῳ αὐτοῦ, εὐκόλως αὐτὸν ρίπτει κάτω. Acta Petri et Pauli 181, 4 ἵνα ὅπου δ' ἂν εὐρεθῇς ἀποκτανθῇς. Acta Pauli et Theclae 253, 4 ὅπου δ' ἂν πορεύῃ. JMoschos 2968 a ὅπου δ' ἂν ἀπῆρχετο, ἠκολούθει αὐτῷ. Mal. 422, 16 ὅποιον δ' ἂν ὑπάρχωσι μέρους. 437, 13 ἐξεῖναι αὐτῷ παραιτεῖσθαι τὴν κληρονομίαν ὅτε δ' ἂν βούληται. Cedr. i. 624 ὅπου δ' ἂν ἦγε τὸ ρεῦμα. Alchem. 141, 14 ὅπου δ' ἂν τὰ ἐργαλεῖα κείνται. ib. 17 ἔως δ' ἂν τῶν αἰθαλῶν παύσεται ἡ ἀναγαγῇ. 343, 4 οἷον δ' ἂν καὶ βούλη. 380, 8 εἴ τι δ' ἂν θέλῃς, et passim. Narr. Zos. 98, 7 ἐπορευόμεν ὅπου δ' ἂν οὐκ ἐγίνωσκον.

1720. 6. Kai in *T-B* sometimes connects a participle with its leading verb, as: Mal. 387, 2 δεξαμένη παρὰ τῆς ἰδίας αὐτῆς μητρὸς γράμματα λάθρα, καὶ παρεκάλεσε τὸν βασιλέα Ζήνωνα ἵνα ἀπολυθῇ ἀπὸ καστελλίου. For this solecism see 2168, b.

Οὔδέ, μηδέ; οὔτε—οὔτε.

1721. By means of οὐδὲ and μηδέ 'also not,' 'and not,' 'nor,' 'not even,' *nec* (the former distinguished from the latter as in 1801 f.), a negative continuation is added to an antecedent simple negation, sometimes also to an affirmative notion.

1722. From the time when οὐ and μὴ were amplified to οὐδὲν and μηδέν (1798 f.), these adverbs lost ground before their correlative synonyms οὔτε and μήτε (1723<sup>b</sup>).

1723. By οὔτε—οὔτε and μήτε—μήτε, *neque*, two or more parallel members of a negative clause are connected into a whole.

1723<sup>b</sup>. Both οὔτε—οὔτε and μήτε—μήτε, 'neither—nor,' have been in unbroken use through all times, and are still current in *N*. They have even acquired, since *G* times, a considerable extension at the expense of οὐδὲ and μηδέ (cp. 1722). Hence we often meet in *G-B* with a single οὔτε or μήτε, and this practice is now very common in *N* speech.

Mark 3, 20 ὥστε μὴ δύνασθαι αὐτοῖς μήτε ἄρτον φαγεῖν. So 5, 3. Luke 12, 26 εἰ οὖν οὔτε ἐλάχιστον δύνασθε. 20, 36 οὔτε γὰρ ἀποθανεῖν ἐτι δύνανται.



1723<sup>b</sup>-1780.] ἢ—ἢ, εἴτε, ἐάν τε, οὔτε, μήτε.

Acts 4, 12 οὔτε γὰρ ὄνομά ἐστιν. 1 Cor. 3, 2 οὐκ ἔστιν ἐξουσία, ἀλλ' οὔτε ἐτι νῦν δύνασθε. So Jas. 3, 12. Rev. 5, 3. 5, 4 οὐδεὶς ἄξιός ἐστιν ἀνοῖξαι . . . οὔτε βλέπειν. 12, 8 οὐκ ἴσχυσεν οὔτε τόπος εὐρέθῃ. So 20, 4.—2 Thess. 2, 2 εἰς τὸ μὴ ταχέως σαλευθῆναι ὑμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ νοῦς μήτε θροεῖσθαι. Clem. R. ad Cor. 3, 4 μὴδε πορεύεσθαι μὴδε πολιτεύεσθαι. Callin. 92, 2 οἱ δύναται πολέμῃσιν οὔτε ἀπαλαγῆναι. 107, 10 οἱ κοινανὼ αὐτῷ οὔτε ἀναφέρειν τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ. 89, 17 εἰρήνη αὐτὸν οὐ τρέφει οὔτε ποιεῖ. 89, 25. 122, 9 μὴ λαβὼν μήτε κατεργνεύσας.

1724. In most of the above, as well as in other similar passages, Biblical critics, adhering rigidly to the norm of *A*, have unnecessarily substituted οὐδὲ and μὴδὲ for the genuine οὔτε and μήτε.

## B. DISJUNCTIVE PARTICLES.

1725. 1. ἢ 'or'; ἢ—ἢ 'either—or.'—It is still fully preserved in *N*.

1726. 2. εἴτε—εἴτε 'whether—or.' It is used in a plurality of conditions amongst which a choice has to be made.

1726<sup>b</sup>. It still obtains in *N*, though it is often mistaken for a strong ἢ—ἢ. (So even Callin. 62, 20 εἴτε τραῦμα εἶχεν ἢ τινα ἀρρωστίαν.)

1727. 3. ἐάν τε—ἐάν τε (ἄν τε—ἄν τε, often preceded by καί: κἂν τε—κἂν τε, 1716) 'whether—or.' It is identical with εἴτε—εἴτε.

1727<sup>b</sup>. This combination was even in *A* less frequent than εἴτε—εἴτε (cp. 1771 ff., then ἐάν . . . εἰ δὲ μή, 1983). In the course of *P* times it retreated more and more into the background, so that in the latter part of *G*, it had already lost all touch with popular speech. It hardly occurs in the NT (only once in Rom. 14, 8 ἐάν τε (ῶμεν ἐάν τε ἀποθνήσκωμεν; while εἴτε—εἴτε occurs 41 times; cp. also Const. Apost. 6, 17 κἂν (ῶσιν αὐτῶν αἱ γαμεταὶ κἂν τεθνᾶσι)—and is entirely absent from *N* speech.

1728. The optional disjunctives εἴτε—εἴτε, ἐάν τε—ἐάν τε are often strengthened by the additive καί: as: Pl. Menon 71 B εἴτε καλὸς εἴτε πλούσιος εἴτε καὶ γενναῖος ἐστὶν εἴτε καὶ τάναντί τούτων. Lys. 212 C ἐάν τε καὶ ἀντιφιλήται ἐάν τε καὶ μισῆται. Dio C. 45, 43, 4 δοῦλοι γὰρ εἰσι . . . ἂν τ' ἐθέλωσιν ἂν τε καὶ μή.

1729. Another more emphatic mode of expressing option among conditional cases which appears since *G*, is resorted to by simply dropping εἴτε or ἐάν τε and thus effecting a closer copulative connexion. This occurs notably in the phrase θέλεις οὐ θέλεις, or rather θέλεις οὐ θέλεις (1988), 'willy nilly,' as: Epict. 3, 9, 16 θέλεις οὐ θέλεις *velis nolis*. Apophth. 396 Δ θέλεις οὐ θέλεις οὐκ ἄφῶ σε. Epict. 3, 3, 3 θέλει οὐ θέλει. So M. Anton. 11, 15. Porph. Adm. 117, 18 ἀπελθε μετὰ τοῦ πλουτοῦ σου θέλεις εἰς τὴν χάραν σου θέλεις ἄλλαχού. Alechem. 326, 10 θέλεις εἰς κασσίτερον θέλεις εἰς χάλκαμον. 348, 13 θέλεις ὑπὸ μαλθακοῦ πυρός θέλεις ὑπὸ καυστοῦ πυρός. Isthph. 1, 4 θέλεις τὰ κοικκία του θέλεις τὰ φύλλα του. Cp. Theophil. 1, 8 (1036 B) τότε πιστεύσεις θέλων καὶ μὴ θέλων. Vita SA 9\* F θέλων κἂν μὴ θέλων.

1729<sup>b</sup>. This turn gradually became more and more popular and is now widespread in *N* speech, as: θέλεις δέ" θέλεις, ἔρθης δὲν ἔρθης, πεινάς δὲν πεινάς. So further καλὸς κακός, μικρός μέγας, πολλὰ ὀλίγα, δύο τρεῖς, πέντ' ἑξί, σήμερο αὔριο. That the copulative composition originated in a further contraction of this copulation is very probable (1156).

1730. 4. οὔτε—οὔτε, μήτε—μήτε, 'neither—nor.' On these negative disjunctives see 1723-4.

C. ADVERSATIVE PARTICLES.

1731. These are: (a) ἀλλὰ (*P* also πλήν), 'but';—ὁμως 'still,' 'yet';—εἰ μὴ or ἐὰν μὴ (ἂν μὴ), πλήν, χωρίς, ἐκτός or παρεκτός, πάρεξ 'except,' 'save'—all *prepositive*.  
(b) δέ 'but,' μέντοι 'yet,' 'still'—*postpositive*.

1732. Regarding *P-N* usage, it should be remembered that popular speech very often discards the adversative relation, preferring the paratactic construction by means of καί (1703. 1710. 1713).

1733. Besides its proper and general function as an adversative particle, ἀλλά 'but' was, even in *A*, occasionally used in the exceptive sense of εἰμή, πλήν, 'except,' 'save.' (RKühner ii.<sup>2</sup> 823 f. & 825.)

✱ 275 ἄλλος δ' οὐτίς μοι τόσον αἴτιος Οὐρανιάνων, ἀλλὰ φίλη μήτηρ. Soph. O. R. 1331 ἔπαισε δ' αὐτόχειρ νιν οὐτίς ἄλλ' ἐγώ. So Eur. Hipp. 638. Xen. An. 6, 4, 2 ἐν δὲ τῷ μέσῳ ἄλλη μὲν πόλις οὐδεμία οὔτε φιλία οὔτε Ἑλληνίς, ἀλλὰ Θρᾷκες καὶ Βιθυνοί. Pl. Prot. 354 B ἔχετε τι ἄλλο τέλος λέγειν, εἰς δ' ἀποβλέψαντες αὐτὰ ἀγαθὰ καλεῖτε, ἀλλὰ ἡδονάς τε καὶ λύπας; Polyb. 10, 11, 5 οὐχ ἑτέροις τισὶ χρώμενος ἀπολογισμοῖς ἄλλ' οἷς ἐτύγχανε πεπεικῶς αὐτόν. Epict. 1, 11, 33 οὔτε ἄλλο τι τῶν τοιούτων . . . ἄλλ' ὑπολήψεις καὶ δόγματα. Ench. 5 μηδέποτε ἄλλους αἰτιώμεθα ἄλλ' ἑαυτούς.

1734. This exceptive function of ἀλλά, which was proper to εἰ μὴ or ἐὰν μὴ (ἂν μὴ), πλήν, ἐκτός or παρεκτός, πάρεξ and παρά (644. 1188. 1619 ff.), brought about its association with these particles, and thus led, as early as *H* (cp. WSchmid i. 133), to a mutual interchange and rivalry in which ἀλλά was ultimately forced to retreat and leave a considerable part of its adversative functions to its exceptive rivals εἰ μὴ (ἐὰν μὴ), πλήν, παρά, πάρεξ, later also χωρίς and ἐκτός or παρεκτός.

[Schol. Pl. 9. 7 τὸ παρεξ παρά τῷ ποιητῇ καὶ δύο μέρη λόγου ἐστὶ καὶ ἐγκλί-  
νεται αἱ δύο προθέσεις. . . Τυρανίων δὲ ἐν μέρος λόγου ἤκουσεν, ἵν' ἡ ἐπίρρημα,  
καὶ βαρύνει καὶ ἔχει λόγον, ὡς Ἡρόδοτος ἐν δ' 'πάρεξ τοῦ Σκυθικοῦ ἔθνους'.  
παρὰ δὲ τῷ ποιητῇ τὸ παρεξ δύο μέρη λόγου εἰσὶ καὶ ἐγκλίνονται αἱ δύο προθέσεις.  
Eust. 732, 40: 'Ἰστέον δὲ ὡς ἡμεῖς μὲν οἱ ὕστερον πάρεξ δεῖ φαμεν βαρυνόντας  
κατὰ κοινὴν διάλεκτον, καὶ ἀντὶ τοῦ Χωρίς τὴν λέξιν νοοῦμεν, καὶ διὰ τοῦ ἔ γραφο-  
μεν αὐτὴν, καὶ μόνῃ γενικῇ συντάσσομεν.' Ὅμηρος δὲ πάρεξ λέγειν ὀξυνόντας.  
Schol. Apoll. R. 2, 344 τὸ δὲ πάρεξ βαρυνόντας ἀντὶ τοῦ Χωρίς. συντάσσεται δὲ  
γενικῇ καὶ αἰτιατικῇ.]

Hdt. 7, 32 ἀπέπεμπε κήρυκας ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, πλὴν (= ἀλλὰ) οὔτε ἐς Ἀθήνας  
οὔτε ἐς Δακεδαίμονα ἔπεμπε. Dem. 56, 23 πλέονσα πανταχόσε πλὴν οὐκ εἰς  
Ἀθήνας. Polyb. 3, 23, 3 ταῦτα, πάρεξ δὲ μηδέν. 8, 28, 9 μηδὲν ἰδιοπραγεῖν  
πάρεξ τῶν προσταττομένων. 3, 58, 9. Sept. 3 Reg. 3, 18 οὐκ ἐστὶν οὐδὲν πάρεξ  
ἀμφοτέρων ἡμῶν. ib. 2, 20. Esdra 1, 6; etc. Matt. 12, 4 οὐκ ἐξὸν ἦν αὐτῷ  
φαγεῖν οὐδὲ τοῖς μετ' αὐτοῦ, εἰ μὴ τοῖς ἱερεῦσι μύσους. Gal. 2, 16 εἰδότες ὅτι οὐ  
ἀμφοτέρω ἀνθρώπων ἐξ ἔργων νόμου ἐὰν μὴ διὰ πίστεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. So too  
Luke 4, 26; 27. Rev. 9, 4. Protev. Jac. 24, 3 τὸ μὲν σῶμα οὐκ εἶδον εἰ μὴ  
τὸ αἷμα (as v. 1.). Theoph. 180, 18 ὥστε μὴ πολιτεύεσθαι τοὺς ἐλληρίζοντας μηδὲ  
τοὺς αἰρετικούς εἰ μὴ μόνους τοὺς ὀρθοδόξους Χριστιανούς. 415, 27 μὴ λογίσῃς υἱὸν  
θεοῦ εἶναι ὃν ἔτεκεν ἡ Μαρία, τὸν λεγόμενον Χριστόν, εἰ μὴ ψιλὸν ἀνθρώπον.

1735. It is to this association and affinity among the above particles that are  
due such strengthened combinations as ἀλλ' ὅμως, ὅμως μέντοι, πλὴν εἰ μὴ, πλὴν  
ἐὰν μὴ, ἐκτός εἰ μὴ or ἐὰν μὴ, παρεκτός εἰ μὴ or ἐὰν μὴ, χωρίς εἰ μὴ or ἐὰν μὴ,  
which occur more or less frequently, in particular since *G* times (cp. 1981).

1736. The ultimate outcome of the struggle among the exceptive and adversative particles was that ἀλλά, εἰ μὴ or ἂν μὴ (*N* ἀμμή 195, μά, 198<sup>2b</sup>), χαρίς, παρὰ (also παρό), and πάρεξ, have survived down to the present time in a more or less modified meaning. Thus ἀλλά, as a literary rather than colloquial term, still preserves its *A* force 'but'; so too ὅμως 'yet,' 'still.' Εἰ μὴ (or rather εἰμή) and παρὰ are purely exceptive: 'except,' 'save,' being rarely followed by a verb. Χαρίς (also χάρις accented after δίχως) is still popular in the sense of 'without'; while πάρεξ, being untenable owing to its final ξ (219), has been associated with and assimilated to παρὰ, and in this form it is now very popular, chiefly after a negation, as an equivalent to the more polished ἀλλὰ 'but,' 'except,' (German *sondern, aber*).

1736<sup>b</sup>. On the postpositive adversatives δὲ and μέντοι cp. 1700.

## II. SUBORDINATING PARTICLES.

### CAUSAL PARTICLES.

1737. *a. Prepositive*: ἵδι, ἱδιότι, (ἴνα), 'because.' ἐπεί, ἐπειδή, 'as,' 'since.'—ἄτε (δῆ), οἷα δῆ, 'as,' 'because.' ὥς 'on the plea that,' 'inasmuch as,' 'as.'

*b. Postpositive*: γὰρ 'because,' 'for' (Latin *enim*).

1738. Of the prepositives, ὅτι and ἐπεί, then their (strengthened) compounds διότι (= διὰ + ὅτι) and ἐπειδὴ (= ἐπεὶ + δῆ), can stand only before the indicative or secondary subjunctive [optative]; so too ὥς in older Attic. Usually, however, ὥς introduces a causal *participle*; and so do always ἄτε (δῆ) and οἷα δῆ (2150).

1739. The commonest causal particles ὅτι or διότι, and ἐπεὶ or ἐπειδὴ, still survive in *N* (cp. 1790). However, ὅτι is now almost obsolete, ἐπεὶ, more generally ἐπεὶ καὶ (1717<sup>b</sup>), is obsolescent, while διότι and ἐπειδὴ are still very common, the former phonopathically changed into γιὰτι (διότι-διότι-ιότι [150<sup>a</sup>], then *iati* by assimilation to γιὰτι, i.e. διατι; rather than directly from γιὰ + ὅτι, i.e. διὰ ὅτι), the latter often supplied with an analogical final *s*: ἐπειδῆς, and frequently followed by καὶ: ἐπειδὴ καὶ (1717<sup>b</sup>).

1740. On the other hand, ὥς as a conjunction introducing a causal clause in the indicative or secondary subjunctive [optative], enjoyed no general popularity even in *A*, and so early made room for ὅτι or διότι. In point of fact, it is no longer used by Polybios, while the NT writers and all *P-N* unlearned compositions totally ignore it.

1741. Peculiar but unmistakable is the use, in *G-N*, of ἴνα (*N* ἰνὰ 1766) in the sense of a causal participle or ὅτι *because, since, for*, especially after expressions of emotion (2128 ff.), as: Sept. Gen. 22, 14. NT John 8, 56 Ἀβραὰμ ὁ πατὴρ ὑμῶν ἠγαλλιάσατο ἵνα ἴδῃ τὴν ἡμέραν τὴν ἐμήν. So Luke 8, 10. Mark 4, 12 (cp. Matt. 13, 13). Rom. 5, 20. 6, 1. Apollon. De Conj. 510, 17 ἔχει δὲ (ὁ σύνδεσμος ἵνα) καὶ τὰς συνδεσμικὰς διαφορὰς δύο οὐσας, μίαν μὲν αἰτιολογικὴν ἐτέραν δ' ἀποτελεσματικὴν. ἐν γὰρ αἰτίᾳ τοῦ ἀναγνῶναι φαιμέν οὕτως ἵνα ἀναγνῶ ἐπιμήθη (read ἐπετ-), ἵνα λοιδορήσῃ ἐπεπλήχθη. So 512 ὁ γοῦν λέγων ἵνα γράψω τὰς μοι ἐγένετο ὁμολογεῖ τὸ ἤδη γεγραφέναι, ὥστε ἐκήρυξεν ἡδὴ τὸ ἔγραψα καὶ αἰτίαν κατ' αὐτοῦ ἐπῆγαγε. id. De Synt. 3, 28 ἴδου γὰρ κατ' αἰτιολογικὴν σύνταξιν ἡρίκα φαιμέν ἵνα ἀναγνῶ (ἐπ) ἐπιμήθη, ἵνα ἀνάκτω ἡνιάθη Τριφῶν. Theodos. 1035, 2 ἐστὶ δ' ὅτε καὶ αἰτίαν (ἡ ὑποτακτικὴ δηλοῖ), ὥς ἐν τῷ ἵνα τιμῆθῃ

ἐλγπήθης. Tit. B. 1241 D οὐχ ὁρᾶτε, φησίν, ἵνα παῖδια λοιδορήσωσι τὸν Ἑλισσαίου κατηράτο; (= ὅτι ἐλοιδορήσαν). Amphil. 121 C καὶ ἵνα μίαν ἡμέραν ὁ παράλυτος κλινὴν βαστάσῃ καὶ τὴν ἀντιμισθίαν παράσχῃ ἀγανακτεῖτε; Chrys. x. 71 D ἵνα στυγνάσῃ μόνον, φησίν, ἀφήκα τὰ ἀμαρτήματα (= διότι ἐστύγνασε). Socr. 5, 16 ἔλεγε δεινὰ πεπονθέναι τὴν Ἑλλήνων θρησκείαν ἵνα μὴ καὶ ὁ εἰς ἀνδρῶς χανευθῇ (ubi male ἐχανεύθη), ἀλλ' ἐπὶ γέλωτι τῆς Ἑλλήνων θρησκείας φυλάττηται (= διὰ τὸ μὴ χανευθῆναι, ἀλλὰ φυλάττεσθαι). [Chrys.] i. 802 B. IMoschos 2988 C κατ'ὧ ἵνα στρέψω τὸ καμάσιόν μου ἐγκαλεῖτε με.

So now: χαίρομαι νὰ σε θωρῶ 'I rejoice to see you.' μου ἔκακοφάνηκε νὰ μάθω πῶς 'I was sorry to hear that.'

1742. As to the participial prepositives ᾄτε (δή), οἷα δὴ, ὥς (1738), they are peculiar to *A* and Atticistic composition. In particular ᾄτε (δή) and οἷα δὴ are entirely foreign to *P* unconventional writings (from Polybios downwards), while ὥς has been a general favourite through all antiquity. However, with the retreat and final disappearance of the participle in general (2149 ff. 2168 ff.), ὥς necessarily went with it.

1742<sup>b</sup>. The postpositive γάρ, though a great favourite with writers of all classes and periods down to *M* times, has of course shared the fate of all postpositive particles (1700).

#### EMPHATIC PARTICLES.

1743. These are γέ, γοῦν, πέρ, for which see 1700,—and μέν, μήν, δή.

1744. The two particles μέν and μήν were originally identical both in form (MEN) and meaning (*indeed, it is true, quidem*), and their distinction, as drawn in our grammars and lexica, is a comparatively later *A* feature. In transliterating the original MEN from the old into the new alphabet (6 ff. App. ii. 12 [<sup>2</sup>]), the transcribers adopted the form μήν for those cases where the particle appeared to be *emphatic* or formed *technical* (proeodic or grammatical) *length*, while μέν was retained for unemphatic and technically short cases, in particular such as pointed to a correlative particle to come, the two particles then standing in the relation of either antithesis (μέν—δέ, ἀλλά, αὖ, ἀτάρ, μέντοι, εἴτα, ἔπειτα, etc.) or mere parataxis (μέν—δέ 'and'). That being the case, it follows that (1) while in *prose* the grammatical distinction between μέν and μήν has been carried out more or less systematically; (2) in *A* and earlier *verse*, metrical quantity has, in a great many cases, interfered with the above principle, and rendered necessary the retention of the old form μέν for μήν, pure and simple.

(1) ΜΕΝ—ΔΕ: Pl. Rep. 457 B τὸ ΜΕΝ ὠφέλιμον καλὸν τὸ ΔΕ βλαβερὸν αἰσχρόν. Xen. An. 1, 1, 1 πρεσβύτερος ΜΕΝ Ἀρταξέρξης νεώτερος ΔΕ Κύρος. Mem. 2, 1, 3 σύνειμι ΜΕΝ θεοῖς, σύνειμι ΔΕ ἀνθρώποις τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς.—So further ὁ ΜΕΝ . . . ὁ ΔΕ, τοῦτο ΜΕΝ . . . τοῦτο ΔΕ, ἔνθα ΜΕΝ . . . ἔνθα ΔΕ, τότε ΜΕΝ . . . τότε ΔΕ, ὅμα ΜΕΝ . . . ὅμα ΔΕ, etc.—For ΜΕΝ . . . ἀλλά cp. Xen. An. 1, 7, 17. Oec. 3, 6. Ag. 2, 11. Hier. 1, 16. Th. 1, 73, 1.—ΜΕΝ . . . ἀτάρ: Soph. O. R. 1051 f. Tr. 54. 760 f. Hdt. 2, 175. 41, 188. Xen. Hell. 5, 4, 17. Pl. Theaet. 172 a.—ΜΕΝ . . . ὁμῶς: Soph. Ph. 471. 1063. O. R. 785. Xen. An. 1, 3, 21. 2, 1, 9. 5, 7, 23; etc.—ΜΕΝ . . . ἀλλ' ὁμῶς: Soph. El. 442. 450. Ph. 1373.—ΜΕΝ . . . Δ' αὖ: Xen. An. 1, 10, 5; etc.—ΜΕΝ . . . ΜΕΝΤΟΙ: Hdt. 1, 109. 3, 36. Soph. O. R. 777. Ph. 353. Xen. An. 1, 3, 9. 5, 9, 26; 32. Cyr. 1, 3, 2; etc.—ΜΕΝ . . . ΜΗΝ: Pl. Phaedr. 268 x. Sophist. 216 B. Philob. 12 D. Xen. Ag. 6, 1; etc.

1744-1746<sup>b</sup>.] PARTICLES : μέν—μήν, δέ—δή, νή, μά

(2) Μέν for μῆν : A 234. 267. E 893. Ω 92. η 237 ; and often. (Cp. Hdn. 508, 17 τὸ δὲ ἡμῖν ὀρκικὸν ἐπίρρημα δέχυνεται. δὲ δὲ ποιητῆς δὲ διὰ τοῦ ἐκ προφέρεται· ἡμῖν μοι πρόφρων [A 77]. ἡμῖν ἐμοὶ δάσειν [ε 275].) Hdt. 3, 66. Th. 1, 10, 1. 1, 45 (τοιαύτη μὲν γυνὴ) ; 54. Xen. An. 5, 10, 4. 5, 6, 28. 1, 7, 6. Cyr. 1, 6, 2. 2, 2, 3. An. 7, 6, 12. 5, 7, 33. 1, 4, 12. 2, 2, 10. 4, 2, 45. Aesch. Pr. 541, et passim. Soph. Ph. 11. 159. 995. 1218. 1418. O. R. 18. 82. 1251. 1321. 1466. O. C. 22. 44. 96. 469. 471. 836. 995. 1096. 1370. 1677. Ant. 255. 366. 498. 551. 634. 681. 1162. Tr. 6. 265. 380. 836. El. 1240. 1424. Eur. Med. 676. 1129 ; etc. Pl. Apol. 21 D. Crit. 43 D. Menon 82 B. Charm. 153 c ; etc. Isae. 1, 1.—ἢ μὲν (for ἢ μήν) : ε 160. Ω 416. A 77. E 275. δ 254. Ψ 585. ρ 483. η 159. α 77. 392. 173. γ 14. η 159. ρ 381. θ 552. T 89. Ψ 795. 634. Ω 300 ; etc. Hdt. 4, 153. 5, 93. 6, 74. 9, 91. 2, 118. 3, 99.—καὶ μὲν (for καὶ μήν) : A 269. ε 88. I 632. Ω 489. ν 45 ; Ar. Ly. 559 etc. (Theocr. 4, 122. 4, 60.)—γε μὲν (for γε μήν) : B 703. Hdt. 7, 152. 234.—οὐ μὲν (for οὐ μήν) : A 163. E 105. Z 125. Ψ 311. For many more instances from Pl. Th. Xen. Isocr. etc. see Ch. Short in CD Yonge's Engl. Gr. Lex. p. civ. s.v. μέν. (Cp. FPassow Lex.<sup>3</sup> s.v. μέν & JAHartung ii. 390-402.)

1744<sup>b</sup>. The historical development and specialization of μέν—μήν has a parallel in δέ—δή. In its transliteration from the old into the new alphabet, ΔΕ was specialized to the copulative or adversative δέ *and, but*, and δή, the latter serving to emphasize any word or clause, but more particularly adjectives, adverbs, pronouns, conjunctions, and imperatives. Again, just as μέν very often occurs for μὴν but still retains its old orthography, so δέ is very frequently found in archaic and A texts as a relic of pre-Eucleidian spelling, a circumstance which moreover accounts for its frequent synizesis.

A 83. 135. 540. Ψ 54. Z 144 τοῖν δέ. Hdt. 1, 115 (ἐγὼ δὲ ταῦτα ἰσώησα). 5, 1, 37. 1, 28, 29. 5, 37. 1, 116. 5, 50. Aesch. Ag. 1016. Pers. 332. Ag. 1029, et passim. Soph. Ant. 1172. O. T. 378 f. 1267. El. 25 ff. Ant. 424 f. O. R. 380. Eur. Or. 622. I. T. 169 f. Rhes. 846. I. A. 401. 1436. Ph. 155. And. 289 f. Ar. Av. 178. Xen. Cyr. 5, 1, 4. Mem. 2, 9, 2 (cp. 2, 1, 16). Cyr. 5, 5, 21. 2, 3, 19. 7, 2, 23 (1, 6, 43. 4, 6, 4. ib. 4, 4, 3). ib. 6, 2, 14 (ταῦτά δὲ ὀρῶντες). ib. 5, 5, 21. 8, 5, 12. Mem. 3, 7, 8. Cyr. 5, 1, 4. Pl. Rep. 2, 367 c. Phaed. 80 D. Rep. 5, 475 c. Prot. 313 A. 325 B. Gorg. 502 B. 512 A. Apol. 28 c. Phaedr. 265 A. So often τί δέ ; (cp. FPassow Lex.<sup>3</sup> s.v. δέ & JAHartung i. 156-170.)

1744<sup>c</sup>. If we were to apply consistently the above principle of distinction between μέν and μήν (1744), and δέ and δή (1744<sup>b</sup>), combinations like μέν γε, μὲν δή, μὲν οὖν, etc. would require us to spell μὴν γε, μὴν δή, μὴν οὖν, etc. (cp. ὅδε 563).

#### ASSEVERATIVE PARTICLES.

1745. Of the two asseverative particles νή and μά 'by,' the former is used mostly in affirmative, the latter mostly in negative sentences, as : ΝΗ Δία, ΝΗ τὴν Ἀθηνῶν—οὔτοι μὰ τοὺς δώδεκα θεούς—but also καὶ μὰ Δία, οὐ μὰ Δία.

1746. In P Greek μὰ prevailed over νή (146) and so came to be used in both affirmative and negative cases. In this double use it is now very common in N speech (1261) : ναι μὰ τὸ θεό', ὅχι μὰ τὴν πίστιν μου.

1746<sup>b</sup>. When μὰ gradually became the sign of swearing, euphemism and piety, following the prescription of the Gospel (Matt. 5, 34. Jas. 5, 12), sought to mitigate the sin by dropping the swearing particle as well as its synonymous πρὸς (1662), often even the verb, as :

Mark 5, 7 ὁρκίζω σε τὸν θεόν. Acts 19, 13 ὁρκίζω ὑμᾶς τὸν Ἰησοῦν. 1 Thess. 5, 27. Anacreont. 9, 1 ἀφες μέ, τοὺς θεούς σοι, πτεῖν ἀμυστί. Epict. 2, 19, 15 λέγε

PARTICLES : ἄρα, ἦ, οὐ, μή, μὼν. [1746<sup>b</sup>–1748.

μοι, τοὺς θεοὺς σοι, ἃ πρόην ἔλεγες, περ δίος. 3, 1, 36 μή, τοὺς θεοὺς σοι, νεανίσκε. 3, 20, 4 τὸν θεόν σοι, ἀπὸ θανάτου γὰρ οὐκ ἔστιν. 3, 23, 11 τὴν ἐμὴν σοι σωτηρίαν, *ita saluus sit* (beside *ib.* 26 μὰ τὴν ὑμετέραν σωτηρίαν). Chal. 1541 ο τὴν σωτηρίαν τοῦ βασιλέως 'by the emperor's safety.' Gregent. 573 Δ τὴν εὐχὴν σοι. JMoschos 2925 Δ τὸν Σέραπιν. 2997 Δ τὸν θεὸν δν σέβεις, ἀπόλυσόν με. Vita SA 41\* D τὸν θεὸν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῆς γῆς ὀρκίζω σε (*cp.* *ib.* 49\* Ε κατὰθεμά σε a euphemism for ἀνάθεμά σε, like Δ νῆ τὸν κῆνα for νῆ τὸν Ζῆνα).

1746<sup>c</sup>. Another pious but Hebraistic mode of expressing affirmation without the swearing particle μὰ is sometimes resorted to by means of the verb ζῶ in the sense of 'by the life of,' that is for the Δ οὕτω ζῶν or οὕαμην, as : Sept. Num. 14, 21 ζῶ ἐγὼ καὶ ζῶν τὸ δνομά μου 'as truly as I live.' 1 Reg. 25, 26 ζῆ κύριος καὶ ζῆ ἡ ψυχὴ σου 'as the Lord liveth and as thy soul liveth.' Jud. 2, 12 ζῶ ἐγὼ καὶ τὸ κράτος τῆς βασιλείας μου. 11. 7. Protev. Jac. 4, 1 ζῆ κύριος ὁ θεός μου, ἐὰν γεννήσω εἰτε ἄρρεν εἰτε θῆλυ, προσάξω αὐτὸ δῶρον τῷ θεῷ μου. So 6, 1. 13, 3. 15, 3 ; 4.

INTERROGATIVE PARTICLES.

1747. These are—

1. ἄρα, ἦ (pre-Attic and poetical ἦ ῥα), indifferent, i.e. introducing a question the answer to which may be either *yes* or *no* ;
2. οὐ, ἄρ' οὐ, οὐκοῦν, anticipating the answer *yes* ;
3. μή, ἄρα μή, μὼν " " " *no*.

Xen. Mem. 2, 5, 2 ἄρ', εἰ Ἀντίσθενης, εἰσί τιμες ἀξίαι φίλων ὥσπερ οἰκετῶν; Xen. Cyr. 1, 6, 17 ἦ καὶ σχολὴ ἔσται, εἰ πάτερ, σωμασκεῖν τοὺς στρατιώτας; *ib.* 2, 4, 15 οὔκοῦν σοι δοκεῖ; Pl. Phaed. 64 c ἄρα μὴ ἄλλο τι (τὸν θάνατον εἶναι ἡγούμεθα) ἢ τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος ἀπαλλαγὴν; Prot. 310 D μὼν τι σε ἀδικεῖ Πρωταγόρας; See 1812 & 2046.

1747<sup>b</sup>. In archaic and pre-Attic Greek there were two common particles : an illative ἄρα (υ) or ῥα (υ) 'then,' 'therefore,' and an interrogative ἦ ῥα 'I wonder.' The former, in the form ἄρα, passed into Δ and survived down to B, while the latter ἦ ῥα, under the influence of ἄρα, passed into Δ in the form ἄρα (—υ, but of course ἄρα as well, 1748 f.), and thence was relegated to P-N.

1747<sup>c</sup>. Of passages showing the original identity of ἄρα with ῥα (1747<sup>b</sup>), mark among others : Pind. Pyth. 4, 138. Aesch. Ag. 1223. Soph. O. C. 863. Ant. 632. Eur. I. A. 300. Rhes. 118 ἦν ἄρα. Ar. Av. 161. Eur. Andr. 1115. El. 1230. Eq. 1084 (*cp.* Andr. 761 !). Ar. Pac. 533.—Eur. Ph. 575. 1689. I. A. 300. Hel. 85. Soph. Ai. 1368. O. C. 409. 1400. Aesch. Ag. 1223. Cho. 281. 429. Ar. Av. 161. Plut. 575. Vesp. 839. Pl. Crat. 410 B. (*Cp.* JAHartung i. 456 f. & AMatthiae Lex. Eur. 373–387, especially 378 ; also 605.)

1748. All the above particles introduce a question in a direct manner, but the monosyllables ἦ οὐ μή, besides involving an instantaneous expenditure of breath, connote a certain curtness or impatience, while the disyllable ἄρα seems to soften the bluntness of the interrogation and at the same time add emphasis, thus giving the sentence the colour of an indirect but solemn or vivid question (ἐρωτῶ, θαυμάζω, *I wonder*). Hence the unceremonious ἦ οὐ μή are very often softened through the accession of the solemn as well as forcible ἄρα, placed either before : ἄρ' ἦ, ἄρ' οὐ, ἄρα μή (in Homer ἦ μή),—or after : ἦ ἄρα (ἦ ῥα or ἦρα), οὐκ ἄρα, μή ἄρα. In the latter case a euphonic γε is commonly inserted (γε ἄρ', γ' ἄρ' = ἄρα γε : *cp.* τ' ἄρ'), and this complex is contracted, by association, to γάρ, thus producing : ἦ γάρ (for ἦ γε ἄρα, as Pl. Crat. 390 Δ), οὐ γάρ, μή γάρ (so εἰ γάρ 1904 & 1923)

—so further *τί γάρ*; (for *τί γε ἄρα*;) *ποῦ γάρ*; *πῇ γάρ*; *ποῖ γάρ*; all of which are common in dialogue. Should the question be suggested as a corollary to some preceding statement, this *γάρ* is replaced by the syllogistic *οὖν*, then, *well, igitur*: *ἡ οὖν, οὐκ οὖν* or *οὐκοῦν, μὴ οὖν* or *μὼν* (the last originally ME ON, 2050).

1748<sup>b</sup>. On the same principle, direct questions introduced by interrogative pronouns or adverbs, are often softened by the accession of the ceremonious and emphatic *ἄρα* (commonly misaccented *ἀρα*), as: Aesch. S. 90 *τίς ἄρα ρύσεται, τίς ἄρ' ἐπαρκέσει*; Eur. I. T. 458 *τίς ἄρα μήτηρ ἡ τεκοῦσ' ὑμᾶς ποτε*; I. A. 1223 *τί δ' ἄρ' ἐγὼ σε πρέσβυν; ἄρ' εἰσδέξομαι*; Tro. 292. Ion 563. Ar. Vesp. 893 *τίς ἄρ' ὁ φεύγων οὗτος*; Pac. 1240. Pl. Phaedr. 228 D *τί ἄρα*; Hip. Maj. 298 B *τί δ' ἄρα*; Phileb. 52 D *τί ποτ' ἄρα*; Theaet. 181 C *ποῖον τί ποτ' ἄρα*; Xen. Mem. 2, 5, 4 *πόσου ἄρα*; Cyr. 1, 6, 9 *πῶς ἄρ' ἔξει*; Pl. Hip. Maj. 297 E *πῶς τι ἄρα*; See AMatthiae Lex. Eur. 602 ff.

1749. As early as *G* times, *ἦ* and *μὼν*, later also *οὐκοῦν*, began to retreat before their respective associates and rivals, and soon disappeared from the common language, whereas all the rest have remained in continuous use down to modern times. It must be noted, however, that *ἀρα*, whether simple or in the usual strengthened form *ἀρα γε*, now savours of literary affectation (2048)—popular speech often substituting for it *τάχα* or *τάχατες*—while *μή*, also *μήν* (221. App. iii. 20, e), is still fully preserved either simple or with the particles *πῶς*, *τί*, *γάρ* (2039), which now act as mere emphatic suffixes: *μήπως*, *μήτι*, *μηγάρ* (*μηγάρ*, NSophianos 83 ubi *μήγαρη*). In the present stage of the popular language, *μή* is moreover often followed by *πᾶ* (from *πάει*, i.e. *ἐπάγει* 863), or *τύχη*: *μήν πᾶ* (or *μήμπᾶ*) *καί*, *μήμπᾶνά* (this sometimes contracted to *μήνά*), *μήν τύχη καί*, *μήν τύχηνά* (1717 ff.).

Acts 8, 30 *ἄραγε γινώσκεις ἃ ἀναγινώσκεις*; John 7, 41 *μή γάρ* (= *μή ἄρα*) *ἐκ τῆς Γαλιλαίας ὁ Χριστὸς ἔρχεται*; 1 Cor. 11, 22 *μή γάρ οικίας οὐκ ἔχετε εἰς τὸ ἐσθίειν καὶ πίνειν*; Sept. Gen. 20, 9 *μήτι ἡμάρτομεν εἰς σέ*; Luke 6, 39 *μήτι δύναται τυφλὸς τυφλὸν ὁδηγεῖν*;

1750. As to *οὐ*, after a long and unbroken record, it has recently become extinct, its place having been taken during *G-M* by *οὐδέν*, since *B* shortened to *δέν* (1798 f.).

#### DECLARATIVE PARTICLES.

1751. These are—

*A*: *ὥς, ὅτι*, 'that';  
*P*: *ὅτι, διότι*, 'that';  
*G-N*: *ὅτι, ὥσῳτι, πῶς*.

1752. The declarative conjunctions are used in indirect discourse (1938 ff.) to connect the leading verb with its subordinate clause. Hence they are used after verbs of *saying*, *thinking*, *knowing* (*verba declarandi, sentiendi, cognoscendi*); in *P-B* also after verbs of *hearing*, *seeing*, *showing*, etc.—So still in *N*.

For examples and further illustrations see 1940 ff. & App. vi. 13-14.

1753. In *A* only *ὅτι* and the less assertive *ὥς* were in general usage. With the close of *A*, *ὥς* retreated from the language, while *διότι* was added to the declaratives as a strengthened *ὅτι*.

1753<sup>b</sup>. The frequency and proportion of *ὥς ὅτι διότι* in Thucydides, Xenophon's An. i-iii, Polybios' i-v books, and Diodoros' i book, is shown by the following summary table (SBrief iii. 8-10):

	Th.	Xen. An. i-iii.	Polyb. i-v.	Diod. i.
<i>ὥς</i>	130	22	45	8
<i>ὅτι</i>	223	111	87	36
<i>διότι</i>	—	—	60	9

1754. The *P* declarative *διότι*, however, being thwarted by the presence of *causal* *διότι* (1738 ff.), retreated during *G* and so led to the revival of the old *ὥς*, now restored as a prefix in the room of *διά*. It thus gave birth to a novel combination *ὥς ὅτι* or rather *ὥς ὅτι* (cp. *ὥς ἵνα* or *ὥς ἵνα* 1767), which has since been current beside *ὅτι*<sup>[1]</sup>.

(Diod. Fgm. ii. 536, 51 λέγων ὥς ὅτι θρῆκες ποτέ κτλ. Dion. H. Ant. 9, 14 ἐπὶ γούνης ὥς ὅτι ἐν ἐσχάτοις εἰσὶν οἱ κατακλεισθέντες ἐν τοῖς λόφοις. Strab. 15, 57 (p. 711) τὸ ὑπὸ Τιμαγένης λεχθὲν ὥς ὅτι χαλκὸς ὄντο). NT 2 Cor. 11, 21 κατὰ ἀτίμιαν λέγων ὥς ὅτι ἡμεῖς ἡσθενήκαμεν. Athan. i. 312 Δ φανερὸν ἦν ἡμῖν ὥς ὅτι πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ ἐμνησαντο. Arophth. 357 Δ ἐπὶ νῆσέ τινα ἀδελφὸν ὥς ὅτι μισο-πὸνῆρός ἐστι. Schol. Ar. Pac. 506 ὑπομνησκει αὐτοὺς ἀναφέρειν ὥς ὅτι καὶ ἐπ' ἐκείνων τῶν χρόνων ἱθαλασσοκράτου. Schol. in Aeschin. et Isocr. (ed. G.Dindorf) p. 6, 14 φασὶ γὰρ ὥς ὅτι οὐδὲν τοῦ χαρακτήρος τοῦ Πλάτωνος σφίξει. 24, 10 ἐνρωμεν πολλὰς ὥς ὅτι ποτὲ μὲν ἐψηφίζοντο οἱ δικάσαι. 59, 32 θέλει εἰπεῖν ὥς ὅτι οὐδὲ ὁ ἀντιπρὸς αὐτοῦ ἐτραυματίσεν αὐτόν. 104, 18 ἐφῆσεν ὥς ὅτι Ἐχὼ τινὰς δύο μαθητάς κτλ. 104, 22 λέγεται δὲ καὶ τοῦτο περὶ αὐτοῦ ὥς ὅτι κατηγορηθεὶς κτλ. Schol. Il. B 78 φάσκων ὥς ὅτι πολλὰ πόλεις ὁμοφρονέουσι προσηγορκοῖς. Vita Epiph. 104 Δ ἔγραψεν ὥς ὅτι Ἰωάννης τὰ Ὁριγένης φρονεῖ. Leont. Neap. V. S. 1677 Δ προβαλλόμενος μάρτυρα ὥς ὅτι οὐδὲν κτλ. Chron. 731, 13 ἐδεξάμεθα ἀπόκρισιν ὥς ὅτι μέγαν χειμῶνα εὔρον.

1755. With the close of *T* the old established and still largely predominating *ὅτι*, owing to its very increased frequency, consequent on the now regular analysis of all declarative infinitives by means of *ὅτι* (App. vi. 13-14), probably also owing to the interference of *causal* *ὅτι* (1754), found, from *G* onwards, a novel rival in the adverb *πῶς* (possibly suggested by *ὥς*), which beginning with the *verba sentiendi* gradually succeeded in establishing itself, beside *ὅτι*, as a legitimate declarative conjunction in every way. In this manner *ὅτι* and *πῶς* have ever since remained in concurrent use, but eventually *πῶς* gained a decided ascendancy and would have dispossessed its associate and immemorial predecessor *ὅτι*, were it not for the reaction of the national spirit manifested in recent times.

[<sup>1</sup>] [Xen. Hell. 3, 2, 14 εἰπὼν τῷ Φάρακι ὥς ὅτι ἀκροῖα chargeable to the *B* copiers.] Harpocr. s. v. εὐοῖ (p. 141, 7) Ἀριγνώτη δὲ ὥς ὅτι τινὲς ἔλεξαν κτλ. NT 2 Cor. 5, 18 δόντος ἡμῖν τὴν διακονίαν τῆς καταλλαγῆς ὥς ὅτι θεὸς ἦν ἐν Χριστῷ κόσμον καταλλάσσων ἑαυτῷ. 2 Thess. 2, 2 ἐρωτῶμεν . . . ὥς ὅτι (= διότι ?) ἐνέστηκεν ἡ ἡμέρα τοῦ Κυρίου. A. P. 9, 531 ἵνα δείξῃ ὥς ὅτι πάντα ποιεῖν δύναται. Schol. in Aeschin. et Isocr. 67, 8 ἔχει τις εἰπεῖν ὥς ὅτι αὐτὸς μόνος ὁ Φάλακος ἡγνύει τὴν Φιλίππου γνώμην. 83, 30 εἶπεν ὥς ὅτι οἱ δῆμοι ἐξ αὐτῶν αἰροῦνται τινά. 92, 30. 93, 11. 105, 1. 105, 3 εἶπομεν ὥς ὅτι ζηλωτὴς ἐγένετο τοῦ Γοργίου. 105, 7. 105, 20 λέγεται δ' ὥς ὅτι καὶ τέχνην ῥητορικὴν ἔγραψε. 105, 22 λέγομεν ὥς ὅτι, λέγουσιν ὥς ὅτι. 106, 6 δηλῶν ὥς ὅτι. 107, 24. 108, 19. 109, 20 ἰστέον ὥς ὅτι. 113, 3. 114, 2 κατηγοροῦν δὲ αὐτοῦ ὥς ὅτι καὶ δαιμόνια εἰσφέρει τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις. 114, 14. 121, 29 ἰστέον δ' ὥς ὅτι. Schol. Il. A 396 παρεφύλασεν ὥς ὅτι. I 6 προσθεῖναι ἰκεῖνο ὥς ὅτι. Γ 280. Cyr. Scyth. V. S. 311 c λέγειν ὥς ὅτι.



# 1755-1757<sup>b</sup>.] PARTICLES : CONSECUTIVE.

(028. App. vi. 14.) For in this movement *ὅτι* received a powerful support in the literary language and cultivated speech, which carefully eliminates *πῶς* from its former declarative functions.—It may be further noted for the sake of completeness, that anterior to this recent reaction popular speech often had recourse to a combination of both *ὅτι* and *πῶς*, especially in cases of emphasis, and this combination is still of no rare occurrence : *μοῦ ἐμήνυσσε ὅτι πῶς ὁ ἀδερφός του ἀρρώστησε* 'he sent me word that his brother fell ill.'

## CONSECUTIVE PARTICLES.

**1756.** These are : *Α ὥστε, ὡς, ὅτι,*

*G—N ὅπου* or *που* 'so as,' 'so that.'

*A* : *ὥστε*, uncommonly *ὡς*, with the infinitive or a finite mood (chiefly indicative).

*P* : *ὥστε*, rarely *ὡς* (constructed as in *A*); *ἵνα* with the primary subjunctive; also *ὅτι* with the indicative.

*G—B* : *ὥστε, ἵνα, ὡς*, also *ὅτι* (rarely *ὅπως*).

*N* : *ὅπου* or *ποῦ* with the indicative or with *πὰ* + primary subj.

**1757.** In consecutive or consequential (illative) clauses, *A—B* used chiefly *ὥστε*. Next to it came *ὡς*, which however in *A—P* had only a limited use (chiefly in Aesch., Soph., Hdt., Xen., Polyb.)<sup>[1]</sup>. With the close of *P*, *ὡς* retreated for a time (cp. 1754), leaving in its room on the one side *ἵνα* (*N* *νά*), and on the other *ὅτι*, two substitutes suggested by their synonymy with *ὡς* (which had acted both as final=*ἵνα* [1760<sup>b</sup> f.] and declarative=*ὅτι*), and possibly influenced by the partial homophony of *ὥστε* and *ὅτι* (= *oste—oti*). As to *N* *ὅπου*, it may have been suggested by the consecutive use of *ὅς* or *ὅστις* (2014-8).

**1757<sup>b</sup>.** However, when, during *T—B*, *ὥστε* came to be confounded with *ὥστε* (i.e. *ὡς* *ὅτε* 1785), dissociation led to the revival of *ὡς*, as : Diognet. 1 *εἰπεῖν οὕτως ὡς μάλιστα ἀν ἀκούσαντά σε βελτίονα γενέσθαι, σοί τε οὕτως ἀκούσαι ὡς μὴ λυπηθῆναι τὸν εἰπόντα.* Acta Pauli et Theclae 261, 8 *οὐχ ἤλπιον αὐτῆς ὡς τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον εἰπεῖν.* Alchem. 41, 7 *βάλε ὕδωρ ὡς εἶναι ἐπάνω τῶν βρύων τετραδάκτυλον.* ib. 12 *βάλε ἐν τῷ ζωμῷ ὕδωρ ὡς γενέσθαι τὴν ἀναλογίαν.* So 42, 4. Apophth. 417 *ο* *τοσαύτη τῇ ποιμένι προσῆν ὁσιότης ὡς ἀξιοθῆναι*

[1] A comparison between Thucydides, Xenophon, Polybios, and the NT may serve to illustrate this point (cp. SBrief i. 48):

	<i>ὥστε</i>		<i>ὡς</i>		Total
	Infinitive	Finite mood	Infinitive	Finite mood	
Thuc. (entire)...	145	82	1	—	228
Xen. books 1-3 × 6	108	204	48	(— ?)	360 (+ ?)
Polyb. books 1-5 ...	114	9	7	9	130
NT as far as Coloss.	29	46	—	—	75

αὐτὸν καὶ ἀνθρώπων ποιμένα γενέσθαι. Callin. 103, 1 τοσοῦτον δὲ ἦν δυνατὸς ὡς πάντοτε ὥσπερ θεοφορούμενον αὐτὸν ὁρᾶσθαι. 120, 12 τοσοῦτον ἤλασεν ὡς κάμνει αὐτόν. 128, 6, et passim.

1758. The gradual retreat and replacement of ὥστε by ἵνα (N<sup>va</sup>) and δετι (N<sup>nov</sup>) may be illustrated by the following specimens.

a. "Ὡστε with infinitive replaced by ἵνα with the (primary) subjunctive (according to EASoph. Lex. p. 600, 19) :

Sept. Tobit 3, 15 οὐδὲ ὑπάρχων αὐτῷ υἱὸς ἵνα συντηρήσω ἐμαυτὴν αὐτῷ γυναῖκα. Sap. 13, 9 εἰ γὰρ τοσοῦτον ἰσχυρὰς εἶδέναι ἵνα δύνανται στοχάσασθαι τὸν αἰῶνα, τὸν τούτων δεσπότην πῶς τάχιον οὐχ εὔρον ; 2 Macc. 6, 24. Dion. Thr. 629, 17. Dion. H. iv. 2226, 7. John 9, 36 καὶ τίς ἐστιν, κύριε, ἵνα πιστεῦσω εἰς αὐτόν ; Rev. 13, 13 καὶ ποιεῖ σημεῖα μεγάλα ἵνα καὶ πῦρ ποιῇ καταβαίνειν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ εἰς τὴν γῆν. 1 John 3, 1 ἴδετε ποταπὴν ἀγάπην δέδωκεν ἡμῖν ὁ πατήρ ἵνα τέκνα αὐτοῦ κληθῶμεν. Jos. B. J. 4, 3, 10 πρὸς τοσοῦτον ἤκομεν συμφορῶν ἵνα ἡμᾶς ἐλεήσῃ καὶ πολέμοι ; 6, 2, 1 μὴ γὰρ ἐργαγέ ποτε γενοίμην ζῶν οὕτως αἰχμάλωτος ἵνα παύσωμαι τοῦ γένους ἡ τῶν πατρίων ἐπιλάβωμαι. Ignat. 680 A πολλὰ γὰρ ἡμῖν λείπει ἵνα θεοῦ μὴ λειπώμεθα. Plut. ii. 179 B μὴ γένοατό σοι οὕτως, ὦ βασιλεῦ, κακῶς ἵνα ἐμοῦ ταῦτα βέλτιον εἴδῃς. ii. 333 A τί μοι πάποτε τοιοῦτο συνέγγνωσι ἵνα τοιαύταις με κολακεύσῃς ἡδοναῖς ; M. Anton. 2, 11 οὔτε ἂν τηλικούτων ἤμαρτεν . . . ἵνα τὰ ἀγαθὰ . . . συμβαίῃ. Clement. 2, 29 οὐ γὰρ ἐσμεν οὕτως νήπιοι ἵνα πανούργον ἐνσπείρῃς ἡμῖν ὑποψίαν τοῦ νομίζειν εἰς τὴν ἀπορρήταν εἰδέναι. Const. Apost. 1, 6, 2 τί γὰρ σοι καὶ λείπει ἐν τῷ νόμῳ τοῦ θεοῦ ἵν' ἐπ' ἐκεῖνα τὰ ἐθνύμυθα ὁρμήσῃς ; Apophth. 224 D μὴ γὰρ κοινοβιάρχῃς εἰμὶ ἵνα διατάξω αὐτῷ ; Mal. 26, 17 οὐδὲ ἡμᾶς τοιοῦτος ἔρωσι κατέχῃεν ἵνα περὶ τούτου ζητήσαιτε (write -σετε). Theoph. 104, 15 τίς γὰρ εἰμι ἵνα εἰς ἐμὲ τούτου γένηται [1] ;

[1] So further Job 7, 16 οὐ γὰρ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα ζήσομαι ἵνα μακροθυμήσω. Prox. 23, 35. Nicom. 111 ἡμῖνος ἐπιδεκτικὸς οὐκ ἔστιν ἵνα καὶ ἄλλος ἀπ' αὐτοῦ γένηται ἡμιόλιος. Philo i. 181, 43. 294, 3. 408, 23. 477, 1. 499, 19. ii. 421, 14. Luke 9, 45 οἱ δὲ ἡγγρόντο τὸ ρῆμα τοῦτο, καὶ ἦν παρακαλυμμένον ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἵνα μὴ αἰσθάνωνται αὐτό. Mark 11, 28 τίς σοι τὴν ἐξουσίαν ταύτην ἔδωκεν ἵνα ταῦτα ποιῇς ; 1 John 1, 9 πιστὸς ἐστὶν καὶ δίκαιος ἵνα ἀφῇ ἡμῖν τὰς ἀμαρτίας καὶ καθαρίσῃ ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ πάσης ἀδικίας. 1 Thess. 5, 4 ὑμεῖς δὲ, ἀδελφοί, οὐκ ἐστὲ ἐν σκότει ἵνα ἡ ἡμέρα ἡμᾶς ὡς κλέπτης (read as) καταλάβῃ. Jos. Ant. 8, 13, 7. 13, 6, 3 (p 652). 5, 9, 4 ὁμοία δὲ τῷ Ἀσσυρίῳ Ῥωμαῖοι δρῶσιν ἵνα καὶ ἄμυναν ὑμεῖς ὁμοίαν ἐλπίσητε ; Hermes Vis. 3, 1, 4. Sim. 7. Hermes Tr. Poem. 11, 9. 112, 13. Epict. 1, 7, 31. 1, 19, 13 καθόλου τε τοιαύτην (τὴν) φύσιν τοῦ λογικοῦ ζῴου κατέστησεν ἵνα μηδενὸς τῶν ἰδίων ἀγαθῶν δύνῃται τυγχάνειν. 1, 28, 31. 2, 2, 16 οὕτω μαρὸς ἵνα μὴ ἰδῇ (εἰδῇ) ; ὅτι αὕτη ἡ δόδος ἐνταῦθα οὐ φέρει ; 2, 22, 9. 3, 1, 12. 4, 3-9. 4, 7, 29. 4, 8, 21. Ench. 12, 2. Plut. i. 730 A. ii. 67 F. Inst. Orat. 1 οὐ γὰρ τοιαύτης ἀρετῆς ἐπιδικάζομαι ἵνα τοῖς Ὀμήρου μύθοις πείθωμαι. Apollon. Conj. 510, 8. Luc. Amor. 5 (ii. 455). De Lecta 19 (ii. 931). Galen. 8, 45 E. Sext. 144, 17. 162. 2. 449, 7. Clement. 2, 30 τίς τῆς ψυχῆς χρεῖα γίνεται ἵνα χωρισθῇ τοῦ σώματος ; 3, 12 μὴ προηρτηνῶν ἀμαρὰ καὶ ἀμφίβολα ἵνα ἄλλου προφήτου χρεῖαν ἔχῃ τὰ λεγόμενα πρὸς ἐπίγνωσιν. Hippol. 676 D. 680 A. 685 C. Haer. 136, 21 : 26. 360, 27. 364, 99, et alibi. Dio C. 46, 5, 3. Diog. 7, 83. 4, 30. 9, 52. Philostr. 3, 47 οὐδὲ γὰρ σοφώτατοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων Ἀρκάδες ἵν' ἐτέρου τι ἀνθρώπου πλέον περὶ τὰ λογιστικά τῶν σπλάγχχνων φαίνωσιν. Orig. i. 53 A. 749 A. 820 B. ii. 53 A. iii. 257 C. 408 C. 477 B. 1052 B. 1092 C. 1181 A. Plotin. 1, 15, 12. 143, 1. 381, 7. Alex. Lyc. 417 B. Iamb. Myst. 272, 5. Eust. Ant. 617 B. Athan. i. 390 C οὐ γὰρ Ῥωμαϊκὴ ἐστὶν ἡ κρίσις ἵν' ὡς βασιλεὺς πιστευθῇ. 891 B. 892 B τί γὰρ ἐκείνῃ λείπει ἵνα κανόντερα ζητήσῃ τις ; 620 B, etc. Epiph. i. 638 A. Chal. 821 C. Chron. 575, 15 ἐγὼ θέλω εὐρεῖν νεωτέρων εὐμορφῶν πᾶν ἵνα τοιοῦτον κάλλος μὴ ἔχῃ ἄλλη γυνὴ ἐν Κωνσταν-

b. "Οστε with the infinitive replaced by *ὅτι* :—

Sept. Ex. 3, 11 *τίς εἰμι ἐγὼ ὅτι πορεύσομαι πρὸς Φαραῶν, βασιλεία Αἰγύπτου*, καὶ ὅτι ἐξάξω τοὺς υἱοὺς Ἰσραὴλ ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου; 4 Reg. 8, 13 *τίς ἐστὶν ὁ δοῦλος σου ὅτι ποιήσει τὸ βῆμα τοῦτο*; Matt. 8, 27 *ποταπὸς ἐστὶν οὗτος ὅτι καὶ οἱ ἄνεμοι καὶ ἡ θάλασσα ὑπακούουσιν αὐτῷ*; Theod. i. 1680 c *τοσοῦτον δ' ἀπίσχον τοῦ πιστεῦσαι τῷ τῶν ὅλων θεῷ ὅτι τὸν πρὸς αὐτοὺς κατὰ ταῦτόν ἤσαντο πόλεμον*. 1704 c οὕτω, φησὶν, ἐστὶ μεγάλη ὅτι καὶ τὰ μυρία τῶν ἰχθίων περικείται γένῃ καὶ τὰ μέγιστα κήτη ἀδεῶς ἐν αὐτῇ νήχεται. Apophth. 252 c *εἰς τοσοῦτον ἦλθε μέτρον ὅτι ἰσθένει καὶ κλινῆρης ἦν*. JMoschos 2884 A *ὅς οὕτω γέγονεν ἐλεήμων καὶ φιλοσυμπαθὴς ὅτι ποτὲ εἰς τῶν νοταρίων αὐτοῦ κτλ*. 2896 B *τοιαύτην σκληραργίαν ἔχοντα ὅτι εἰς τέσσαρας ἡμέρας μίαν προσφορὰν ἤσθιεν*. Leont. Neap. V. S. 1721 A *δίδει αὐτῷ κύσσον τοιοῦτον ὅτι ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἐφαίνετο*. ICanan. 68 D *τοιοῦτος μέγιστος ἦν ἐκείνος ὅτι τὴν θυγατέρα τοῦ ἀμηρὰ . . . ἤρπαξεν*.

1759. Owing to the nature of their case, which involves a periodic style, consecutive sentences are proper to the reflective language of cultivated writers (1701). On the other hand popular speech is satisfied with the simple mode of short paratactic clauses connected either by means of *καὶ* (1710) or by some other co-ordinating particle (1701), frequently also by means of *ἵνα* or *νά* (1762), thus avoiding the frequent use of consecutive sentences (1951). When, however, this becomes unavoidable, *N* uses *ὅπου* or *ποῦ* in the sense of its *A* predecessor *ὅς* (2014. 2016-7).

#### FINAL PARTICLES.

1760. These are : *A* *ὥς, ὅπως, ἵνα*, *B-M* *ὥστε, N* *νά, διὰ* *ὀγ* *γινά, ὡγινά*.

*A* : *ὥς, ὅπως (ἄν), ἵνα* ;

*P-G* *ἵνα, (ὅπως)* ;

*G-T* : *ἵνα, ὅπως* ;

*T-B* : *ἵνα, ὅπως, (ὥσιν, ὥς ἄν)* ;

*B-M* : *ἵνα, νά, (ὥστε)* ;

*M-N* : *(ἵνα, ὥσιν), νά*.

Now : *νά, διὰ, γινά, ὡγινά*.

1760<sup>b</sup>. Note further that in archaic Greek *ἵνα* is often used as a relative adverb *where*.—For *G-B* *ἵνα*, as a causal *ὅτι* or *διότι*, see 1741.

1761. Of the above final particles *A* Greek used *ἵνα, ὅπως* (mostly *ὅπως ἄν*), less frequently the weaker form *ὥς* and rarely *ὥστε*. With the close of *A*, however, *ὥς* had disappeared from the language as a final conjunction. Soon after *ὅπως* (now commonly without *ἄν*) followed suit, the room left vacant by *ὥς* and *ὅπως* being now filled by *ἵνα*. In this way *ἵνα* came to be the almost exclusive means of expressing final relation, and thus became unduly common, the more so as by this time almost every final infinitive (the exceptions in App. vi. 15) could be resolved by means of *ἵνα*. But this excess in the use of *ἵνα* soon led to a reaction, and during the latter part of *G*, *ὅπως* reappeared and resumed its old place beside *ἵνα*, though now, being felt as a novel particle, it was adopted rather as a literary alternative than as a collo-

τινουπόλει. Porph. Adm. 119, 18 *κλῶσαι ἔχω νήματα μετὰ τῆς ἀτράκτου καὶ ἡλακτῆς ἵνα, μέχρις ἂν ζῶσιν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι, μὴ δυνηθῶσιν ἐξυφᾶναι ταῦτα*.

quial term (cp. 1754. 1757. and 1762). The process thus indicated may be illustrated by the following summary table.

	ὅτι	ὅπως	ὥς	Total
Thuc. (entire)	53	156	2	211
Xen. (books i-iii × 3)	96	156	84	336
Polyb. (books i-v)	62 <sup>[1]</sup>	—	—	62
NT (as far as Col.)	493	52	—	545

1762. The succeeding *T* period does not seem to have materially influenced the course of process initiated: *ὅτι* was further confirmed in its dominant position, while *ὅπως* served as a literary variety frequently resorted to by individual writers, particularly Atticists. With the opening of the *B* period, however, the process seems to have attained its close, seeing that by this time *ὅτι* had also appropriated the prospective function of the modal *ἄν* (1774), and become, in common speech, the universal and exclusive means of introducing a final and prospective clause, and of resolving a final or prospective infinitive (2063). Such a universal use of *ὅτι* led fastidious scribes to an attempt at reaction by returning to ancient *ὥστε* (cp. 1754. 1757. 1761), or reviving the genitive of the articular infinitive as a substitute for short final clauses (App. vi. 23). This final or telic usage of *ὥστε* + infin. for *ὅτι* + subj., though not unknown to classical Greek (App. vi. 9), is characteristic of *G-B* writers [influence of Latin *ut* ?].

1763. In this way *ὥστε* stands after: *ἀναγκάζειν* (Mal. 112, 7), *ἄξιόν* (Acta Pilati A, I, 2), *βουλεύεσθαι* (Mal. 385, 15), *γράφειν* (Mal. 385, 20), *δεῖσθαι* 'pray' (Mal. 248, 6), *διατάσσεσθαι* 'decree' (Mal. 195, 13), *εἰπεῖν* (Theod. ii. 528 B), *εἰσηγεῖσθαι* (Theod. ii. 620 A), *εὐχεσθαι* (Mal. 65, 3), *ἔχειν* 'be able' (Jos. Ant. 12, 9, 6, and very often elsewhere; App. iv. 6), *θεσπιζειν* (Cyr. Scyth. V. S. 265 C), *νομοθετεῖν* (Theod. i. 476 B), *ὀρίειν* (Socr. 581 A), *ὀρκους δεσμοῦν* (Theod. iii. 1148 A), *ὀρον τιθεσθαι* (Chal. 984 D), *παραβάλλειν* 'request' (Apophth. 544 C), *παρανείν* (Theod. i. 481 A), *παρακαλεῖν* (Acta Barn. 7 bis; 8; Socr. 7, 37); *παρέχειν* 'grant' (Jos. Ant. 12, 4, 6).—*ἀρέσκειν* (Athan. ii. 1180 B; Carth. 3), *διαγορεύεται* 'it is decreed' (Antec. 2, 6), *δοκεῖ* (Mal. 113, 19);—*ἐξουσίαν δίδουσι* (Eus. ii. 828 B), *ὕμνῳ ἔστιν ὁρθέειν* (Acta Barn. 7), etc. etc. (See also App. vi. 10 & 15.)

1764. To a similar tendency points furthermore the frequent misuse of *ὥστε* for *ὅτι* with the subjunctive, notwithstanding the macaronic nature of this construction. That the complete identification of *ὅτι* and *ὥστε*, so notorious especially since *G*, may have been furthered by the confusion of final and consecutive clauses, is also very probable (1951).

Basil. iii. 1081 ο ὥστε παντὶ λόγῳ ἐπανάγκης ἢ ἡ τῷ θεῷ ὑποτάσσεσθαι κατὰ τὴν ἐντολὴν αὐτοῦ ἢ ἄλλοις διὰ τὴν ἐντολὴν αὐτοῦ. Acta Phil. in Hellad. 14 ἔρχεται ἐπὶ παράδοξον πρᾶγμα, ὅπερ λαληθήσεται εἰς γενεὰς γενεῶν, ὥστε καὶ κατέλθῃς ζῶν κάτω εἰς τὸν Αἴδη. 23 ἦλθον ἐπὶ σὲ ἀπενέγκαι πρὸς τὸν ἀπόστολον ὥστε ζῶντα σε παρέξι μοι (ubi male -ξεῖ). Acta Tho. 61, 13 ῥῶσαι με ἀπὸ τῆς ἀναισχυντίας Χαρίσιον ὥστε μὴ κατεξογιάσῃ μου ἡ τοῦτον μιαιώτης. Theophr. 270, 23 Μανρίκιος τὸν Πρίσκον . . . ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰστρον ποταμὸν ἐπεμψεν ὥστε τὰ Σελαβινῶν ἔθνη διαπεράσαι κωλύει. 309, 12 σπείσωμεν ὥστε αὐτὸν θορυβήσωμεν (v. l. -σομεν). Porph. Adm. 73, 22 οὕτω δὲ χρὴ συμφανέειν μετ' αὐτῶν ὥστε, ὅπου ἂν χραιπωιηθῇ αὐτοὺς ὁ βασιλεὺς, ποιήσῃ δουλείαν.

[<sup>1</sup>] 'The exclusive usage of *ὅτι* in Polybios and the NT writers leads to the inference that, as early as Polybios' time, this conjunction had gained such a preponderance over the other synonymous conjunctions, that Polybios was compelled to use it, much as it thwarted his tendency to avoid the hiatus. As a matter of fact, the other two conjunctions, *ὥς* and *ὅπως*, must have passed completely out of use.' S-Brief, ii. 36—Even Aristotle uses almost exclusively *ὅτι*, and only a few times *ὅπως* (WSchmid iii. 87).

1765. Still more macaronic is the fastidious construction Eus. ii. 825 c: *ἤρπεν οὖν ὥστε . . . βεβαιώσαιμ.* (1953<sup>b</sup>. App. iv. 14 f.)

1766. All these expedients, however, as well as the zealous use among scribes of the verbal infinitive, could not resist the influx of the popular *iva*. As artificial and poor makeshifts, they remained foreign to the Greek masses and had no visible influence on the living language. On the other hand, *iva* having become very common—perhaps the commonest word next to *kai* and the article (1762)—sank to a proclitic, and admitting as it did of an easy abbreviation, now lost its initial syllable and became *vá* (cp. *ᾠπου ποῦ, οὐδὲν δέν, αὐτὸν τόν*), a shortened form which forced its way into literary compositions as early as *T*, and has ever since remained in universal usage, not only as a colloquialism but as a literary term as well.

Eus. Alex. 441 c *πὼς αὐτοὺς καταλείψω πτωχοὺς καὶ νὰ με καταρῶνται*; id. 433 b *ὄντως ἀδελφῆ, ὁ θεὸς καλὰ νὰ ποιῇ μετὰ τοῦ δέινος*. Alchem. 321, 5 *ὥς οὐ νὰ καῖ*. ib. 8 f. *iva ἐνι σφυρισμένον ὥσπερ λέπος καὶ νὰ ἐνι κεχρισμένον γύρωθεν*. ib. 9 *ὥστε νὰ ψηθῇ*. 322, 9 *ὥστε νὰ ψυχρανθῶν*. 323, 9 *ὥστε νὰ θέσῃς*. ib. 10 *ὥστε νὰ ἐξίβῃ ὁ ἀτμός, etc. etc.* Porph. Cer. 693, 5 *οἰεῖται διδόναι λίτρας ἐπτά, δηλονότι νὰ ἔχῃ βόγαν νομίσματα δώδεκα*.

1767. Another noticeable feature in the post-Christian history of *iva* (*vá*) is that, in consequence of its undue frequency, it gradually lost its classical force, and thus called for some compensation. This was sought, as early as *T*, in the attempt to restore its ancient associate *ὥς* as a strengthening prefix, so that the double final conjunction *ὥς iva* or rather *ὥσiva* (cp. *ὥσῃσι* 1754) and *ὥς vá* (often changed to *ὥς ἄν* 1773 f.) now made its appearance and had a considerable run.

a. *ΩCINA* for *iva* or *ὥπως*: Athan. ii. 824 A *ἤλυσαν τοὺς εὐνοχόους ὥCINA συστάσεις τύχῃσιν οἱ ἄπιστοι Ἀρειανοί*. Charth. 1254 D. Apophth. 92 B *ἐδόθη ποτὲ εἰς Σκῆτιν πρὸς ὀλίγα ἰσχυάδια καὶ ὥς μὴδὲν ὄντα οὐκ ἀπέστειλαν τῷ Ἀββᾶ Ἀρσενίῳ ὥCINA μὴ ὕβριν πάθῃ*. Doroth. 1676 c *οὐ λέγει πολλῇ βουλῇ ὥCINA μετὰ ἐκάστου βουλευτήται*. ICanan. 73 D *ὥCINA ἔχωσιν οὗτοι κέρδος καὶ κούρσος τὰς καλογαρίας τῆς πόλεως*. ib. *σκουτάριον ἐβάσταζον ἐμπροσθεν τούτου μέγιστον παρὰ φύσιν ὥCINA θαυμάζουσιν ἀπὸ τούτου τὰ μαροθαύμαστα ἔθνη τῶν Μουσουλμάνων*. Ducas 31, 6 *τοῦ αἰτήσαι ἀγωγὴν καὶ βοηθίαν ὥCINA καταπολεμήσῃ τῷ Καντακουγηνῷ*. 27, 8 *ταῦτα ἐν τῇ διατάξει προστάτας ὥCINA πρὸς τὸν αὐτοκράτορα Μανουὴλ ἐγχειρίσῃ καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἔσται τούτων ἐπίτροπος*. 165, 11 *κάκει ἐλθέτω εἰς ἐκ τῶν οικίαν καὶ πιστοτάτων σου ὥCINA περὶ τούτου (τοῦ) σκέματος ἰδομεν τί ἄρα καὶ πὼς ποιήσωμεν*. 173, 12 *ὑπόσχομαι τῇ ᾠρᾷ ταύτῃ ὥCINA ἔσωμαι καθαρὸς φίλος ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν καὶ εἰς τὸ ἐξῆς τοῦ Μουράτ<sup>[1]</sup>*. (Cp. also 1953<sup>b</sup>.)

b. *ΩCÁN* or *ὥς ἄν* for *iva* or *ὥπως*: Eus. ii. 172 B *ὥς ἄν καταλήψοι*. 636 ὥς ἄν ἀπαντήσοι. Agath. 47 (1312 c) *ὥς ἄν ἀνακαλέσῃτο*. Men. Hist. 282, 3 *ὥς ἄν δι' αὐτοῦ γνῶριμοι ἔσονται*. 285, 14 *ὥς ἄν αὐτοῦ ἐν κατοχῇ ἔσονται*. 290, 18 *ὥς ἄν ἔσονται ἐξεπιστάμενος*. 295, 23 *ὥς ἄν ἐκεῖσε ἀπόντες ὄντιον παράσχονται τὴν μέταξιν*. [That the future optative here is a fastidious paraphrase of the primary subjunctive, will be seen in 1936 and 1953<sup>b</sup>.]

1768. On the other hand, *ὥς ἄν*, that is *ὥς vá*, is sometimes carefully distinguished from *ὥς iva* (1773).

1769. The need for a similar compensatory strengthening of *iva* was felt still more urgently, when this particle had been reduced to *vá*. Hence the preposition *διὰ*, which in its accusative construction denoted

[1] The reverse also seems to have been attempted in the combination of *iva* and *ὥπως*, if we may judge from a few sporadic instances. GAcropol. 62, 19 *ἐτήκοντα χιλιάδες συνεβροίσθησαν Φράγκων ἰν ὅπως κατὰ Ῥωμαίων χωρήσωσιν*. Prodr. 4, 339<sup>b</sup> *ὁ ταπεινὸς παρακαλῶ νὰ πῶς με βάνουν ἔσω*. ib. 541 *νὰ πῶς τὸν παραβαλῇ*.

# PARTICLES : CONDITIONAL. [1769-1771.

purpose (1534, c), was now resorted to and led to the combination *διὰ νά* (later phonopathically contracted to *γιανά* 155, a), 'for to,' 'in order to' (1523). And when this compound also began to lose its force, *ὥς* was superadded to *διὰ* and gave birth to the tripartite complex *ὥσθιὰ νά* (e. g. Roboam 55; Prodr. 3. 330), popularly contracted to (*ὥσγιά νά*) *ὥγιά νά*, still frequent in *N* speech as a mere emphatic *νά*.

Prodr. 3. 533 *Διὰ τὰ μὴν παραβάλλω*. 581 *Διὰ τὰ τοὺς ἔχω*. 408<sup>a</sup> *Διὰ τὰ μὴδὲν βλαβοῦμαι*. Roboam 71. 96 *Διὰ τὰ νικήσω*.—So now *ἔρχεται γιανὰ* or *ὥγיאνα* *ἰδῆ μὲ τὰ μάτια του* 'he comes himself in order to see with his own eyes.' See also 1523.

## CONDITIONAL PARTICLES.

1770. These are : *A-B* *εἰ, ἐὰν* or *ἂν* (*ἦν*)—*N* *νά, ἄνε, 'if, 'in case.'* In particular—

*A* : *εἰ*, less frequently *ἐὰν* or *ἂν* (*ἦν*);

*P-T* : *ἐὰν* or *ἂν*, also *εἰ*;

*T-M* : (*ἐὰν*) *ἂν*, rarely *εἰ*;

*M-N* : *ἂν* (also *ἄνε* [132<sup>b</sup>. 1488], *νά* [*ἴνα*], *ἄ, —ἀνίσως καί, ἂν ἔν' καί, ἂν τύχη νά, ἂν τύχη καί*, etc. 1717).

1771. The conditional particle generally current in *A* compositions was *εἰ*. At the same time *ἐάν*, phonopathically contracted to *ἂν* (150, c), was, under certain conditions, also popular, and, in its by-form *ἦν*, even a favourite with a few writers (as Thuc., Xen., Polyb.).

*A*. According to SBrief iii. 7, the frequency, relation, and construction of *εἰ* and *ἐάν*, with their combinations and by-forms (*εἴγε, εἴπερ, εἰ—ἂν, ἦν, κἄν*), in Thucydides, Xenophon's *Anabasis* (books i-iii), and Polybios (books i-v) is represented by the following summary table, which does not include doubtful cases (1 *εἰ* in Th., 3 *εἰ* in Polyb., and 10 *ἐάν* in Polyb.).

<i>εἰ εἴγε, εἴπερ εἴτε,</i>	INDICATIVE					<i>secondary subjunctive.</i>	<i>without verb.</i>	<i>Total</i> [1]	<i>ἐάν, ἂν, ἦν, κἄν</i>	PRIMARY. SUBJ.			
	<i>pl.</i>	<i>past.</i>	<i>present.</i>	<i>future.</i>						<i>present.</i>	<i>future.</i>	<i>without verb.</i>	<i>Total</i>
Th.	9	130	115	88	[ = 342 ]	189	46	580	Th.	174	95	6	276
Xen. An. i-iii	1	11	24	8	[ = 44 ]	58	13	115	Xen. An. i-iii	40	24	—	64
Polyb. i-v	7	35	18	2	[ = 62 ]	38	19	120	Polyb. i-v	38	58	2	98

*B*. Thus the proportion of *εἰ* to *ἐάν* (*ἂν* etc.) is in Th. 580 to 276; in Xen. An. i-iii. 115 to 64; in i-v Polyb. 120 to 98. In the case of the last-named writer, the prevalence of *εἰ* over *ἐάν* (13 times *ἂν*) is due to his great fondness for the participial construction and his over-scrupulous avoidance of the hiatus,

[1] In the first column of totals the figures should be not 580 115 120, but 477 115 119; then in the last column of totals not 276 but 275, respectively. The slight error stands in Brief's original table and may of course lie either in the particular items added or in their addition.

two facts which do not tend to confirm the general belief as to his having written in the 'common' language of his time (013).

1772. In process of time the form *ἐάν* (*άν*), owing to its phonodynamic superiority over *εἰ* (150, c; cp. 1780. 1987), met with still wider acceptance, and towards the close of *G* its ascendancy, now commonly in the contracted form *άν*, became unqualified, while *εἰ* was reduced to a mere literary alternative, almost alien to the common language (hence sometimes it is even followed by the popular *άν*, 2023<sup>b</sup>), save in certain conditional forms (1992), and current only in the *T-B* period. By this time, however, the phonopathic principle of dropping final *ν* (219) interfered with the supremacy of *άν*. Accordingly *άν*, while retaining its regular form before sonants and *κ*, *π*, *τ* (App. iii. 24),—before all other consonants had now either to drop *ν* and thus shrink to simple *ά*, or to adopt a protective suffixal *-ε* (132<sup>b</sup>. 1717). It did both and so now survives in the three varieties: *άν*, *ά*, *άνε* (App. iii. 23 ff). See also 1987 ff.

Prodr. 4, 198 *ῥὰ καὶ δεκατέσσερα*. Roboam 32 *νίε μου, ἄ σε δώσω ὁ θεὸς εἰ καὶ καλὰ τοῦ κόσμου*. ABC 13, 12 74, 2. 77, 8. 83, 48.

1772<sup>b</sup>. For the strengthened complex *άν* (or *άν\**) *τύχη καί, ἄ\*ε λάχρη καί, ἀνίσας καί*, see 1717 f.

1773. Beside *άν*, (*ά, άνε*), there is the particle *νὰ* which in *M-N* appears frequently used in conditional and potential clauses. This is nothing else than the popular form of the ancient conditional *ἐάν* (*ἐάν*) and modal *άν* (1774)—the two having been phonopathically confounded since *G*. (Cp. *καὶ άν, καὶ νά; πρὶν άν, πρὶν νά; ὥς άν, ὥς νά; ἕως άν, ἕως άν, ὥς νά; ὅταν, ὅτι νά; ἕως ὅταν, ὥστε νά; cp. also τῆς, τ'ς, τσῆ.*)

1774. As may be seen, the conditional *άν* appears here closely associated with the homophonous modal (potential and indefinite) *άν*. It is true that to judge from the literary compositions of all *P* times, this particle succeeded in maintaining its own, especially in the apodosis of subjective conditions (1974), as late as *B*, but signs of its retreat, misconception, and misinterpretation are unmistakable even in early *G* times. However, it is particularly during later *G* that it is very often confounded with the conditional *άν*, and thus written *ἐάν* (infra a), especially after relatives (so in the papyri since the III<sup>rd</sup> B.C., occasionally in Polybios, frequently in the Sept., the NT, etc.).—With the close of *G* and the opening of *T*, *άν* succumbed to the morphological and phonopathic agencies which militated against postpositive construction and final *-ν* (1700. 219). At this juncture, the great popularity of the proclitic *ἵνα* [already shortened to *νά?* 1766] gave rise to an association and confusion of the two particles. Hence from *G* onward we find that *ἵνα*, besides preserving its own function, is not unfrequently used for the conditional and modal *άν*, but in particular for the latter. When further *ἵνα* was shortened to *νά* (1766), this phenomenon became the ordinary rule <sup>[1]</sup>.

[1] In some early cases of course the confusion of *ἵνα* and *άν* may be charged to the copiers, as for instance in Sext. 19, 9 *ἵνα γὰρ καθ' ὑπόθεσιν καὶ συγχωρήσῃ τις πιστοτέρους εἶναι τῶν ἀλόγων (ῥῶν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, εὐρήσμεν καὶ ὅσον ἐπὶ τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ διαφορᾷ τὴν ἐποχὴν εἰσάγομεν*. 64, 5 *ἵνα δὲ καὶ δώμεν ὅτι καταλαμβάνεται ὁ ἄνθρωπος, μήποτε οὐκ ἂν ἐνδέχοιτο δεῖξαι ὅτι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κρίνεσθαι δεῖ τὰ πράγματα*. 65, 31 *ἵνα δὲ καὶ κατὰ συγχωρήσιν δώμεν ὅτι οὐδεὶς τοῦ ἐποτιθεμένου συνετοῦ συνετώτερός ἐστιν οὔτε ἐγένετο οὔτε ἔσται, οὐδὲ ὥς πιστεύει ἀπὸ προσήκει*. In these passages the introductory *ἵνα*—followed as it is by *καί*—is probably a corruption of *ἦν*—*καί* or *εἰ*—*καί* in the presence of such parallels as ib. 65, 6 *ἦν γὰρ καὶ λέγουσιν ὅτι τῷ σοφῷ πιστευτέον, ἐρωτήσωμεν αὐτοὺς ποῖον σοφῷ . . . ; οὐχ ἔξουσι γὰρ εἰπεῖν*; and 69, 4 *εἰ μέντοι καὶ συγχωρήσειε τις τὰς μὲν τῶν κατὰ*

a. 'Εάν for modal *άν*: Xen. Mem. 3, 10, 12 φ' ἐάν ἀρμότῃ. 4, 2, 19 ὅσαι ἐάν ἀγνοήσασαι τὴν ἐαυτῶν δύναμιν κρείττοσι πολεμήσωσιν. Hier. 1, 14 ὅσα ἐάν λέγῃτε καὶ ὅσα ἐάν ποιῇτε. [Dem. 24, 105 ὅ, τι ἐάν τις ἀπολέσῃ. 47, 43 φ' ἐάν κελεύσω Ἀθηναίαν.] Lys. 753 ὅς ἐάν βουληθῶσιν. Arist. Ἀθ. πολ. 30, 2 οἱ ἐάν. Athen. 9, 399 fin. ὅς ἐάν λάβωμεν. NT *passim* (over 60 times; in Luke 17, 33 ὅς ἐάν ἀπολέσει read -σῃ, 1990<sup>b</sup>). Matt. 5, 19; 10, 14. Barn. 7, 11 ὅς ἐάν θέλῃ. 11, 8 ὅς ἐάν ἐξελευσεται. Hermas Vis. 3, 2, 1 ὅς ἐάν πάθῃ. Sim. 7, 7 ὅσοι ἐάν πορευθῶσιν. 9, 2, 7 ὅσα ἐάν σοι δείξω. Great Louvre Pap. 2374 ὅπου ἐάν αὐτὸ ἰδρύσῃς. 224 οἷον ἐάν βούλῃ—and so on in G-B *passim*.

b. 'Ινα for modal *άν*: Epict. 1, 29, 16 Σακράτης ἵνα πάθῃ ταῦτα ὅπ' Ἀθηναίων; 2, 19, 21 ποῦ γὰρ ἵν' ὑμεῖς τὴν ἀρετὴν πᾶσιν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἴσῃν ἢ καὶ κρείττονα ἔργῳ ὑπολάβητε; 4, 1, 142 ἵνα τις σοι τοῦτ' αὐτὸ μόνον εἴπῃ! Orig. iii. 297 ο περὶ ποῖον γὰρ ἀγρὸν ἵνα καταγινώμεθα; Macar. 545 D πῶς τις ἵνα αὐτοὺς ἐξέρῃ καὶ διακρίνῃ καὶ ἐκβάλῃ ἐκ τοῦ ἰδίου πυρός; 600 C ὥσπερ ἵνα ἦ (= ὥσπερ ἂν ἦ, M σὰν νὰ ἐνι) γυνὴ ἱμάτια βακώδη περιβεβλημένη (cp. 608 C ὥσπερ ἂν ἦ βασιλεὺς καὶ εὖρῃ πτωχὸν τινα). Chrys. i. 613 A πῶς ἵνα μὴ ὑστερήσωμεν ἀπὸ τῶν δώρων κυρίου; Pallad. 1113 B ἐὰν γὰρ μάθω, ἵνα αὐτῷ συντύχω. Acta Pil. i. B 4, 1 ἡμεῖς ἵνα εἰπωμεν τῇ μεγαλειότητί σου τί εἶπεν αὐτός. ib. 5, 2 τὴν δλῆθειαν τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἵνα παραλάβῃς! ib. 10, 6 σήμερον λέγω σοι δλῆθειαν. 'Ἰνα σε ἔχω εἰς τὸν παρόδεισον. [Amphil. 22 B ἐὰν ἔλθω εἰς τὴν αὐριον ἕως ὥρας ἑκτῆς τί ποιεῖς; ὁ δὲ ἔφη· ἵνα ἀποθάνω . . . καὶ ἵνα ἀποθάνῃς τῇ ἀμαρτίᾳ, (ζῆσῃς δὲ τῷ Χριστῷ μου. ib. 22 C ἐὰν (ζῆσῃς ἕως αὐριον ἵνα βαπτισθῶ. —Anast. Sin. 205 A ὥς ἵνα τις εἴπῃ ὅτι καὶ ὁ σίδηρος κτλ. Leont. Neap. V. S. 1685 B ὥς ἵνα (= ὥσάν εἰ) αὐτῇ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐβαπτίσθητε. 1075 C ὥς ἵνα ἐχάρωζεν αὐτὸν μάχιρα ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος αὐτοῦ, οὕτως τοῦ λόγου τοῦτον ἤκουεν. 1736 A ἐμοιποιεῖ ὥς ἵνα μὴ οἶδεν (= ὥσάν εἰ μὴ ἡπίστατο) τί ἐλεγεν αὐτῷ.—For more examples bearing especially on this modal ἵνα see App. iv. 12.

c. N: *νά* = *άν*, as: *νά* 'πες (= εἶπες ἂν) Sachl. 3, 113; 114; 165, etc.—So now: *νά* μ' ἐθάψει καὶ *νά* μ' ἐλυπούσου, 'if you saw me you would pity me.' καὶ *νά* μὴν τό 'ερες πῶς σὲ θέλω, ἔπρεπε *νά* 'ρθῃς 'even if you did not know that I wanted you, you ought to have come'; *νά* σ' ἐπιανα 'γὰ καὶ σοῦ εἰδεχνα 'had I caught you I'd have shown you.'

1775. The preceding conditional and modal function of *νά* now explains how the restrictive combination of *καὶ* *νά* has become an equivalent of *καὶ* *άν* (*κάν*) or *καὶ* *εἰ* 'even if,' 'even though' (1994).

## TEMPORAL PARTICLES.

1776. These are exhibited in the following summary (1995 ff.):

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| <p>A. Referring to a—<br/>definite past and present :</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. <i>when</i> : ὅτε, ὅποτε, ὡς, ἐπεὶ, ἐπειδὴ.</li> <li>2. <i>as long as, until</i> : ἕως (οὐ ὅρ ὅτε), μέχρι ὅρ ἄχρι (οὐ ὅρ ὅτε), ἕστε.</li> <li>3. <i>before, until</i> : πρὶν (ἦ), πρότερον ἢ.</li> <li>4. <i>after, since</i> : ἐπεὶ, ἐπειδὴ—ἐξ οὗ, ἀφ' οὗ.</li> <li>5. <i>as soon as</i> : ἐπεὶ ὅρ ἐπειδὴ with τάχιστα (ὅρ πρῶτον), ὡς τάχιστα.</li> <li>6. <i>whilst</i> : ἕως, ἐν φ, ἐν ὅσῳ, ὅσον χρόνον.</li> </ol> | <p>B. Referring to an—<br/>indefinite present or the future :</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1<sup>b</sup>. ὅταν, ὁπότε, ὡς ἂν, ἐπὶ, ἐπειδὴν;</li> <li>2<sup>b</sup>. ἕως (ἂν ὅρ οὐ), μέχρι ὅρ ἄχρι (ἂν ὅρ οὐ), ἕστ' ἂν.</li> <li>3<sup>b</sup>. πρὶν (ἂν).</li> <li>5<sup>b</sup>. ἐπειδὴν τάχιστα, ὡς ἂν τάχιστα.</li> <li>6<sup>b</sup>. — — — — —</li> </ol> |
|---|--|

φύσιν ἐχόντων φαντασίας εἶναι πιστάς κτλ., and 75, 3 εἰ μέντοι καὶ δοίμεν καθ' ὑπόθεσιν εἶναι τι τῆς ἀληθείας κριτήριον κτλ.—So too Anast. Sin. 240 A ἵνα γὰρ καὶ μηδὲν ὅλας ἀνθρώπινον διεπράξατο μετὰ τὸ βάπτισμα μήτε ἔφαγε μήτε ἐπῆε μήτε ὑπνώσε κτλ.



[1777. Obs. Considered from a grammatical point of view, temporal conjunctions are but a variety of relative particles, and so duly come under that head (2010–26). On the other hand, their too frequent association with *dv* (1998), particularly in *P-B* Greek, entitles them to a place among the conditional particles as well (1770). While then, referring to those sections for their syntactical treatment, we shall consider them here merely from a morphological point of view.]

**1778.** As classified above, temporal conjunctions show at a glance that for each particular case of time designation, *A* Greek possessed a great variety of interchangeable particles. Such a wealth of synonyms the popular language could not be expected to preserve concurrently through all *P-N* times, but had, in accordance with 1487 ff., to drop most of them one after another in favour of the strongest or most familiar representative among them. The process involved in each particular case will be indicated in the following sections.

1779. 1. *When*:— *A*: ὅτε, ὁπότε, ὥς, ἐπεί, ἐπειδὴ  
 „ ὅταν, ὁπόταν, ὥς ἂν, ἐπὶ ἂν, ἐπειδὴ ἂν—  
 „ *P-N*: ὅταν, ὥς ἂν, ἀφ' οὗ, ἄμα.

**1780.** In this class *στε, όποτε, ός, έπει, έπειδη*, had eventually to make room for their associates *σαν, όποσαν, ός άν, έσαν, έπειδαν*, owing to the presence in the latter items of the stronger sound *a* (146; cp. also *ει, έαν, άν*, 1772. 1987). Again the latter group being still too numerous to be concurrently preserved, popular speech dropped, one after another, the majority of these representatives and preserved only *σαν* and *ός άν* or rather *ώσαν*, two particles still fully surviving in *N* and applying equally to the past, present, and future (1999 ff.).

1781. It is noteworthy, however, that *ōre*, *ōwōre* and *ōs* also lingered through all *P-M* periods alongside of their stronger correlatives, especially in the cultivated language. Hence they still survive in *N*, but in a more or less modified form or sense: (ἐως *ōre*, *ōs* *ōre*) *ōwōre* ὥς, 'until'; ὥς 'as soon as' (cp. 1793).

1782. From *δῶν* popular *N* has evolved two collateral forms. One, *δῶται* (which occurs even in Prodr., as 6, 71), with a later differentiation *δῶτες*, which was obtained either by dissimilation or through the influence of the literary *δῶτε*, applies, like *δῶν*, equally to the past present and future. Another still more recent item, which is due to the untenable position of final *-v* (210), has been evolved in the form of (*δῶν*, *δῶ'v*, *δῶ'va*) *δῶι vā*, which by reason of *vā* applies to the future (= *ἔπειδάν*) 'when.'—In this way *N* speech now possesses for the notion *when* the two ancient representatives *δῶν* and *ὥν*—the latter mostly shortened to *ὦν*—and three more or less dialectal modifications of the former: *δῶται* (Prodr. 6, 71; ABC 26, 6), *δῶται* (a contamination of *δῶν* and *δῶτε*), and *δῶι vā*. As a matter of course, *δῶν*, *δῶται*, and *δῶτες* usually drop their final *-v* before consonants except *κ*, *π*, *τ* (210. App. iii. 24).

1783. In their *A* usage, *δτε* and *δταν* are now represented in Cretan speech by *δντε* and *δτι νδ* respectively: *δντεν ηθελε, δντε θελει—δτι νδ θεληση*.

1783<sup>b</sup>. On  $\delta\phi'$   $\sigma\tilde{v}$  or  $\acute{\alpha}\phi\sigma\tilde{v}$  see 1790–2. On  $\acute{\alpha}\mu\alpha$  1794.

1784. *As long as, until* : ἕως (οὐ or ὅτε), μέχρι or ἄχρι (οὐ or ὅτε), ἕως (ἄν or ὅταν), μέχρι or ἄχρι (ἄν or οὐ, also ὅτε), ἕστ' ἄν.

**1785.** In this class *τοῦ* *ἀν* was dropped as early as *A* times, leaving the field to *τῶς* and *μέχρι* (or *ἄχρι*). In process of time these two representatives began to extend beyond their *A* usage (past and present) and thus apply to the future also, whether standing absolutely

or with the relatives *οὐ*, *δου*, *δτε*. The latter alternative, particularly in the combinations *ἕως* (now *ᾧς* 152) *οὐ*, *ἕως* (*ᾧς*) *δου*, and *ἕως* (*ᾧς*) *δτε*, soon met with popularity, and gradually resulted in the contractions *ᾧς οὐ* (less correctly *ᾧς οὐ*) or rather *ᾧσου* (sometimes now changed by association to *ᾧσο*), *ᾧς δου* or rather *ᾧσούτου*, and *ᾧς δτε* or rather *ᾧσότε*, all of which still survive in the *N* contracted forms *ᾧσου* or *ᾧσου*, *ᾧστού* (from *ᾧς δου*), and *ᾧστέ* (from *ᾧς δτε*), (1757<sup>b</sup>), further *ᾧς ποῦ* or rather *ᾧσπου*. Sachl. i, 341 *ὥς ὅτε ν' ἀποδιαντραπή ὥστε ν' ἀποκινήση*.

1786. Observe further that the frequent construction of *ἕως*, in particular *ἕως οὐ* or *ἕως δου* and *ἕως δτε*, with the subjunctive (2000)—a mood associated even during *G* with the regular presence of *ἄν* or *ἵνα*, *B-N* *νά*, (App. v. 19)—gave rise to the practice in *N* of adding *νά* to the temporal conjunctions in all cases referring to the future: *ᾧσου νά*, *ᾧς δου νά* or *ᾧσο που νά*, *ᾧστού νά*, *ᾧστέ νά*, sometimes further reduced to *ᾧς να*. In this way we can trace the following four stages :

I <i>ἕως οὐ</i>	II <i>ᾧς οὐ</i>	III ( <i>ᾧσου ἵνα</i> )	IV <i>ᾧσου</i> (or <i>ᾧσο</i> ) <i>νά</i>
<i>ἕως δου</i>	<i>ᾧς δου</i>	( <i>ᾧσούτου ἵνα</i> )	<i>ᾧστού νά</i>
<i>ἕως δτε</i>	<i>ᾧς δτε</i>	( <i>ᾧσότε ἵνα</i> )	<i>ᾧστέ νά</i>
( <i>ἕως ὅπου</i> )	<i>ᾧς ὅπου</i> )	<i>ᾧσόπου νά</i>	<i>ᾧσπου νά</i>

See 152 [1] and add: GKaibel 646 *α ὥς* (write *ᾧς*) *οὐ καιρὸν ἔχεις*. Then Test. Patr. 1117 *Α καθ' ὅσον χρόνον ἐνείχον τῷ Ἰωσήφ ἕως ἵνα παρῇ* (for *Α ἕως παρῇ*) Alchem. 321, 13 *ὥστε ἐρυθράσῃ*. 321, 9 *ὥστε νὰ ψῆθῃ*. 322 9 *ὥστε νὰ ψυχρανθοῦν*. 323, 9 f. *ὥστε νὰ θέσῃς*, *ὥστε νὰ ἐξέβῃ ὁ ἀτμός*. 324, 9 *ὥστε νὰ καθῇ*. Porph. Adm. 266, *ἕως ἂν πᾶσα ἡ φαμλία αὐτῶν ἐκοιμήθῃ*.—*N*: Prodr. 3, 429 *ὥστος νὰ το πτύχῃ*. 4, 433 *καὶ τσιγαρίζεται κἀνείς ᾧς ἵνα το πτύχῃ*. Chron. Mor. Prol. 1065 *ἕως οὐ νὰ τους προφέρωσιν*. K. 906 *ὥσος νὰ μάθῃ τίποτε*. ABC 87, 2 *ὥστε νὰ ποῦν τὰ χεῖλῃ σου*.

1787. 3. *Before, until*: *πρίν* (*ῆ*), *πρότερον ῆ*—*πρίν* (*ἄν*). In this class there was no need for complex changes, since *πρότερον ῆ* was felt as a distinct comparative of *πρίν* (*πρό*): 'sooner than,' 'earlier than.' Hence *πρίν*, especially in its strengthened form *πρίν ἄν* (later changed to *πρίν νά*, 1773. 2008), had fair chances of an extensive and lasting usage, and would have survived down to our time—its present usage is limited to cultivated speech—were it not for the interference of two rivals. One was the *A* adverb *πρὸ τοῦ*, or rather *προτοῦ*, which began to assume also the functions of *πρίν* in its construction with either the infinitive or the subjunctive (2004), and that as early as *G*, if not earlier (cp. Polyb. 2, 63, 2; 68, 1. 3, 25, 11; 57, 11. 5, 49, 2; 100, 5).

NT Gal. 2, 12 *προτοῦ γὰρ ἐλθεῖν τινος*. 3, 23 *προτοῦ δὲ ἐλθεῖν τὴν πίστιν ὑπὸ νόμον ἐφρουρούμεθα*. John 13, 19 *ἀπάρτι λέγω ὑμῖν προτοῦ γενέσθαι* (for which in 14, 29 *πρίν γενέσθαι*. cp. Matt. 6, 8. Luke 2, 21. 22, 25. John 1, 49. 17, 5. Acts 23, 15). JMoschos 2989 *D προτοῦ ἐκλεισθῶ ἀπὲν*. Mal. 447, 15 *προτοῦ ἐπιπρίψωσιν εἰς τὰ κτήματα*. Chron. 627, 8 *προτοῦ πᾶσα ἡ πόλις καθῇ*. Theoph. 318, 13 *προτοῦ ἐνωθῶσιν αὐτοῖς οἱ τρισχίλιοι*.

1788. Both in this and in its adverbial usage, *προτοῦ* still fully obtains in *N* speech, as: *προτοῦ ἀκούσω*, *προτοῦ με ἀποχαμεῖσθαι*,—*ἦτον ἀποθαμμένους προτοῦ*. See 1789.

1789. The other rival of *πρίν* referred to (1787), though more recent, has proved more formidable. This was the *N* vocable *πρίχου* or *πρίχου* (the accent after *προτοῦ*), also *πρίχου*, an obvious contamination of *πρίν* and the Latin *prius* (quam) in which the latter decidedly prevails. It is this

novel intruder which has considerably dislodged *πρὶν* by interfering with most of its functions, and is now used beside and in preference to *προτού*. Its current forms are *πρῆγου* (i. e. Latin *prius*), *πρῶχού* (Egeorg. Belis. 396. also *Θαν.* 481; sometimes corrupted to *πουρχού*), and *πρίχου* (after *prius*). All these *N* representatives of ancient *πρὶν* are still constructed in its spirit, that is with or without *νά*, according as *πρὶν* would have required the infinitive or the subjunctive (2003 ff.), as: *προτού νά με γνωρίσῃ = πρὶν γνωρίσαι (γνώναι) με*; *προτού ἀκούσω = πρὶν (ἀν) ἀκούσω*; *πριχού νά με ἰδῇ = πρὶν ἰδεῖν με*, *πριχού με ἰδῇ = πρὶν (ἀν) ἰδῇ με* 'priusquam me videat.'

**1790. 4.** *After, since*: *ἐπεὶ*, *ἐπειδὴ*—*ἐξ οὗ* (also *ἐξ ὅτου*), *ἀφ' οὗ* (or *ἀφ' ὅτου*). Of these four representatives, the two former being identical in form, and associated in sense, with their causal correlatives *ἐπεὶ* and *ἐπειδὴ* 'since,' were absorbed by them (1739). Of the remaining two, *ἐξ οὗ* or *ἐξ ὅτου* made room for *ἀφ' οὗ* or *ἀφ' ὅτου* (just as *ἐξ* for *ἀπό* 1506. 1568<sup>b</sup>), which still survives chiefly in the form *ἀφ' οὗ* or rather *ἀφού*.

**1791.** Beside *ἀφ' οὗ* there is a collateral form *ἀπ' ἧς*, which is very common in *N* speech. This seems to be a direct survival of the ancient (Ionic) and Hellenistic form *ἀπ' ἧς* (sc. *ἡμέρας*; cp. 650), which for obvious reasons in our texts regularly appears in the Atticized form of *ἀφ' ἧς* (cp. *ἀφ' ὅτε* or *ἀφ' ὅτε* [Sept. 2 Esdr. 5, 12. Mal. 176, 8], *ἀπ' ὅτε* [so Mal. 176, 18], *ἀπ' ὅτε*, *ἀπ' ὅταν* 1782).—Sept. 1 Macc. 9, 27 *ἀφ' ἧς ἡμέρας*. So Ps. Sol. 18, 11 & 12. Acts 20, 18 *ἀπὸ πρώτης ἡμέρας ἀφ' ἧς* (cp. *ἐξ αὐτῆς* Pol., NT). Leont. Neap. V. J. 88, 19 *οὕτως οὐδὲ ἐγὼ ἐγνων ἀμαρτίαν γυναικὸς ἀφ' ἧς ἐγενήθη*. Porph. Adm. 248, 7 *ἀφ' ἧς*.

**1792.** It will be observed that in 1776 class 1 and 4 (1779 ff. and 1790 f.) are now represented in *N* by *ὅταν*, *ὅτε*, sometimes also *ὅτόταν*, *ὥσάν* or rath. *σαν*, *ἀφ' οὗ*, and *ἀπ' ἧς*.<sup>[1]</sup> Of these surviving representatives those which show the greatest aberration from *A* (that is *ὅταν*, *ὅτε*, *ὅτόταν*, *ὥσάν*, *ἀπ' ἧς*), are carefully avoided by modern scribes and trained speakers. On the other hand *ὅταν* (*ὀπόταν*) and *ἀφ' οὗ*, owing to their classical form, are favourite terms with them, in particular *ὅταν* 'when,' for the past, present, and more especially the future, while *ἀφ' οὗ* 'since,' applies to both *time* or *cause*, and refers either to the past or to the present and future.

**1793. 5.** *As soon as*: *ἐπεὶ πρῶτον*, *ἐπεὶ τάχιστα*, *ὡς τάχιστα*,—*ἐπειδὴν τάχιστα*, *ὡς ἂν τάχιστα*. These combinations need no special treatment here, since their fate was determined by that of their respective constituents *ἐπεὶ*, *ἐπειδὴν* (1780)—*ὥσάν* being left to perform the office of both. The only noteworthy departure is that the ancient (Ionic?) and Hellenistic temporal usage of *ὡς* 'when,' 'as soon as,' has survived, especially in the sense of *οὐκ ἔφθῃ . . . καί*, *as soon as* (1714. 2115). It often appears in its strengthened form *καθὼς* (518<sup>b</sup>. 1434), sometimes also in the amplified combination *ὥστε* (or *ὥστε*) *νά*, also *ὥσο να* (1785 f.), especially in cases referring to the future (1781).

NT Luke 7, 12 *ὡς δὲ ἤγγισεν τῇ πόλει τῆς πόλεως καὶ ἰδοὺ ἐξεκομίζετο τεθηγκὸς μονογενὴς υἱός*. 19, 5 *καὶ ὡς ἤλθεν ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον, ἀναβλέψας δ' Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτόν*. (So further 1, 41; 44. 2, 39. 5, 4. 11, 1. 15, 25. 19, 29; 21, 22, 26. 23, 26. Acts 10, 7; 25, 13, 29. 14, 5. 16, 10; 15, 17, 3. 18, 15. 19, 21. 20, 18. 21, 1; 12, 27. 28, 4.) John 11, 20 *ἡ οὖν Μάρθα ὡς ἤκουσεν ὅτι Ἰησοῦς ἔρχεται, ὑπήντησεν αὐτῇ*. ib. 29 *ἐκείνη ὡς ἤκουσεν, ἐγείρεται ταχὺ καὶ ἔρχεται πρὸς αὐτόν*. (So further 2, 9. 4, 1; 40. 6, 12; 16. 7, 10. 11, 6. 11, 32; 33. 19, 33. 21, 9.)

[<sup>1</sup>] For obvious reasons the literary or revived form *ὅτε* (*ὀπότε*) 'when,' though common in cultivated speech, especially for the past *when*, is left out of account here.

Pallad. 104 A καὶ ὡς ἐκρούσε τὴν θύραν, ἀνέφηνε δὲ γέρον νομίζων ὅτι διακονητὴς αὐτοῦ ἐστι. καὶ ὡς εἶδεν αὐτὸν ἄλλον, ἔπεσεν ἐπὶ πρόσωπον. Leont. Nearp. V.J. 88, 12 εἰ ὡς οὖν ἡσθένησεν ὁ ἀββάς τὴν ἐπιθάνατον ἀσθένειαν, ἀπῆλθεν εἰς ἐπίσκεψιν αὐτοῦ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἕως ἐκείνων ψυχῶν, καὶ λέγει· φέρετε λαμπρά. ὡς οὖν ἦλθεν τὸ θυματήριον γέμον τῶν λαμπρῶν, ἔλαβεν καὶ ἐκένωσεν αὐτὰ κτλ.

1794. 5<sup>b</sup>. In connexion with ὡσαν and ὡς, it may be observed that T-B Greek has changed the A adverbial and prepositional ἅμα (1671 ff.) to a purely temporal conjunction in the sense of *as soon as* (without subsequent καί). This particle has ever since been fairly popular (perhaps owing to the presence in it of two α's), though present uncultivated speech uses more commonly ὡσάν or ὡς, also εὐθὺς ποῦ (in Crete ὅτι καὶ for ἐπεὶ τάχιστα, ὅτι νὰ for ἐπειδὴν τάχιστα 1783).

Acta Xanth. 75, 14 ἅμα δὲ εἶδεν ὁ Πέτρος τὸ πλοῖον εἶπεν μνηστῆς τοῦ ὄραματος. Basilic. 2, 2, 235 ἅμα τις καταδικασθῆν ὑπόκειται τῇ ἀπὸ τῶν ῥύμων ποινῇ. Porph. Cer. 391, 19 ἅμα εἰσελθῇ.—So now ἅμα γράψῃ, ἅμα εἶδε, etc.

1795. Another rather puzzling feature, peculiar to M-N speech, is the construction of τὸ (indeclinable) with the future subjunctive or the past (aorist) indicative, in the sense of *when* or rather *as soon as*, commonly referring to the past. This phenomenon, which is often mistaken for a relic of substantival infinitive (App. vi. 28), is now obsolescent.

[Prodr. 6, 119 εὐθὺς τὸ βράσειν (read εὐθὺς ὡς βράχ[ν] App. iii. 19 f.) τὸ θερμὸν λέγει.] Chron. Mor. Prol. 338 χαρὰν μεγάλην ἔλαβε τὸ ἀκοῦσθ[ν] τὸ μαντάτον. 554 τὸ ἰδοῦν τὸ πλῆθος τῶν φραγκῶν . . . ἐδράμασιν. Κουγκ. 198 τὸ ἰδῆν τὸ πῶς ἐμίσειαν τὰ φράγκικα φουσαῖτα. 859 τὸ ἰδῆν τὰς σκάλες ἔδραμαν. 4455 τὸ ἰδῆν τὸν ὁ ροῦ Μαφρίδ ἐπροσηκώθηκέ τον. Belth. 1264 καὶ τὸ ἰδῆν ὁ Βέλθαιδρος ἐγνώρισεν ἐκείνον. Corp. A 1097 τὸ ἰδοῦν μιὰν κόρην ὁμορφῇ, ἢ πεθυμιά 'ν' ἢ πρώτῃ. 1608 παιγνιδί μᾶσε φαίνεται τὸ ἰδοῦμε φουσκομένη | ἀπὸ μακρὰ τῇ θάλασσᾳ καὶ ἄγρια καὶ θυμωμένη. E 843 τὸ μάθω πῶς ἐπόθανε, ζιμιὸ τὴν ὥρα κείνη | πᾶνω μαχαίρῃ νὰ σφαγῶ. 18:5 τὸ 'κογцен ὁ 'Ρωτόκριτος τ' ἀναθιβάτ' ἢ μάνα | τὰ λόγια τῇ 'σέ λογισμοὺς μεγάλους τὸν ἐβάνα. 1990 χαρὰ μεγάλην ἦπαιρε τὸ θέλαν πῇ πῶς γιάνει.

## C. PARTICLES OF NEGATION.

1796. There are in Greek two simple negative particles :

οὐ 'not,'—with its compounds οὐδεῖς, οὐδέ, οὔτε, οὔπω, οὔποτε, οὐδαμῶς, etc.

μή 'don't,'—with its compounds μηδεῖς, μηδέ, μήτε, μήπω, μήποτε, μηδαμῶς, etc.

### I. Morphology of the Negations.

1797. Both οὐ and μή have been in continuous use through all past times. But while μή is still fully preserved in N speech (also as μὴν. Prodr. 6, 278 ; cp. App. iii. 20, e), οὐ has become obsolete since the last century, lingering only in a few proverbial expressions, and in Pontos, where it survives in the by-forms οὔκι, 'κι, 'κ. (Pachom. Mon. [ed. Migne] 98, 1352 A οἱ Πόντιοι οὔκ ἔχω λέγουσιν, ὅπερ ἑτέροι δὲν ἔχω 2061. Cp. ΔΜαυροφρύδης 689 and G Hatzidakis 161, 2.)

1798. The neuter adjectives οὐδὲν and μηδὲν were, even in classical antiquity, sometimes used as adverbs for οὐδαμῶς and μηδαμῶς, that is for an emphatic οὐ and μή 'not at all,' 'not in the least,' 'by no means' [1].

[1] ΔΜαυροφρύδης (627 f.) cites : A 412. Ω 370. υ 266. Aesch. Prom. 47. 128. 180. 344. 834. 953. Pers. 757. 844. Sept. 426. Agam. 588. 1038. 1375, etc. Soph. Aj. 11. 115.

This usage, appealing as it did to the propensity of the common language for emphasis, became very popular in the course of *P.* At the same time its great frequency gradually involved a weakening of its original force, and thus we very often find οὐδέν (after *A* also in the form οὐθὲν 627) and μηδέν employed as mere equivalents of οὐ and μή respectively.

Matt. 13, 34 καὶ χωρὶς παραβολῆς οὐδέν ἐλάλει αὐτοῖς. 26, 62 οὐδέν ἀποκρίνη τί οὗτοι σου καταμαρτυροῦσιν; so Mark 14, 60. Acts 4, 21 μὴδὲν εὐρίσκοντες τὸ πῶς κολάσωνται αὐτούς. 15, 9 καὶ οὐθὲν διέκρινεν μεταξὺ ἡμῶν τε καὶ αὐτῶν. 25, 10 'Ιουδαίους οὐδέν ἠδίκησα. 2 Cor. 12, 11 οὐδέν γὰρ ὑστέρησα τῶν ὑπερλίαν ἀποστόλων. Gal. 2, 6 οἵοιμι ποτὲ ἦσαν οὐδέν μοι διαφέρει. 4, 12 οὐδέν με ἠδίκησατε. 5, 2 ὑμᾶς οὐδέν ὠφελήσει. Rev. 3, 17 οὐδέν χρεῖαν ἔχω. 1 Cor. 10, 25 & 27 μὴδὲν ἀνακρίνοντας δια τὴν συνείδησιν. 2 Cor. 11, 5 λογίζομαι γὰρ μὴδὲν ὑστερηκέαι τῶν ὑπερλίαν ἀποστόλων. Phil. 2, 3, 4, 6 μὴδὲν μεριμνᾶτε. 2 Thess. 3, 11 ἀκούομεν γὰρ τινὰς περιπατοῦντας ἐν ὑμῖν ἀτάκτως μὴδὲν ἐργαζομένους ἀλλὰ περιεργαζομένους. Jas. 1, 6 αἰτεῖται δὲ ἐν πίστει μὴδὲν διακρινόμενος. Acta Pilati 2, 4 λέγει δὲ Πιλάτος πρὸς 'Ανναν καὶ Καϊάφαν· οὐδέν ἀποκρίνεσθε πρὸς ταῦτα; ὁ νόμος ἡμῶν δρῖζει ἵνα μὴδὲν ὁμνῶμεν. 4, 2 παρακαλῶ ὑμᾶς μὴδὲν ποιήσατε κακὸν εἰς τοῦτον τὸν ἄνθρωπον. 5, 1 δέομαί σου, κύριέ μου, ἵνα μὴδὲν παραχωρήσῃς φονεῦσθαι τοῦτον. 8, 1 καὶ πῶς οὐδέν ἐφοβοῦντο οὕτω καὶ τοὺς γυνεῖς ὑμῶν οἱ δαίμονες; 9, 2 λέγετε ὅτι οὐδέν ἀγαπῶ ἑγὼ τὸν Καῖσαρα. 10, 2 οὐδέν φοβῆθ' σὺ τὸν θέν, ὅτι ἐν τῷ κρίματι εἶ; Acta Tho. 3, 16 ἀπῆλθεν δὲ πρὸς 'Αββάνην τὸν ἔμπορον μὴδὲν ὅλως τι μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ κομισάμενος ἀλλ' ἡ τὸ τίμημα αὐτοῦ μόνον. Acta Xanth. 70, 2 διατί καὶ αὐτὸς οὐδέν ἀποκρίνη; Hesych. οὐδέν ἀντὶ τοῦ οὐ.

1799. In the subsequent *T-B* period the compounds οὐδέν (no longer οὐθὲν) and μηδέν became completely equivalent to simple οὐ and μή, so that the disyllabic and monosyllabic forms appear indiscriminately interchanged. As time went on, the disyllabic forms grew more popular and gradually became, like their originals and associates οὐ and μή, proclitic particles, as is clearly indicated by the metrical compositions of the succeeding *M* period. Here we see furthermore that the proclisis has gone so far as to admit of abbreviation (aphaeresis). Now as the original distinction between οὐ and μή was still clearly felt in popular speech, an abbreviation of both οὐδέν and μηδέν was inadmissible. The difficulty was then obviated in this way. Οὐδέν being more pliable owing to its sonantic initial syllable was reduced by aphaeresis to δέν, a form ever since universally current in *N* speech (cp. ἵνα νά).—On the other hand, μηδέν being still successfully opposed by the old-established and still prevalent μή, retreated before it, the more so as the dropping of its initial syllable μη- would produce δέν, that is another οὐδέν.

Alohem. 326, 24 εἰ δὲ θέλεις νὰ μὴδὲν γένῃ βαθύ. 329, 22 ἐὰν γοῦν οὐδέν ἐκαθάρισεν. 330, 9 νὰ μὴδὲν ἐβγῇ δ' ἀτύμος. Span. 79-80 οὐ φέγει φρόνιμος ποτὲ τινὰ διὰ πτωχείαν. | οὐδὲ τὸν πλούσιον ἔπαινε διὰ πλεονομίην χρημάτων. οὐκ ἐνὶ ἐκ προαιρέσεως ὁ πλούτος καὶ ἡ πενία. 90-91 μὴ προτιμᾶσαι συγγενοὺς ἀγάπην παρὰ

124. 165. 276. 280. 940. 1072. 1114. Ant. 511. 550. 711. 716. El. 519. 716. 1005. etc. Eur. Al. 310. Andr. 88. 161. 463. Hec. 372. Bacc. 209. 787. Sup. 863. Hippol. 968. etc. Ar. Eqq. 1272. Nub. 538 οὐδέν ἦλθε ubi Schol. παρέλκει τὸ δὲν ὡς καὶ παρ' 'Ομήρῳ' οὐδέν ἔτισε. 'Θέλει εἰπεῖν οὐκ ἦλθε συνήθως. So too Vesp. 20, 356. 443. 482. 1321. 1478 ubi Schol. οὐδέν παύσεται: 'Ἀντὶ οὐ παύσεται, ὡς παρ' 'Ομήρῳ' [A 412] 'ἔτ' ἄριστον 'Αχαιῶν οὐδέν ἔτισεν' ἀντὶ τοῦ οὐκ ἔτισεν. 548. 616. 1080. 1293. Vesp. 20. 356. 444. 482. 1321. 1478. Ban. 725. 1112. 1117. etc. Hdt. 5, 34. 8, 112. Xen. Cyr. 2, 1, 16. An. 5, 4, 19. Pl. Rep. 10, 507 A. Arist. Pol. 2, 6, 7. 3, 7, 5. 5, 9, 1, 6, 1, 14. Diod. 2, 167, 7 [Teubn.] Malch. Phil. 241, 22. 246, 6. 247, 1. Men. Hist. 311, 20. Proc. Caes. 3, 48, 1. Agath. 25, 9.

φίλου. 188 τίποτ' ἂν δώσῃς δὲ τίνα μὴδὲν τὸν θνεϊδίστῃς. 195 τῶν νέων δὲ τὰς συμβουλὰς πολλὰ μὴδὲν τὰς πιάσῃς. 223 ἀφήκεν τὴν ὡς ἀχρηστον καὶ οὐδὲν τὴν ἡσυχολήθη. 229 οὐκ ἐλαφρύνω τίποτε, μὴδὲν παρακαλῇτε. Prodr. 1, 103 ἂν οὐκ ἐθάρρεις κολυμβᾶν, κολυμβητῆς μὴ ἐγένου. 194 οὐκ εἶσαι χωρικύπουλον οὐδὲ μὴδὲν νινίσι. 230 ὡς δ' οὐ φωνῆς ἀπήκοα οὐδὲ τινὸς λαλίας, | οὐδὲ ψιλοῦ, προσ-  
νεύματος οὐ σμικροτάτου λόγου. 3, 42 ψαμῖν μὴδὲν τὸν δώσουν. 44 κρᾶσιν μὴδὲν τὸν δώσουν. 101 οὐδὲν ἐνὶ διὰ λόγου σου τ' ἀδρὶν τὸ παξιμάδιον. 90 καὶ σὺ φάλας οὐδὲν ἔχεις νὰ δῶς διὰ τὴν ψυχὴν σου. 204 αἱ τσοῦκα, ποῦ τὰ χῶρεςες καὶ πῶς οὐδὲν ἐσχίστῃς! 152 στανεὸ μου δὲν ἐβγαίνω. 234 τὰ δ' ἄλλα δὲν τα λέγω. 245 παρὰ μικρὸν δὲν (?) ἐλειψεν ἵνα με θανατώσουν. 4, 408a διὰ νὰ μὴδὲν βλα-  
βοῦμαι. 5, 63 αὐτὸς μικρὸς οὐδὲν εἶδεν τοῦ λουτροῦ τὸ κατώφλιν. 6, 137 καὶ οὐδὲν τρέχουν τὰ σάλια μου, ὡς τρέχει τὸ ποτάμιν. (80 235). 368 ὅλους χωρεῖ ἡ ἐκκλησιὰ κ' ἐμὲν οὐδὲν ἐχώρει. 71 αὐτὸς ὄνταν ἐμάθανεν ποτὲ δὲν ἐκτενίσθη. 276 ('s) τὰ δ' ὧ (ubi male tādō) δὲν ἔχεις τόπον. 278 μὴν βλέπῃς τὸ ἀπάκιν μας, δὲν εἶσαι σὺ διὰ τοῦτο. Span'. 183 & 321 δὲν ἐνε. 200. 273. 308. 336. δὲν ἔχεις. κὰν δὲν ἔχῃς. Belth. 193 καὶ οὐδὲν σε το λαλοῦμεν. 1010 ἀκούοντα δ' ἐβέλανδρος οὐδὲν ἀπηλογήθη. Hermon. Index πῶς διατὶ οὐδὲν ἤθελεν ὁ Ἀχιλλεὺς νὰ ὑπάγῃ εἰς τὸν πόλεμον. MGeorgilas Const. 6 διατὶ δὲν ἔχω φρόνησιν. 153 τὰ τρίμερα τῶν Χριστιανῶν, θεέ μου, δὲν τα θέλεις. 165 δὲν πρέπει. 277 καὶ τί νὰ λέγω οὐκ ἔμπορῶ, καὶ τί νὰ γράφω οὐκ οἶδα. 345 οὐδὲν ἤξεύρα τί νὰ πῶ, οὐδὲ τὸ τί νὰ λέξω. 349 καὶ νὰ μὴδὲν λυποῦνται. 359 οὐ δύναμαι νὰ γράφω πλέον. 397 μὴδὲν τὸ ἀμελῇτε. 427 στέκει καὶ οὐδὲν σιμᾶνει. 464 μὴδὲν ἀναμελήσετε, ποσῶς μὴδὲν σταθῇτε. 570 τὴν δὲν ἐθυμήθηκα. 580 δὲν βλέπετε τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς. 645 δὲν εἶνε. 651 τὰ στάμνα οὐδὲν ψηφῶ εἰς τοὺς ἀνδρειομένους, ποσῶς οὐκ ἔχει λογισμόν. 720 δὲν ἔχει τόσην δύναμιν. 997 δὲν τό 'χα εἰς τὸν νοῦν μου. 1029 δὲν ἔχω πλειόν, etc., etc.—and so on ever since.

1800. From the preceding illustrations it becomes obvious that the *N* particle *μηδὲ* (now obsolescent) is not the ancient *μηδέ*, but an abbreviated form of *μηδὲν* (= *μη* + *ν*, due to phonopathic causes (219. 221).

## II. Use of the Negations.

1801. Considered absolutely or in association with a finite mood, the two simple negative particles *οὐ* or *οὐκ* (*N* δὲν 1799) and *μῆ* differ in this, that *οὐ* simply *denies* the existence or occurrence of something, and so is *direct* or *objective* (independent, external);—while *μῆ* *prohibits* the occurrence of something, and so is *indirect* or *subjective* (dependent, internal). Accordingly *οὐ* serves to *state* negatively or *deny*, and *μῆ* to *prevent* something. Viewed from this relative function, *οὐ* and *μῆ* have a parallel in *ὅτι* and *ἵνα* by which they are often preceded respectively (1803. 1940. 1945. 1952).

1802. The difference between *οὐ* and *μῆ* is also observed in their respective compounds: *οὐδεῖς* and *μηδεῖς*, *οὔτε* and *μήτε*, *οὔποτε* and *μήποτε*, *οὐδαμῶς* and *μηδαμῶς*, etc. (1796).

Dem. 8, 68 ἐγὼ θρασὺς καὶ ἀναιδὴς οὔτ' εἰμὶ, μήτε γυνοίμην. Soph. Ant. 500 ἐμοὶ τῶν σὺν λόγων ἀρεστὸν οὐδὲν, μὴδ' ἀρεσθῆναι ποτέ. ib. 685 οὔτ' ἂν δυνοίμην, μήτ' ἐπιστάμην λέγειν. Dem. 19, 149 ὑμῖν δὲ τοιοῦτο μὲν οὐδὲν οὔτ' ἦν, μήτε γένοιτο τοῦ λοιποῦ.

1802<sup>b</sup>. The preceding remarks (1801-2) still substantially obtain in *N*. (However, see 1821.)

# 1803-1807<sup>b</sup>.] NEGATIVES οὐ AND μή.

1803. Agreeably to the distinction drawn above (1801):

2. Οὐ stands in all clauses where ὅτι is admissible, that is with the *indicative*, and dependent *secondary subjunctive* (also infinitive and participle), when they stand in *declarative*, *interrogative* or *causal* clauses;—so further in *definite relative* and *temporal* clauses. *E. g.*

οὐ δυνατόν ἐστίν.—ἐλεγεν ὅτι οὐ δυνατόν εἶη (οὐ ἐστίν).—τί οὐκ ἤλθομεν; ἐπεὶ ταῦτ' οὐκ ἐγένετο.—ὅθεν οὐκ ἔστιν ἐξελθεῖν.

So too *P-N* οὐ, *P-N* οὐδέν, *N* δέ' (1798 f., cp. 1820).

1803. For οὐ (*N* δέ') in direct questions see 2046 & 2049.

1804. 3. *A.* Μή stands with the *primary subjunctive* and the *imperative* throughout; also with the independent *secondary subjunctive* when it expresses a *wish* (optative proper 1923-4; cp. 1904). In short, μή stands in all sentences expressing a *direct wish, demand, prohibition, fear, supposition* and the like.

μή ὀργίζου, —μή ὀργίζωμεθα, —μή ὀργισθῇς. μή γ' οἴοιτο ταῦτα. —Μεν. Mon. 366 μή μοι γένοιθ' ἄ βούλομ', ἀλλ' ἄ συμφέρι. Chares 3 *N* μή φθόνει τοῖς εὐτυχούσι, μή δοκῇ εἶναι κακός. Xen. An. 3, 2, 25 δέδοικα μή ἐπιλαθώμεθα τῆς οἰκαδε ὁδοῦ. Pl. Rep. 2, 376 *A* ὃν μὲν ἂν ἴδῃ ἀγνώτα χαλεπαίνει οὐδέν δὲ κακὸν πεπονθώς· ὃν δ' ἂν γινώσκον, ἀσπάζεται, κἂν μὴδὲν πώποτε ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἀγαθὸν πεπονθῇ.

1804<sup>b</sup>. So too in *P-N* (save in the conditional subjunctive, for which see 1808), as *N*: μή γελᾷς, μὴν τρέχωμε', φοβούμαι μή με ἰδῇ.

1805. After expressions of *fear*, a negative clause dependent thereon is rendered by μή οὐ 'lest not,' 'that not,' as: δέδοικα μή οὐ γένηται τοῦτο (1825 f. 1956 ff.).

So too *P-N*<sup>3</sup> μή οὐ, now μή δέν, μὴν πᾶς (μήπως?) καὶ δέν (1957. 2049<sup>b</sup>).

1806. *B.* Μή is used further—

(1) In all *final* clauses, that is to say after ὅπως, ὥς, ἵνα, ' (in order) that,' expressed or understood:

Xen. An. 1, 4, 18 τὰ πλοῖα Ἀβρακόμας κατέκαιεν ἵνα μή Κύρος διαβῇ. Mem. 2, 10, 2 παρακαλεῖς λατροῦς ὅπως μή ἀποθάνῃ. Soph. Ai. 986 οὐ δῆτ' αὐτὸν ἄξεις δεῦρο μή τις ἀναρπάσῃ;

1806<sup>b</sup>. So too *N* μή', μὴν πᾶς (also μήπως?) (2049<sup>b</sup>).

1807. (2) In the *protasis* of purely *conditional* sentences after εἰ, εἰάν, ἂν 'if,' 'whether.'

Eur. Fr. 5 εἰ μή καθέξῃς γλώσσῃσιν ἔσται σοι κακά. Pl. Rep. 473 *D* εἰάν μή ἡ οἱ φιλοσοφοὶ βασιλεύσωσιν ἡ οἱ βασιλεῖς φιλοσοφήσωσιν, οὐκ ἔστι κακῶν ταῦτα ταῖς πόλεσιν. Xen. Mem. 4, 3, 3 φῶς εἰ μή εἴχομεν ὅμοιοι τοῖς τυφλοῖς ἂν ἦμεν.

For *N* see 1808.

1807<sup>b</sup>. But when the condition borders on cause (since), the negation is that required by causal clauses, namely οὐ (1803. 1945, but cp. 1947): [Isocr.], 1 44 μὴ θαυμάσῃς, εἰ πᾶλλὰ τῶν εἰρημένων οὐ πρόπει σοι. Xen. Mem. 2, 3, 9. Th. 1, 121 Dem. 38, 18. Th. 3, 55 εἰ δ' ἀποστήναι τῶν Ἀθηναίων οὐκ ἠθέλησαμεν (= ὅτι δ' οὐκ ἠθέλησαμεν). See RKühner<sup>2</sup> ii. 748f.

1808. However, sometimes we find οὐ also after εἰ purely conditional (RKühner<sup>2</sup> ii. 748), as: Soph. Ai. 1131 εἰ τοὺς θανόντας οὐκ ἔξς θάπτειν (beside πᾶν μηδεὶς ἔξ ib 1184). Isae. 3, 47 οὐδ' ἔάν οὐδὲ μίαν τῶν ψήφων οἱ εἰσαγγέλλοντες μεταλάβωσιν. In P and especially G-B compositions this becomes more and more frequent, even among Atticists, and in NT it already constitutes the rule: 34 times εἰ οὐ against 4 times εἰ μή (and that even with past tenses, as John 15, 22; 24. 18, 30. Acts 26, 32), not counting of course the exceptive εἰμή = *except*. Hence in conditional clauses μή has ultimately disappeared from popular speech in favour of οὐ, οὐδέν, δέν.

Louvre Pap. 2 (before 160 B.C.), 9 (p. 103) εἰ οὐ ἀντίκειται ἀξίωμα καταφατικόν. NT 1 Cor. 11, 6 εἰ γὰρ οὐ κατακαλύπτεται γυνή, καὶ κειράσθω. John 10, 37 εἰ οὐ ποιῶ τὰ ἔργα τοῦ πατρὸς μου μή πιστεύετε μοι· εἰ δὲ ποιῶ, κ.τ.λ. 1 Cor. 15, 13 εἰ ἀνάστασις νεκρῶν οὐκ ἔστιν. 26, 12, and often. Aristid. 13, 286, 304 εἰ δ' οὐκ ἂν φέγοιεν τὴν αἵρεσιν. 29, 568, 24 εἰ Πελοποννήσιοι οὐκ ἀποκνήσουσι. 33, 604, 77 εἰ δ' οὐ μέτρια ἐποίουν, and often (WSchmid ii. 62). Didache 6, 2 εἰ δ' οὐ δύνασαι, δ δύνη τοῦτο ποίει. So further 7, 2. 10, 6 εἰ τις οὐκ ἔστι. 12, 4 εἰ δὲ οὐκ ἔχει τέχνην. ib. 5 εἰ δὲ οὐ θέλει. Barn. 6, 19 εἰ οὖν οὐ γίνεται τοῦτο. Apophth. 141 c ὅταν ἐν εἰρήνῃ τυγχάνῃς καὶ οὐ πολεμῇσαι. Ael.N.A. 109, 29 εἰ τὸ ἐκ τοῦ Διὸς νεῦμα δτελὲς οὔτε πρὸς τὴν Θέτιν ἐγένετο, οὔτε πρὸς ἄλλον τινα γένοιτ' ἂν. Callin. 79, 14 εἰ δὲ οὐ σωφρονεῖς. 114, 17 εἰ δὲ καιρὸς οὐκ ἔστιν. 122, 7. 119, 10 εἰ οὐκ ἔστιν ἀπὸ θεοῦ.

1808<sup>b</sup>. The gradual retreat, during G-B, of μή from the conditional protasis seems to have been occasioned by the need of perspicuity. It will be remembered that by this time the indicative and subjunctive, phonetically considered, had become indistinguishable (779). We shall further see (1918<sup>b</sup> and App. v. 16) that μή with the primary subjunctive had by this time appropriated the work of the prohibitive imperative, so that μή + ind. was confounded with μή + subj. = imprt. that is (εἰ) μή λέγεις was mistaken for μή λέγῃς = μή λέγε. The confusion then of negative supposition with prohibition seems to have led to the substitution for μή of οὐ, οὐδέν, N δέν.

1809. (3) In the protasis of *indefinite* or *conditional temporal* clauses with ἂν 'ever,' expressed or understood.

Pl. Phaed. 65 c τότε κάλλιστα λογίζεται ἡ ψυχὴ ὅταν μηδὲν τούτων αὐτὴν παραλυπῇ, μήτε ἀκοή, μήτε ὄψις μήτε ἀληθῶν μήτε τις ἡδονή. Xen. Cyr. 2, 3, 20 αἰεὶ ὁπότε μὴ ἄλλο τι σπουδαιότερον πράττειεν, ταύτῃ τῇ παιδιᾷ ἐχρῶντο.

1810. (4) In *indefinite* or *conditional relative* clauses ('whoever,' 'any one—'), the nature of which is often made clearer by the presence of ἂν 'ever.'

Pl. Apol. 21 D ἂ μὴ οἶδα οὐδὲ οἶσμαι εἰδέναι. Eur. Iro. Fr. 417 ἐπίσταμαι ὅρᾶν θ' ἂ δέι με, κοῖχ ὁρᾶν ἂ μὴ πρέπει. Th. 3, 89 ἀνθρώπους διέφθειρεν (ἡ θάλασσα) ὅσοι μὴ ἐδύναντο φθῆναι πρὸς τὰ μετέωρα ἀναδραμόντες. Dem. 21, 64 πάντες ἴσμεν Χαβρίαν οὐ προσιόνθ' ὅποι μὴ προσήκεν αὐτῷ.

1811. In conditional and relative clauses the *second* member, if any, is negated by either οὐ or μή.

Pl. Rep. 5, 451 d σκοπῶμεν εἰ πρέπει ἡ οὐ. Rep. 1, 339 a νῦν ἔμαθον δ λέγεις· εἰ δὲ ἀληθὲς ἡ μὴ πειράσομαι μαθεῖν. Xen. Mem. 3, 6, 10 οἶσθα ὁπόσαι τε φυλακαὶ ἐπικairoὶ εἰσι καὶ ὁπόσαι μὴ, καὶ ὁπόσαι τε φρουροὶ ἱκανοὶ εἰσι καὶ ὁπόσοι μὴ εἰσι.

1812. In direct negative *questions*, οὐ (ἄρ' οὐ) is used with the indicative, when the answer anticipated is in the affirmative (*yes*), while μή (ἄρα μή), μή πως or μήπως, μή γάρ, is used when the answer anticipated is in the negative (*no*). (2046.)

Soph. El. 997 οὐκ εἰσορᾷς; 'don't you see?' O. C. 883 ἄρ' οὐχ ὕβρις



ταῦτα; 'is not this insolence?' Ar. Vesp. 457 οὐκ ἐς κόρακας; οὐκ ἄπιτε; Pl. Apol. 28 D μὴ αὐτὸν (τὸν Ἀχιλλέα) οἶε φροντίσαι θανάτου καὶ κινδύνου; Xen. Mem. 4, 2, 10 μὴ ἀρχιτέκτων βούλει γενέσθαι; An. 7, 6, 5 ἄρ' οὐν μὴ καὶ ἡμῖν ἐναντιώσεται ὁ ἀνὴρ; See 1747 ff. & 2046.

1813. So too with the subjunctive: Pl. Rep. 335 C μὴ οὕτω φώμεν; 'shall we not say so?' Dem. 21, 35 ὁ τοιοῦτος μὴ δῶ δίκην; Pl. Rep. 1, 337 B μὴ ἀποκρίνωμαι ὡν προείπες μὴδέν;

1814. *Infinitival participial and adjectival expressions are negated by οὐ or μή according as, in substituting for them a finite verb, οὐ or μή would be required.*

Pl. Apol. 37 A πέπεισμαι ἐκὼν εἶναι μὴδὲνα ἀδικεῖν. Xen. Hell. 4, 4, 5. Dem. 18, 201 ὁ ὑπὲρ τοῦ ταῦτα μὴ γενέσθαι ἀγών. Pl. Prot. 352 D πολλοὺς φασὶ γινώσκοντας τὰ βέλτιστα οὐκ ἐθέλειν πράττειν. Xen. Mem. 4, 2, 39 κινδυνεύω (=δοκῶ) ἀπλῶς οὐδὲν εἶδέναι. [Isocr.] 1, 42 νόμιζε μὴδὲν εἶναι τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων βέλαιον. Xen. An. 4, 5, 11 τῶν στρατιωτῶν οἱ μὴ δυνάμενοι διατελεῖσαι τὴν ὁδὸν ἐνυκτέρευσαν ἄσιτοι καὶ ἄνευ πυρός. Pl. Phaedr. 79 B ἡμεῖς γε τὰ ὁρατὰ καὶ τὰ μὴ τῇ τῶν ἀνθρώπων φύσει ἐλέγομεν. Gorg. 457 C τὸν οὐκ ὀρθῶς χρώμενον τῇ ῥητορικῇ μισεῖ δίκαιον καὶ ἐκβύλλειν καὶ ἀποκτινύναι, ἀλλ' οὔ τὸν διδάξαντα. Xen. An. 2, 6, 26 Μένων τὸν μὴ πανοῦργον τῶν ἀπαιδεύτων ἐνόμizen εἶναι.

1815. This general rule applies strictly only to *A*, though even here οὐ is not rarely replaced by μή, which latter may have been favoured by reasons of euphony (in that it prevented hiatus, especially in the frequent case after the article: ὁ οὐ, τὸ οὐ, etc.). *P* Greek followed a greater licence, and thus we find that, towards the beginning of our era, μὴ had supplanted οὐ before all infinitives, participles and adjectives, irrespective of their nature.

Diod. 3, 18, 5 καθ' ὅλου δ' ἀποφαίνεται μήτε εἰς σύλλογον ἔρχεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλοισιν, μήτε τὸ ξένον τῆς φύσεως τῶν προσπλέοντων κινεῖν τοὺς ἐγχωρίους. So 1, 39, 8 ὁ δὲ συγγραφὴς οὗτος οὐ μόνον ἡμῖν φαίνεται μὴ τὴν φύσιν τῶν κατὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον τόπων, ἀλλὰ μὴδὲ παρὰ τῶν εἰδόντων τὰ κατὰ τὴν χώραν ταύτην πεπισμῆνος. 2, 38, 1 λέγεται κατοικεῖν ἔθνη πολλά, καὶ τούτων μὴδὲν ἔχειν τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς γένεσιν ἐπὶ πλυν, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις μήτε ξενικὴν ἀποικίαν προσδέχεσθαι πώποτε, μήτε εἰς ἄλλο ἔθνος ἀπεσταλκέναι. Plut. Alcib. et Cor. comp. 4, 5 ἀνεχώρησε γὰρ μήτε πεισθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμουμένων μήτε πείσας τοὺς συμπολεμοῦντας. Cīm. 6, 2 προσετίθεντο γὰρ οἱ πλείστοι τῶν συμμάχων ἐκείνῳ τε καὶ Ἀριστοίδῳ τὴν χαλεπότητα τοῦ Πανσανίου καὶ ὑπεροψίαν μὴ φέροντας. Agos. 30, 4 ὁ δὲ μήτε προσθεῖς τι μήτε ἀφελὼν μήτε μεταγράψας εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὸ πλῆθος τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων. Brut. 28, 5 μὴ ναῦν ἐνήρη, μὴ στρατιωτὴν ἕνα, μὴ πόλιν ἔχοντας συνῆλθον εἰς ταῦτό <sup>(1)</sup>.

1816. In the NT infinitives are invariably negated by μή, never by οὐ; and participles mostly (in Callin. always, with one solitary exception, 106, 26 οὐκ εἰδώς) by μή, occasionally (chiefly in cases of antithesis) by οὐ.

Mark 12, 18 λέγοντες μὴ εἶναι ἀνάστασιν. so Matt. 22, 23. Luke 20, 7 ἀπεκρίθησαν μὴ εἶδέναι. so 2, 26. Acts 23, 8; 2 Cor. 11, 5, etc.—Matt. 18, 25 μὴ ἔχοντος αὐτοῦ δοποδοῦναι ἐκέλευσεν, κτλ. 22, 25 μὴ ἔχων σπέρμα ἀφήκεν τὴν γυναῖκα. Acts 12, 19. Ἡρώδης ἐπὶζητήσας καὶ μὴ εὐρὼν ἐκέλευσεν, κτλ. Matt. 22, 12 πῶς ἤλθες ὧδε μὴ ἔχων ἔνδυμα γάμου; 22, 11 εἶδεν ἐκεῖ ἄνθρωπον οὐκ ἐνδεδυμένον ἔνδυμα γάμου.

<sup>(1)</sup> On the whole Plutarch uses in indirect discourse, according to Stegman's statistics, μὴ 314 times as against οὐ 418 times after verbs of saying, thinking, etc. (HANHolden, Plut. Dem. p. 174, i.)

1 Pet. 1, 8 ὃν οὐκ ἰδόντες. 2 Co. 4, 8-9 ἐν παντὶ θλιβόμενοι ἀλλ' οὐ στενοχωρούμενοι, ἀπορούμενοι ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐξαπορούμενοι, διωκόμενοι ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐγκαταλείπομενοι, καταβαλλόμενοι ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀπολλύμενοι [-λύομενοι?]. Luke 13, 11 ἦν μὴ δυναμένη ἀνακίψαι. 1, 20 ἔσθῃ σιωπῶν καὶ μὴ δυνάμενος λαλῆσαι. John 3, 18 ὃ δὲ μὴ πιστεύων ἦδη κέκριται ὅτι μὴ πεπίστευκεν εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ μονογενοῦς υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ. Mart. Pauli 112, 4 ὁ Παῦλος ἦν μὴ σιωπῶν τὸν λόγον. Callin. 80, 9, ἀπηγγόρευσαν ὥς μὴ δυναμένους θεραπείας τυχεῖν. 80, 12 χρώμενος μηδενός ἱατροῦ.

1817. It appears then that, owing to the gradual retreat of οὐ before οὐδέν in popular speech (1797 ff.), μή negatives, in all post-Christian unconventional compositions, every infinitive, even that which, if resolved to a finite mood, would in A require ὅτι or ὥς (1801); it can also negative any participle, not only relative or articular, but also temporal.

1818. With the gradual retreat of the infinitive and participle, the negation appropriated by these verbal nouns attempted to pass over to their analysis (App. vi. & 2169) as well; hence μή now occurs before the indicative also, in cases where formerly only οὐ would have been admitted (hence even after ὅτι, ἐπεὶ, etc.)<sup>[1]</sup>. On the whole, however, its aggression on the indicative met with a successful resistance on the part of the old established οὐ for οὐδέν (δέν, 1798 ff.), and the instances testifying to its intrusion are not of such number and character as to have influenced the ultimate issue.

Jos. Apion. 1, 23 διήμαρτον ὅτι μὴ ταῖς ἱεραῖς ἡμῶν βίβλοις ἐνέτυχον. Cleomed. 37, 11 ὅτι τοῖνυν μὴ ἐστὶ πρὸς ἀνατολῇ. John 3, 18 ὅτι μὴ πεπίστευκεν. Jos. Ant. 14, 4, 4 εἶδον ὅσα μὴ θεμιτὸν ἦν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις. Luc. D. Mort. 21, 2. D. D. 2, 1. ἐπεὶ μή. id. Hist. consor. 3, etc. ὅτι μή, ὥς μή, ib. 29, D. D. 20, 10. Aristid. 1, 36. 10, 115, 122. 34, 648, 132. 46, 157, 194; and elsewhere (WSchmid ii. 60-62). Just. Cohort. 1. Apol. 1, 26 ὅτι μὴ διώκονται. Sext. 12, 16. 113, 12. 8, 1 ἐπεὶ μὴ δυνάμεθα. Clem. A. i. 393 A. Athen. 7, 5 (p. 297 D). Eus. ii. 293 c. Athan. i. 368 c διατὶ μὴ ἀντίστης λιβερίῳ; Cyrill. H. Catech. 7, 9 ὅτι μὴ πάντως . . . καλεῖται. Mart. Petri 100, 16 ὅτι μὴ μετὰ γνώμης αὐτοῦ ἀνῆρτήθῃ. Mal. 476, 16 διατὶ μὴ τοῦτο ἐποιήσατε; Porph. 128, 21 ἀρχοντας, ὥς φασι, ταῦτα τὰ ἐθνη μὴ ἔχει.

1819. On the other hand, οὐ for prohibitive μή is very rare, as : Sept. Ex. 21, 21 ἰδὼν δὲ διαβίωσθ ἡμέραν μίαν ἢ δύο οὐκ ἐκδικηθήτω (contrary to 1804, but due to 1890).

1820. With the gradual loss of the *secondary subjunctive*, then of the *infinitive*, and the *participle*, in which cases A-P used οὐ or μή, according to the nature of the case, the scope of either negative was clearly marked out. Accordingly οὐ (οὐδέν, N δέν) maintained itself absolutely in the indicative (except in 1958; cp. 1805), as well as in the conditional subjunctive (after ἐάν or ἄν), while μή asserted itself as the only legitimate negative in the imperative, then in the prohibitive and final subjunctive (after ἵνα, N νά). The following summary table will illustrate the case :

A-M οὐ κλαίω, G-M οὐδὲν κλαίω, M-N δὲν κλαίω.  
A-B μὴ κλαίε, G-N μὴ (μῆδέν) κλαίης, G-B ἵνα (ὅπως) μὴ (μῆδέν) κλαίης,  
B-N νά μὴ κλαίης.  
A-B εἰ μὴ κλαίεις, G B ἰδὼν μὴ (μῆδέν) κλαίης, B-M ἂν μὴ (μῆδέν) κλαίης or ἂν οὐ (οὐδέν) κλαίης, N ἂν δὲν κλαίης.

(See also dependent clauses 1931-2061.)

<sup>[1]</sup> For the occurrence even in Atticistic compositions of this phenomenon (in which euphony may have played a part, 1815), see also WSchmid i. 50; 99 f.; 245 ff.; ii. 60 ff.; iii. 88-90.—For Antiph. 5, 21 ὅτι μὴ ἐγένετο, see 2032.

1821-1826<sup>b</sup>.] NEGATIVES οὐ AND μή—οὐ μή<ν>.

1821. Nevertheless the former interchange of οὐ and μή is still shown in the *N* compounds *μηδείς, μήτε, μηδέ*, etc., where in either case the forms beginning with *μη-* are even commoner than those beginning with *οὐ-*.

III. Idiomatic use of the Negations.

1822. After expressions of *hindering* it is an invariable rule, and after those of *forbidding, denying, refusing, guarding, desisting*, and the like, it is the usual practice, to negative the supplementing infinitive by *μή*.

Eur. Ion 391 *καλυόμεσθα μὴ μαθεῖν*. Xen. Cyr. 1, 4, 14 *Ἀστυάγης ἀπηγόρευε μηδὲνα βάλλειν*. Dem. 15, 9 *Τιμόθεος Ἀριοσταρξάνει ἀπέγνων μὴ βοηθεῖν*. Xen. Hell. 7, 3, 7 *οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι ἡρνούντο μὴ αὐτοχείρες γενέσθαι, εἰς δὲ ὡμολογῆκει*.—So after *ἀπειπεῖν, ἀπαυδᾶν, ἀντιδικεῖν, ἀντιλέγειν, ἀπειργεῖν, ἀποτρέπεσθαι, ἐναντιοῦσθαι, παύειν*, etc.

So still in *N*: *τὸν ἀπαντῶ νὰ μὴ φύγῃ, δέ σ' ἀμποδίζω νὰ μὴ μιλήσῃ*.

1823. The negatives οὐδεῖς and μηδεῖς with their correlatives are often intensified in two ways:

a. Either by separating their component parts οὐδὲ or μηδὲ and εἰς (οὐδὲ εἰς, μηδὲ εἰς, etc.), an expedient resorted to through all *A-P* times (629 f.);

b. Or by replacing εἰς by an indefinite relative pronoun or adverb, such as *ὅστις, (ὅστισιν), ὅποιος, (ὅποισιν), ὅπότερος, ὅπως*, etc., a practice chiefly resorted to in *P* Greek, as: οὐδ' ὅστισιν, οὐδ' ὅποιος, 'no one whatever,' οὐδ' ὅπότερος = οὐδέτερος, οὐδ' ὅπως = οὐδαμῶς.

[c. The seemingly analogous Biblical combination οὐ . . . *ῥᾶς* for οὐδὲ εἰς, 'not one,' is a Hebraism which never found its way into the common language.]

1824. When two or more *homogeneous* negatives succeed each other, the resulting sense is emphatically negative or emphatically affirmative, according as the second or last negative is a compound or simple word: οὐκ—οὐδεῖς 'no one.' οὐδεῖς—οὐ ('there is no one who is not'), 'every one.'

Eur. Or. 1155 οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδέν κρείσσον ἢ φίλος σαφής. Pl. Phil. 19 B *ἄνευ τοῦτου οὐδεὶς εἰς οὐδέν οὐδενός ἦν ὑμῶν οὐδέποτε γένοιτο ἄξιος*. Xen. Symp. 1, 9 οὐδεὶς οὐκ ἔπασχέ τι 'every man was affected.'

1824<sup>b</sup>. In *N* speech the resultant in either case is negative: *δὲν ἔμεινε κανεὶς* or *κάνεις δὲν ἔμεινε* 'no one remained.'

1825. a. The *heterogeneous* combination *μή οὐ* 'lest not' precedes the subjunctive after verbs of *fearing* (1805. 1956).

Th. 3, 57 *δέδμεν μὴ οὐ βέβαιοι ᾗτε*. Xen. An. 3, 1, 12 *ἐφοβεῖτο . . . μὴ οὐ δύναίτο ἐκ τῆς χώρας ἐξελεῖν*.

So too *P-M* *μή οὐ*, *G-M* *μή οὐδέν*, *N* *μή δέν*. See 1957.

1826. b. *Μή οὐ* 'not to,' instead of simple *μή* is used with the infinitive after expressions either *negative* in themselves, or interrogative but implying a negative answer; also after expressions implying something *not feasible* or something *improper* (cp. 1822).

Pl. Rep. 4, 427 E *ὡς οὐχ ὁσιόν σοι ἐν ἔστι μὴ οὐ βοηθεῖν δικαιοσύνη παντὶ τρόπῳ*. Phaed. 72 D *εἰ ἀληθὴ ταῦτα, τίς μηχανὴ μὴ οὐχὶ πάντα καταναλωθῆναι εἰς τὸ τεθνάναι*; Xen. An. 2, 3, 11 *ὥστε πᾶσιν ἀσχύνην εἶναι μὴ οὐ συσπουδάξεν*. Pl. Symp. 210 B *πολλὰ ἄνοια μὴ οὐχ ἡγεῖσθαι*.

1826<sup>b</sup>. For *μή οὐ* (or *μὴν οὐ*) in direct questions see 2046.

[1827. Οὐ μή 'surely (shall) not,' 'not indeed,' 'of course not,' mostly with the future subjunctive or indicative, but also with the present subjunctive.—The frequent occurrence of this complex in the MSS has greatly taxed the ingenuity of critics, most of whom now hold that it forms an ellipsis (οὐ δέδοικα μή, οὐ δεινόν etc. ἔστι μή), and denotes in some cases an emphatic denial, in others a peremptory prohibition<sup>(1)</sup>. As a matter of fact, μή in this complex stands for μὴν, or rather is a corruption of μὴν. It will be remembered that μὴν expresses a subjective assertion or confident expectation (*surely, sure enough*, German 'wohl'), and so usually refers to a future time (1921). Now just as ἦ μὴν expresses an assertion in the affirmative (*yes indeed*), so οὐ μὴν expresses an assertion in the negative (*no indeed, surely not*). In other words, οὐ μὴν is the negative form of ἦ μὴν. (Hence in the NT οὐ μὴν), or rather οὐμὴν, and δμὴν or rather ἡμὴν [2055] hold the balance, 95 and 77 times respectively.)—That οὐ μὴν is the true reading here appears from the following considerations: (1) μὴ here is inexplicable, and οὐ μὴ cannot be reduced to any principle of the language; (2) the sense requires everywhere an emphatic asseveration in the negative: *surely not, not indeed*, that is οὐ μὴν as actually used elsewhere (as Soph. El. 817; Eur. Hec. 401); (3) the construction is, like that of ἦ μὴν, with a prospective mood (App. iv. 1); (4) the asseverative nature of the case is also shown by the occasional presence of μὰ or πρὸς (as Ar. Av. 508; Eccl. 1000; Eur. Hip. 606); (5) the sentence is continued not by μὴδέ, the correlative of μὴ, but by οὐδέ, δέ, καί (as in Ar. Nub. 296; Ran. 298; Eur. Bacch. 343; Hip. 606), and only then by μὴδέ when the antecedent οὐ introduces a prohibitive future (1890), equivalent to a prohibitive imperative (as Ar. Eccl. 1144); (6) the combination οὐ μὴ seems to be absent from the inscriptions.]

[1828. Regarding the confusion of μὴ and μὴν, we have seen (1700) that most of the prepositive particles had retreated from the living language towards the close of G, one of them being μὴν. The subsequent copiers of our MSS then being no longer familiar with this παραπληρωματικὸς σύνδεσμος and finding it regularly after οὐ, mistook it for another negative intended to strengthen οὐ, and so changed it to the familiar and classical μὴ. See also 2055 & [2].]

## THE TENSES.

1829. As each division of time comprises three different stages (682-5), there are also three representative tenses for each division of time: an effective, durative, and completed tense.

1830. Each tense generally retains its relations of time, grade (present, past, future) and kind (mere occurrence, duration, completion) through all three moods, generally also through both verbal nouns.

## PRESENT.

1831. A. 1. The effective present denotes that something happens or is usually true: γράφω 'I write.'—Dem. 19, 46 οὗτος μὲν ὕδωρ, ἐγὼ δ' οἶνον πίνω. Eur. Frg. 743 ἀρετὴ κὰν τις θάνῃ οὐκ ἀπόλλυται.

So still in N, as: αὐτὸς πίνει νερὸ κ' ἐγὼ κρασί. ἡ καλωσύνη δὲ χάνεται.

1832. Sometimes a general truth, though properly referring to the present, is expressed by the aorist (1852), or even by its equivalent

[<sup>(1)</sup> See on the subject JAHartung ii. 600. WBAumlein Gr. Partik.<sup>2</sup> 308 ff.; JKvicala Ztschr. f. Oest. Gymn. 1856, p. 745-759; BKühner<sup>2</sup> ii. 775 ff.; WGoodwin, p. 389-397; FEThompson, Gr. Syntax, p. 382 ff.]

perfect. This implies that something having proved true in the past is applicable to the present as well.

[Isocr.] 1, 1 τὰς τῶν φαύλων συνηθείας ὀλίγος χρόνος διέλκεν. Xen. Mem. 4, 2, 35 πολλοὶ διὰ ὀξάν μεγάλα κακὰ πεπόνθασι.

So still in *N*, as : ὅποιος δὲ μλεῖ ἐθάψαν τον (1852).

1833. 2. It often stands with adverbial expressions denoting past time, such as *πάλαι* 'long since,' *ἄρτι* or *ἄρτιως* 'just (now),' where in English the progressive perfect would seem to be required (*I have long been looking*) :

Soph. O. T. 1112 πάσαι ζητοῦμεν. Also Pl. Crat. 424 A. 428 D θαυμάζω καὶ αὐτὸς πάλαι τὴν ἑμῶν σοφίαν. Soph. El. 346. Eur. Rh. 322.

1834. 2<sup>b</sup>. In the course of *P* times, especially in *G-B* Greek, this office is performed by (τόσον χρόνον) ἔχω with the present participle (often omitted in case of ὦν, 2108), in *T-N* speech by τόσον καιρὸν ἔχω ἀφ' οὗ (now ὁ]ποῦ) :—(cp. 1845 & 2107 f.).

John 5, 6 γινώσκει πολλὴν ἤδη χρόνον ἔχει (κατακείμενος). Martyr. Polyc. 9 ὁδοήκοντα καὶ ἕξ ἔτη ἔχω δουλεύων. Pallad. 1115 A τεσσαράκοντα ὁκτὼ ἔτη ἔχω ἐν τῇ κέλλᾳ ταύτῃ. Cyrill. A. X. 132 ἡμέρας ἔχω τράκοντα δδεύων. Arophth. 232 A πόσον χρόνον ἔχει μετὰ σοῦ; 393 B ἔχω ἑνδεκα μῆνας ἐν τῷ ὄρει τούτῳ. Leont. Neap. V. J. 82, 15 ὁδοήκοντα ἔτη, ὃ ταπεινὴ ψυχὴ, ἔχεις δουλεύουσα τῷ Χριστῷ. Eus. Alex. 333 A πόσον καιρὸν ἔχει ἀφ' οὗ ἀσθενεῖ (= ἀσθενῶν); 'how long has he been ill?'

*N*: πόσον καιρὸν ἔχεις ὁ]ποῦ εἶσαι ἀρρωστος;

1835. 3. In animated narration a past event is often transferred to the present. This present, which is popular with all languages, is called *historic present*, and applies to *A* and *N* as well.

Th. 1, 91 κελεύει πέμψαι ἄνδρας ἀποστέλλουσιν οὖν καὶ περὶ αὐτῶν ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς κρυφα πέμπει.—Leont. Neap. V. S. 1685 C ὡς οὖν ἦλθε θεωροῦσιν αὐτὸν ἀμφότεροι καὶ ἔπесαν κτλ.

1836. 4. In animated speech it is often used by anticipation for the future (see 1896<sup>b</sup>. App. iv. 2 ff.). This applies particularly to *P-N*.

Th. 6, 91 εἰ ἡ πόλις ληφθήσεται ἔχεται καὶ πᾶσα ἡ Σικελία. Dem. 19, 32 εἰ δὲ φησιν οὗτος, δεῖξάτω καὶ παρασχέτω, κἀγὼ καταβαίνω.—Sept. Gen. 6, 13 ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ καταφθεῖρω [fut. subj. ?] αὐτοὺς καὶ τὴν γῆν. NT Matt. 26, 18 πρὸς σὲ ποιῶ τὸ πάσχα μετὰ τῶν μαθητῶν μου. 1 Cor. 15, 32 αὐριοὶ γὰρ ἀποθνήσκουσιν. Martyr. Polyc. 9 ὁμοσον καὶ ἀπολῶ σε. Hermas Sim. 9, 10, 6 παρτίθεται ὑμῖν τούτων ἕως ἔρχομαι. ib. 11, 1 μένει (or μένει; 893 & [1]) μεθ' ἡμῶν ὡς ἕως ἔρχεται. Mart. Petri 88, 8 πόλιν σταγροῦσαι; Naί, Πέτρε, πάλιν σταγροῦμαι. Mart. Petri et Pauli 134, 19 λάβε τὰ γράμματα καὶ οὕτως γινώσκει. Acta Tho. 16, 18 f. πότε οὖν ὑπάγομεν καὶ βλέπομεν (ubi -ομεν) αὐτό . . . ὅταν τοῦ βίου ἐξέλθῃς βλέπεις αὐτό. Alchem. 306, 12 χρεὶ τὰ πέταλα καὶ ἐκκοματίζεται ὁ χαλκός. 308, 21 τρέβε ἐπὶ ἡμέρας μ' καὶ μετὰ μ' ἡμέρας βάλλεις τὸ ὕδωρ τῶν κρόκαν καὶ τρίβεις ἐπὶ ἄλλας ἡμέρας κ', καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα βάλλεις τὸ φάρμακον εἰς ἀγγεῖον καὶ καίεις αὐτό. Theoph. 182, 23 εἰ μὴ ἡσυχάσητε ἀποκεφαλίζω ὑμᾶς.

1836<sup>b</sup>. This is the only means of expressing the future indicative in South Italian Greek (App. iv. 2<sup>b</sup>).

1837. 5. It often performs the office of verbal adjectives in -τός, and so is to be translated in English by *can* with the infinitive. This usage is resorted to chiefly since *G* times, in particular with οὐ (*cannot*), when the adjectives in -τός were losing their *A* force (1052).

NT Matt. 17, 21 τοῦτο τὸ γένος οὐκ ἐκπορεύεται εἰ μὴ ἐν προσευχῇ καὶ νηστείᾳ. (Cp. Mark 9, 29 τοῦτο τὸ γένος ἐν οὐδενὶ δύναται ἐξελεῖν εἰ μὴ ἐν προσευχῇ καὶ νηστείᾳ.) Hebr. 12, 18. Luc. D. Mort. 2, 1 (i. 336) οὐ φέρομεν, ὦ Πλούτων, Μένιππον τουτουὶ τὸν κύνα παροικούντα.

1838. 5<sup>b</sup>. This mode of supplying the place of ancient adjectives in -τός is naturally absolute in *N*: Prodr. 1, 42 οὐ φέρω γάρ, ὃ δέσποτα, τὴν ταύτης μοχθηρίαν.—Now: αὐτὸ τὸ κρέας δὲν τρώγεται 'this meat is not eatable.'

1839. Peculiar is the practice, in present *N* (chiefly insular) speech, of expressing the above notion in the negative by means of δὲν ἔχω with substantives in -μός (1018 ff.), as: δὲν ἔχει τελειωμόν = ἀτελεύτητός ἐστιν. δὲν ἔχομεν γλυτωμόν 'we cannot be rescued.'

1840. *B*. 6. The durative present denotes that something is going on, or is repeated at the present time (*durative and iterative present*): λαλῶ 'I talk—am talking—keep talking.'

1840<sup>b</sup>. γράφω 'I am writing,' ἄρχω 'I am ruling,' κρούει 'he is knocking'.—So too in *N*: γράφω, περιπατῶ—λαβαίμεν γράμματα.

1841. 7. It sometimes expresses a merely *attempted* ('try to'), but not accomplished action (1848); so especially with δίδωμι, πείθω, κωλύω:

Isocr. 6, 12 ταύτην τὴν δόξαν πείθοσιν ἡμᾶς ἀποβαλεῖν.—John 13, 6 σὺ μου νίπτεται τοὺς πόδας; Matt. 3, 14 ὁ δὲ Ἰωάννης διεκώλυεν αὐτόν.—

So still in *N*: μὲ κάνει νὰ πιστέψω 'he tries to make me believe.'

1842. 8. Owing to the association of the present with the perfect, the former often stands for the latter (1866 f.). This is particularly the case with certain verbs, such as:

ἤκουω 'I hear,' ὀπυνθάνομαι, \*μυνηθάνω 'I am informed,' ἱνικῶ 'am victorious,' ὥττωμαι 'am defeated,' \*κρατῶ 'have prevailed,' \*φεύγω 'am in exile,' ἱδικῶ 'am a wrong-doer'; so always with ἦκω 'am come,' and οἶχομαι 'am gone.' (For the converse case see 1868.)

1843. 8<sup>b</sup>. In *N* only νικῶ ἀκούω and δδικῶ are still used in this sense, all the rest having either become extinct, or changed meaning.

1844. 9. The durative present is sometimes expressed periphrastically, by means of εἰμι and the anarthrous present participle; occasionally also by the effective present followed by ἔχων (2106 f.):

Soph. O. R. 274 τὰδ' ἐστ' ἀρέσκοντα. Ar. Plut. 479 ἐστίν εὖ φρονῶν. Eur. Hec. 1179 εἴ τις εἶρηκεν ἢ νῦν λέγων τις ἐστίν ἢ μέλλει λέγειν. Ar. Ran. 524. 512. So Pl. Gorg. 490 εἰς φλαγαίς ἔχων. 500 οὐ τί ποτ' ἐστίν οὗτος ἐκείνου διαφέρων;

1845. 9<sup>b</sup>. This periphrastic expedient met with increasing popularity in *P* times and became very common especially during *G-B*. Note further that since *H* times the irregular verb εἰμι makes room for the more regular ὑπάρχω (985<sup>o</sup>) (also γίνομαι as Didache 3, 1-8 six times, ἐπίσκομαι, μένω, &c. (937. 2107); and finally that the participle ἔχων is changed to finite ἔχω, while the former present indicative is now turned to participle:

NT 2 Cor. 2, 17 καπηλεύοντες ἐσμέν. Rom. 3, 12 οὐκ ἐστίν ποιῶν χρηστότητα. 2 Cor. 9, 12 ἐστὶ προσαναπληροῦσα. Gal. 4, 24 ἀτινά ἐστιν ἀλληγορούμενα. Col. 1, 6. 2, 23. 3, 1. Jas. 1, 17. 3, 15. Acts 5, 25 εἰσὶν ἐν τῷ λερῷ ἐστῶτες, ἐπὶ πασιν. Cyrill. A. x. 132 β' ἡμέρας ἔχω τριάκοντα ὀδυνῶν. Vita Epiph. 44 οὐ ἐσο καθήμενος. For more examples see 2106 ff.; also 1834.

1845<sup>b</sup>. Owing to the disappearance of the present participle (2164 ff.), this periphrasis is naturally unknown to *N*.

1846. *C*. 10. For the *completed present* see Perfect, 1862-75.

## IMPERFECT.

1847. 1. The *imperfect* is the durative past tense; hence it represents an action as going on or recurring in some past time referred to (*I was walking, —kept walking—I used to walk*):

ἔγραφον 'was writing,' 'used to write.'—Th. 2, 15 ἐπὶ Κίρκπος ἢ Ἀττικὴ κατὰ πόλεις ᾤκειτο καὶ οὐ ἱγνῆσαν βουλευσόμενοι ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ ἕκαστοι ἐπολιτεύοντο καὶ ἐβούλεοντο. Xen. Mem. 1, 1, 4 Σωκράτης ὥσπερ ἐρίγωνσκεν οὕτως ἔλεγεν.

So still in *N*: ἔγραφα. κάθε βράδυ ἐπῆγαινε ἔς τοῦ φίλου του.

1848. 2. Like the present, it often denotes an *attempted* or *proposed* action (1841):

Xen. Cyr. 5, 5, 22 ἐνείθεον αὐτοὺς καὶ οὐς ἐπεισα τούτους ἔχων ἐπορευόμεν. Aeschin. 3, 83 Φίλιππος Ἀλόννησον ἐδίδογ, Δημοσθένης δὲ ἀπηγόρευε μὴ λαμβάνειν.

So still in *N*, as: μου ἔδιδε πολλοὺς παρὰδες νὰ μὴν τονε προδώσω.

1849<sup>b</sup>. Like the durative present, it is sometimes periphrased by means of ἦν and the anarthrous present participle, an alternative which became very popular in *G-B*, but is unknown to *N* (1845 f.):

Soph. Ph. 1219 στείγων ἂν ἦν. Th. 3, 2 μεταπεμπόμενοι ἦσαν. Xen. An. 2, 2, 13 ἦν δυνάμεν. Dem. 19, 75 συμφέρον ἦν τῇ πόλει. Mark 15, 43 ἦν προσδεχόμενος. Acts 8, 28 ἦν ὑποστρέφων καὶ καθήμενος. Call. 59, 15 ἦν γινώσκων. 58, 8. (Cp. 2106 ff.)

1849. 3. The imperfect of εἰμί, and that of impersonal verbs denoting a *duty*, often stands for the present (*ought, should*):—(cp. 1901).

Pl. Phaedr. 230 A δρ' οὐ τῶδε ἦν τὸ δένδρον ἐφ' ὅπερ ἦγες ἡμᾶς; Rep. 474 D ἄλλω ἐπρεπεν λέγειν ἢ λέγειν.

So still in *N*: ἐπρεπε νὰ ντρέπεται.

1850. In all cases where the present has the force of the perfect (1833 f., 1842-5), the imperfect naturally stands for the pluperfect.

## AORIST.

1851. 1. The aorist represents an action as merely brought to pass or effected at a past time (*I did, it came to pass*):

ἔγραψα 'I wrote,' ἐπαύσατο 'he stopped.' Plut. Caes. 50 ἤλθον, εἶδον, ἐνίκησα, νενί, νιδί, νικί.—So still in *N*: ἔγραψα—ἦρθα, εἶδα, ἐνίκησα.

1852. 2. It is often used of general truths applicable to the present, but transferred to the past as a matter of past experience. This aorist is called *empiric* or *gnomic*:—(cp. 1867. 1887).

Dem. 2, 9 ὅταν τις, ὥσπερ οὗτος, ἰσχύσῃ, ἢ πρώτη πρόφασις καὶ μικρὸν πταίσμα ἀπαντα ἀνεχαίτις καὶ διέλγσε. NT 1 Pet. 1, 24 ἐξηράνθη ὁ χορτός, καὶ ἄνθος αὐτοῦ ἐξέπεσεν.

So still in *N*: ὅποιος δὲ μιλεῖ ἐθάψαν τον (1832).

1853. 3. In sundry verbs which in the present denote a *continued state*, the aorist expresses the *inception* or *beginning* of that state (*I got to...*). This is called the *inceptive aorist*:

ἐνόησα 'I fell ill'—νοσῶ 'am ill.' ἐβασίλευσα 'I became king'—βασίλειω 'I am king.' ἐδάκρυσα 'I burst into tears'—δακρύνω 'I weep.' ἤρξα 'I attained power'—ἄρχω 'I rule.' ἰσχυσα 'I grew strong'—

ἰσχύω 'I am strong.' ἐμίσησα 'I conceived a hatred'—μισῶ 'I hate.' ἔσχον 'I got'—ἔχω 'I have.' ἐκοιμήθην 'I went to sleep'—κοιμῶμαι 'I am asleep.' ἠράσθην 'I fell in love'—ἐρῶ 'I love.' ἐσίγησα 'I became silent'—σιγῶ 'I am silent.' ἐκινδύνευσα 'I incurred risk'—κινδυνεύω 'I am in danger.'—Cp. 1895.

So still in *N*: ἀγάπησα 'I got to like'—ἀγαπῶ. ἐμίσησα—μισῶ. ἐκοιμήθησα—κοιμῶμαι, etc.

1853<sup>b</sup>. In ordinary cases all these inceptive aorists have, of course, also their usual (effective) meaning.

1854. For a regular but *P-N* inceptive present see 868-871.

1855. 4. Sometimes it is used, particularly in colloquial speech, for the present or future, to denote a speedy or certain realization of an action. In this way the future is suddenly transferred to the present (1832), and thence to the past:

Ar. Eq. 696 ἥσθην ἀπειλαῖς, ἐρέλασα ψολοκομπταῖς. Eur. Alc. 386 ἀπωλόμην ἐμὲ λείψει. Pl. Gorg. 484 A. Eur. Med. 77 ἀπωλόμεσθ' ἄρ' εἰ κακὸν προσίοισμεν νέων παλαιῶ. NT John 15, 6 ἰὰν μὴ τις μείνῃ ἐν ἐμοί, ἐβλήθη ἔξω.

So still in *N*: ἀνε σε πιάσῃ ἐχάθηκες.

1856. For this aorist, *G-B* writers sometimes substitute its equivalent perfect: NT Rom. 14, 23 ἰὰν φάγῃ κατακρίται.

1857. 5. It often stands for the dependent English pluperfect, particularly in temporal clauses (after ἐπεὶ or ἐπειδὴ 'after,' ὡς 'when,' ἕως (περ), ἕστε, μέχρι or ἄχρι, πρὶν, 'until,' etc.); also in relative clauses (1879):

Th. 1, 102 οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι εὐθὺς ἐπεὶ ἀνεχώρησαν σύμμαχοι ἐγένοντο. Xen. Hell. 1, 1, 3. An. 1, 2, 17 ἐπεὶ ἐσάλπισε, προβαλόμενοι τὰ ὄπλα, ἐπῆσαν. 4, 8, 20 τῶν κηρίων ὅσοι ἔφαγον πάντες ἄφρονες ἐγένοντο. 1, 1, 2 Δαρείος Κύρον μεταπέμπεται ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἥς αὐτὸν σατράπην ἐποίησεν. NT Acts 5, 24 ὡς ἤκουσαν τοὺς λόγους διηπόρουν. 1, 2.

So still regularly in *N*.

1858. 6. Similarly it sometimes stands, particularly in *P-B*, for the perfect, an interchange presumably suggested by the terminal homophony of the two tenses (-α, -ας, -ε, -αμεν, -ατε, 786-800):

Aeschin. 1, 99 τῶν οἰκετῶν οὐδένα κατέλιπεν ἀλλ' ἅπαντας πέπρακεν. CIA ii. 567, 4 (B. C. 285) ἐπειδὴ οἱ βουλευταὶ . . . καλῶς καὶ δικαίως ἐβούλευσαν (beside ib. 114 A 11 [B. C. 343] ἐπειδὴ φανόδημος . . . καλῶς καὶ φιλοτιμῶς καὶ ἀδωροδοκῆτως βεβούλευκεν). NT Matt. 3, 17 & 17, 5 οὗτος ἐστὶν ὁ υἱὸς μου ὁ ἀγαπητός ἐν ᾧ ἠδόκησα. Hebr. 8, 1. So John 15, 8; Mark 15, 44, etc.

So always in *N* which has discarded the perfect (740. 1861. 1875).

1859. 1. In *A* this is common in epistolary compositions (1867) as: Th. 1, 129 μετ' Ἀρταβάδου δυνσοὶ ἐπεμψα πράσσε. So particularly with ἔγραφα.

1860. 2. In this case *N* agrees with modern languages and so uses the present.

1861. 7. In *A-H* composition the use of the aorist for the perfect is, on the whole, uncommon. Likewise in *G-T* times when the affinity between aorist and perfect reached the point of almost synonymy, it was rather the perfect that prevailed and partly replaced the aorist than conversely (1875). On the other hand, when phonetic dissimilation began to tell on the reduplication (736), the perfect could no longer hold its own and retreated before the aorist (740). As a consequence, the perfect has become extinct in *N*, its place, in some cases also its endings, having been appropriated by the aorist (1875).



## PERFECT.

**1862.** 1. The perfect denotes an action as already accomplished for the present time and thus standing complete or still remaining in its consequences. Hence it is the past tense pre-eminently suitable for ordinary conversation: γέγραφα 'I have written.' ἐλήλυθα 'I am come.'

So too in *P-B*; for *N* see 688. 1842. 1861. 1875. 2139 f.

**1863.** 2. Owing to its inherent force, the perfect, while fully retaining its proper signification, stands between the effective present and the effective past (aorist), bordering on either side. Its contact with the present receives full expression in the following three facts.

**1864.** *a.* It is frequently periphrased by the present of εἰμι (ἰπάρχω, etc. 687. 1845. 2106 f.) with the perfect participle active, or by the present of ἔχω with the aorist or perfect participle active (2106 ff.):

Dem. 21, 104 ἐγὼ τὸ πᾶν εἰμι τοῦτο δεδρακώς. Soph. O. T. 701 οἶα μοι βεβουλευκώς ἔχει. For more examples see 2106 f.

**1865.** Also *N* uses εἶμαι (= εἰμι) and ἔχω for the periphrastic perfect, but, with the exception of South Italian Greek (822 f.), it generally substitutes for the active participle of the ancients now extinct (2164-70), the passive participle in the spirit of the Romanic and other modern languages (2139 f. App. iv. 17):

εἶμαι πεσμένος (= *A* πεπτωκώς εἰμι), ἔχω γραμμένο (= *A* γέγραφα or ἔχω γράψας).

**1866.** *b.* It sometimes stands simply for the present (1842):—

Pl. Prot. 328 β ἐπειδὴν τις παρ' ἐμοῦ μάθῃ, ἔαν μὲν βούληται ἀπολέδωκεν δ' ἐγὼ πράττωμαι ἀργύριον· ἔαν δὲ μὴ ἔλθῃν εἰς ἱερὸν ὁμῶσαι, ὅσου ἂν φῇ ἀξία εἶναι τὰ μαθήματα, τοσούτον κατέθηκεν.—John 20, 29 ὅτι ἐώρακάς με πεπίστευκας; 1 Tim. 6, 17 τοῖς πλουσίοις ἐν τῷ νῦν αἰῶνι παράγγελλε μὴ ὑψηλὰ φρονεῖν μηδὲ ἡλπικέναι ἐπὶ πλούτου ἀδηλόγητι. 2 Cor. 1, 10; Jude 6.

**1867.** This is also the case in general truths (*empiric* or *gnomic* perfect), and in epistolary compositions:—(cp. 1852. 1859. 1887).

Xen. Mem. 4, 2, 35 πολλὰ διὰ δόξαν καὶ πολιτικὴν δύναμιν μεγάλα κατὰ πεπόνθασιν. [Isocr.] 1, 2 ἀπέσταλκά σοι τοῦτον τὸν λόγον.

**1867<sup>b</sup>.** So too in *P-B* Greek, as: Apophth. 345 c ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ ὑποκίπτε (write -η) ἄνθρωπος σφάλματι καὶ εἴπῃ 'Ἡμᾶρτον, πάντα πέπαγται.

**1868.** *C.* In many cases the perfect has crystallized to a mere present, and that since *A*. (For the converse case see 1842.)

μύμνημαι 'remember'  
κέκλημαι 'am called'  
ἡμφίεσμαι 'have on'  
κέκτημαι 'possess'  
δέδοικα (δέδια) 'fear'  
εἰώθα 'am accustomed'  
γέγονα 'have become,' 'am'  
τέθνηκα 'am dead'

πέποιθα 'rely on'  
πέφυκα 'am by nature'  
ἔστηκα 'stand'  
βέβηκα 'stand'  
ἔγνωκα 'know'  
ἐγρήγορα 'am awake'  
οἶδα 'know'  
ἀπ-όλωλα 'am lost'

1869. In all these verbs the pluperfect has naturally assumed the force of the imperfect: *ἐκεκήμεν* 'possessed,' *ἑστῆκη* 'was standing,'—while the future perfect has become equivalent to the simple or effective future: *ἐστήξω* 'shall be standing,' *μνησσομαι* 'shall remember.' (Cp. 1878.)

1870. 3. On the other hand the perfect sometimes stands for the aorist, even in *A* :

Th. 1, 21 *οὕτε ὡς ποιηταὶ ὕμνήκασι* . . . *οὕτε ὡς λογογράφοι ζυνέθεσαν*. Dem. 7, 29 *τὴν χάραν ἣν οἱ Ἕλληνες καὶ βασιλεὺς ὁ Περσῶν ἐψηφίσαντο καὶ ὠμολογήκασιν ὑμετέραν εἶναι*.

1871. 3<sup>b</sup>. This usage, which proceeds from the natural suitability of the perfect for everyday talk (1862 f.), is more extensively represented in the less elaborate class of *P* compositions :

Polyb. <sup>[1]</sup> 3, 1, 2 *ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ βύβλῃ δεδηλώκαμεν ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὰς αἰτίας ἐν αὐτῇ ἐκείνῃ διεσαφίσκαμεν*. So 4, 28, 3, and elsewhere. Diod. 16, 1, 6 *ῥέγονε γὰρ ὁ βασιλεὺς οὗτος ἀγχινοῖα στρατηγικῇ καὶ ἀνδρείᾳ καὶ λαμπρότητι ψυχῆς διαφέρων*. ib. 11, 15 *ἔδοξεν οὖν αὐτοῖς πάντας τοὺς ὑφ' ἡγεμονίας τεταγμένους συνεδρεῦσαι καὶ βουλευσασθαι κατὰ τοίους τόπους συμφέροι πεποίησθαι τὴν ναυμαχίαν*. Strab. 2, 5, 35 *ἐφ' ἧς ἡ τῶν ἐλεφάντων ῥέγονε θήρα*. Dio i. 203, 24 *ὅσα λελύπται*. ii. 49, 8 *πολλάκις δὲ καὶ ἐάλωκε*.

1872. 3<sup>c</sup>. But the full development of this usage is manifested during the latter part of *G* when, in historical narration, the colloquial perfect freely took the place of the aorist (1861), as is shown in the preceding and following examples, taken from among numerous others:—

Sept. Ex. 32, 1 *καὶ ἰδὼν ὁ λαὸς ὅτι κεχρόνικε Μωϋσῆς καταβῆναι ἐκ τοῦ ὄρους, ἀνέστη ὁ λαὸς ἐπὶ Ἀαρών*. NT Matt. 13, 46 *ἀπελθὼν πέπρακε πάντα ὅσα εἶχε καὶ ἡγόρασεν αὐτόν*. Hebr. 11, 17. Cp. John 4, 6, 6, 3, 6, 9. Hermas Vis. 1, 1 *ὁ θρήνης με πέπρακεν με ῥόδη τινὶ ἐς Ῥώμην*,—and so on in all post-Christian compositions, in particular Biblical imitations, as: Acta Tho. 2, 13, 11, 40. 18, 3. 31, 23. 34, 13. 41, 13. 44, 15. 52, 27. 57, 3. 65, 30; 31. 76, 20. 77, 11. 78, 27. 93, 35. 94, 37.

1873. To what extent the process had extended, may be seen from the fact that the colloquial perfect is now freely admitted, even in *potential* clauses with *άν* (see *Κκόντος* in *Σωκρ.* i. 317 ff.).

Rhet. Wals. i. 453, 29 *οὐκ ἂν Ἀχιλλεὺς ἐς τοσούτον προελήλυθε τέχνης μὴ Κενταύρου μαθών*. ii. 626, 8. Gal. ix. 607 *εἰ τοιοῦτον τι σημείον . . . εἶχον τῶν μελλόντων ἵσσεσθαι βεβαίως δηλωτικόν, οὐτ' ἂν αὐτὸς ὁ Ἰπποκράτης εἰρήκε μακρὰν τέχνην, οὐτ' ἂν οἱ νῦν θαύμαζον*. Orig. iii. 89 *ἢ οὐδ' αὐτοὶ ἐπιβεβλήκαμεν ἂν ἐπὶ τῶν Ἑβραίων τις ἐπιδίδωκεν ἡμῖν τὰ κατὰ τὸν τόπον οὕτως ἔχοντα*. viii. 98 *οὐ γὰρ ἂν εἴρηται περὶ τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ ὅτι ἐπεκράτησεν αὐτῶν ὁ λιμός*. iii. 23. x. 8. Origen. iii. 253 *ὅλος ἐξ ἀμφοῖν μάλιστα ῥέγονεν ἂν*. Euseb. H. Eccl. 3, 26 *ῥέγονεν ἂν*. Schol. Od. γ 255 *ῥεγόνασιν ἂν*. Schol. Eur. iii. 129, 29 (G.Dindorf). Schol. Luc. 156 (Jacob.) *τίνας καὶ πέπεικεν ἂν παρασχεῖν ἑαυτοὺς περιουθευομένους*; Euseb. 425, 4 *περιῤῥέγονεν ἂν*. 1047, 9 *οὐκ ἂν πέπονθεν*. 1451, 28; 1622, 24. Zon. H. 5, 26 *πέπραχεν ἂν*. 10, 19 *ἐν αὐτῷ ἂν καταλειφθεῖς κекиндγνεуκεν*. 11, 22; 15, 13; 16, 17. Christ. pat. 19 *οὐδ' ἂν γένος τ' ὄλωλεν ἀνθρώπων ἄνθρωπον*.

1874. 3<sup>d</sup>. As a matter of fact, even professed grammarians and zealous Atticists, like Ammonius Hesychios and others, had lost consciousness of

[1] J8tich 170 'sed, quod gravius est, ita frequentat perfectum Polybius, ut proxime accedat ad vim aoristi.'

the difference between the aorist and perfect (or rather of the true force of the perfect), and so blundered in their doctrines (cp. WSchmid i. 95; ii. 52; iii. 75):

Αμμον. ἀπέθανε καὶ τέθηκε διαφέρει· ἀπέθανε μὲν νῦν, τέθηκε δὲ πάλαι, ὡς περιπατήσε μὲν ὁ δεῖνα σήμερον, περιπατήθηκε δὲ πάλαι. Schol. Eur. Med. 33 ἀτιμάσας ἔχει· Ἀττικῶς ἀντὶ τοῦ ἡτίμησε. Hesych. ἀγνόχα· ἤνεγκα. ἀγνόχῳ· κομισάντων, ἐνεγκόντων. ἀνεπεποιμήνης· ἀναζυμωθείσης, ἀναεφωραμένης. ἀναπεπτωκῶς· ἀναπεσών. ἀναπεφοίτηκεν· ἀνήλθεν. ἀνατέταλκεν· ἀνέτειλεν. ἀνηρήμεθα· ἡρατήθημεν. ἀπηγμένων· κρατηθέντων, ἀποφερομένων. ἀπηληγκότες· ἀναίσθητοι γενόμενοι. ἀποκαμόντες. ἀπῆρκεν· ἀπεδήμησεν. ἀποτετινάκται· ἀπέρριψεν. ἀπώσμαι· ὤθησα. ἀφεστικῶς· μακρυνθείς. Βεβίωκα· ἔζησα. δεδεκῶς· δῆσας. δέδυκεν· ὑπείσθηλεν. ἐκκέκρυφεν· ἀνωρώθη, —and so on passim.

1875. 3°. The preceding specimens and testimonies, taken in conjunction with previous cases of interchange (740. 786. 1855), show that ever since *H* times, the perfect and aorist have been associated and concurrently used in the common language with a steady spread of the colloquial perfect. Nevertheless, it was only during *T* that the perfect gained a decided ascendancy over its associate and competitor, and would probably have resulted in absorbing and extinguishing it, were it not for the interposition of a third factor which reversed the process. This was the principle of phonetic dissimilation which, having advanced so far in other directions, now attacked the reduplication wholesale (736 f.), and consequently reduced the perfect to an aorist-like form. The fusion of the two tenses thus effected accounts for a double phenomenon in *N*: on the one hand the perfect has become extinct, and on the other the aorist exhibits, in a number of cases, the ending of the perfect, as: ἀν-ίβηκα, (ικατέβηκα ἐμπήκα), ἔθεκα (for ἔθηκα, cp. Kühner-Blass ii. 201), and dialectally ἔτωκα, ἔτωακα, ἔφτωκα (ἔφθακα), ἔζηκα, ἔγνωκα, ἔποκα & ἔποϊκα (from πεποιήκα), ἔσάπηκα, ἔζυμωκα, ἔφτειακα (ἔθθειακα), ἔσπούδακα, etc. (cp. καταγεγραμμέναι Louvre Pap. 21 [†612], 19).—It is now obvious that all these *N* representatives are rather remains of the former perfect than recent formations due to the analogy of ἔδωκα and ὄφηκα, seeing that even these very forms may be traced back to δέδωκα and ἀφείκα (from ἀφίω or ἀφείω 960). Cp. 2139 f.

#### PLUPERFECT.

1876. 1. The *pluperfect* denotes that something had taken place previous to a given past time (I *had* heard, I *had* been heard): ἐγγράφειν 'I had written,' ἐπεπαιδύμην 'I had been educated.'

1<sup>b</sup>. For the *N* pluperfect see 1877<sup>b</sup> and 1880.

1877. 2. It is often periphrased by the imperfect of εἰμι or ἔχω and the perfect or aorist participle (1864. 2106 ff.).

Isocr. 12, 19 διαπαζαμένη ἦν. Soph. Ph. 600 εἶχον ᾗθι ἐκβεβληκότες. For further *A-B* examples see 2106 f.

1877<sup>b</sup>. 2<sup>b</sup>. So usually in *G-B* unscholastic compositions, and always in *N*, as: Acta Tho. 13, 27 οὖον ἦν καταλύσας.—*N*: εἶχα γραμμένα or -ο, ἦτονε φτασμένους, and in South Italian *N* εἶχα γράψοντα, ἦτονε φτασμένους or εἶχα φτάσσοντα.

1878. 1. The *pluperfect* has naturally the meaning of the mere imperfect, whenever the perfect stands for the present (1868 f.): ᾗδειν 'I knew,' ἐτεθῆκει 'he was dead,' εἰστήκει 'he stood.'

1879. 2. For the English pluperfect in temporal and relative clauses Greek generally uses the aorist (1857. cp. 1902).

1880. 3. For obvious reasons the disappearance of the pluperfect has preceded that of the perfect. In effect, the less learned compositions of *T* point to its almost total absence from the then current speech.

## FUTURE.

1881. The *future* is nothing else than the present transferred to a time to come. Hence we have an *effective* future, a *durative* future, and a *completed* future or *future perfect*.

1882. It has been already explained elsewhere (684-9) that though the Greek language has not developed separate forms for the effective and durative future respectively, in the case of the *passive* voice *A* discriminated, in many cases at least, the effective from the durative future by means of special representatives (689). Thus the future passive proper served as the normal effective future passive, while the so-called middle future has been specialized to express the durative future passive. This discrimination, though it does not appear systematically carried out (a circumstance due also to the insufficiency of the material available), is unmistakable in a large number of verbs, among which the following are the principal.

## FUTURE PASSIVE.

<i>Effective.</i>	<i>Durative.</i>	<i>Effective.</i>	<i>Durative.</i>
ἀχθήσομαι	ἄξομαι	λυπηθήσομαι P	λυπήσομαι
ἀδικηθήσομαι P	ἀδικήσομαι	μαρτυρηθήσομαι	μαρτυρήσομαι
αἰδεσθήσομαι P	αἰδέσομαι	μαστιγωθήσομαι P	μαστιγώσομαι
αἰσχυνθήσομαι	αἰσχυνοῦμαι	οἰκηθήσομαι ?	οἰκήσομαι
ἀνοικήσομαι	ἀνοίξομαι	ὀργισθήσομαι	ὀργιῶμαι
ἀπ-ἀρνηθήσομαι	ἀρνήσομαι	ὀρμηθήσομαι	ὀρμήσομαι
αὐξηθήσομαι	αὐξήσομαι	παιδευθήσομαι	παιδεύσομαι
ἀφαιρεθήσομαι	ἀφαιρήσομαι	πείσθηςομαι	πείσομαι
ἀχθεσθήσομαι	ἀχθέσομαι	περαιωθήσομαι	περαιώσομαι
βλαβήσομαι	βλάβωμαι	πλανηθήσομαι	πλανήσομαι
διαλεχθήσομαι	διαλέξομαι	πορευθήσομαι	πορεύσομαι
ἐνθυμηθήσομαι	ἐνθυμήσομαι	προθυμηθήσομαι	προθυμήσομαι
ἐπιμεληθήσομαι P	ἐπιμελήσομαι	στερηθήσομαι P	στερήσομαι
ἐστιαθήσομαι P	ἐστιάσομαι	ταραχθήσομαι P	ταράξομαι
εὐφρανθήσομαι	εὐφρανῶμαι	τηρηθήσομαι P	τηρήσομαι
σχεθήσομαι P	ξέσομαι	τιμηθήσομαι	τιμήσομαι
ζημιωθήσομαι	ζημιώσομαι	τραφήσομαι	θρέψομαι
ἡττηθήσομαι	ἡττηθήσομαι	φανήσομαι	φανῶμαι
θεραπευθήσομαι	θεραπεύσομαι	φοβηθήσομαι	φοβήσομαι
κινήσομαι	κινήσομαι	φθαρήσομαι	φθεροῦμαι
κατα-λείψωμαι	κατα-λείψομαι	φυλαχθήσομαι P	φυλάξομαι
κοιμηθήσομαι P	κοιμηθήσομαι	ψευσθήσομαι	ψεύσομαι
καλυνθήσομαι P	καλυνθήσομαι	ὠφελήσομαι	ὠφελήσομαι

1882<sup>b</sup>. Compare further: ἀρχθήσομαι P & ἀρξομαι, ἀνιανθήσομαι P & ἀνιάσομαι, ἱλασώθησομαι & ἱλασώσομαι, νεμηθήσομαι P & διανεμήσομαι, πολιορκηθήσομαι & πολιορκήσομαι, πολεμηθήσομαι & πολεμήσομαι, στρεβλωθήσομαι & στρεβλώσομαι, τριφθήσομαι P & τρήσομαι, σφαλθήσομαι & σφαλῶμαι, etc. etc.

1883. But the above discrimination of the effective from the durative future passive by means of separate simple forms is a development

peculiar to *A* (both poetry and prose). In *H*, and particularly in *G*, times, when the middle future had already signally retreated from the living language (1478-86), such a distinction was not practicable, and recourse was had to the expedient of periphrasis by means of *ἔσομαι* and the present participle for the durative future: *ἔσομαι λυπούμενος* for *λυπήσομαι*, *ἔσομαι τιμώμενος* for *τιμήσομαι*, and so on. This expedient which had been familiar even to *A* writers not only through the future perfect (1884. 1897), but also through the durative future (764. 1884. 1892; cp. 1844-5), was soon extended to the effective future also (*ἔσομαι* with the aorist participle, 1892<sup>b</sup>) and so contributed to the subsequent wholesale retreat of the future (1478-86. App. iv.).

1884. Similar but far earlier still and more effective has been the process in the case of the *future perfect* (*futurum exactum*). In the *active* voice this tense had been even in early antiquity periphrased by means of *ἔσομαι* and the participle perfect (*ἔσομαι πεποικώς*, *γεγραφώς*, *λελυκώς*), the only exception being the case of three *intransitive* verbs: *ἐστήξω* 'shall be standing,' *τεθνήξω* 'shall be dead,' and *κεχαρήσω* 'shall have rejoiced.'—On the other hand, the *passive* voice in *A* was expressed usually by a simple (reduplicated) form, but not rarely also by a periphrasis through *ἔσομαι* and the participle perfect passive: *λελύσεται*, *πεπράξεται*, *λελείψεται*, *εἰρήσεται*, *κεκοσμήσεται*—*ἔσονται ἐψευσμένοι*, *διεφθαρμένοι*. Dem. 4, 50 τὰ δέοντα ἐσόμεθα ἐγνωκότες καὶ λόγων ματαίων ἀπηλλαγμένοι.

1885. Also the simple future perfect is a characteristic feature of *A* and Atticistic Greek (689. 1897), and may be considered as having become extinct in early *P* times<sup>[1]</sup>, since its shorter form, the simple future middle, disappeared as early as *G* times (1478-86).

### EFFECTIVE FUTURE.

1886. 1. The *effective future* denotes that something will simply take place at a time to come: *γράψω* 'shall write (once),' *σωθήσομαι* 'shall be saved.'

*A* γελάσεται, *P* γελάσει, *G-T* γελάσῃ (ἦν), *G-B* ἔχει γελάσαι, *T-B* ἵνα γελάσῃ, *B-N* νὰ γελάσῃ (θέλει γελάσειν), *M-N* θεὶ νὰ (θενὰ) γελάσῃ, *M-N* θὰ γελάσῃ.

1886<sup>b</sup>. For the *P-N* form and history of the effective future see App. iv.

1887. 2. It can be used as an *empiric* or *gnomic* future (1852. 1867): Men. Mon. 45 ἀνὴρ ὁ φεύγων καὶ πάλιν μαχίσκεται.

So too in *N*, as: ὅποιος χάσῃ θὰ πλερώσῃ.

1888. 3. It is sometimes used in questions of doubt, where otherwise the interrogative subjunctive would be more appropriate (1909; cp. 2040).

Eur. El. 967 τί δῆτα δρώμεν; μητέρ' ἢ φονεύσομεν; Pl. Rep. 397 D τί οὖν ποιήσομεν; πότερον εἰς τὴν πόλιν πάντας τούτους παραδεξομεθα;

So too in *N*: τί θὰ κάμωμεν; τί θὰ γενοῦμεν;

[<sup>1</sup>] Compare Moeris 268 πεπαύσομαι 'Ἀττικῶς, παύσομαι 'Ἑλληνικῶς. 269 πεπράσομαι πεπράσῃ πεπράσεται 'Ἀττικῶς, πρᾶθῃσμαι πρᾶθῃσῃ πρᾶθήσεται 'Ἑλληνικῶς.

1889. It often stands, by way of modesty, in the place of a less assertive present, as:

Th. 5, 26, 2 *καὶ τὴν διὰ μέσου ξύμβασιν εἰ τις μὴ ἀξιώσει πόλεμον νομίζειν, οὐκ ὀρθῶς δικαιώσει.* ISOCT. 8, 106 *εἰρήσετε τοὺς πλείστους τῶν ἀνθρώπων περὶ τὰς αἰρέσεις τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀμαρτάνοντας.* Dem. 19, 1 *δεήσομαι δὲ πάντων ἡμῶν . . . μηδεμίαν μῆτε χάριν μὴτ' ἀνδρα περὶ πλείονος ποιεῖσθαι ἢ τὸ δίκαιον.* Pl. Rep. 376 ο φιλόσοφος δὴ ἡμῶν τὴν φύσιν ἔσται ὁ μέλλων καλὸς κάγαθός ἐσσεσθαι φύλαξ [τῆς] πόλεως.

πραχμάτων  
5-

1889<sup>b</sup>. So frequently with *βουλήσομαι* (ἐ)θελήσω, αἰτήσομαι, δεήσομαι. So too in *N*: *θά σε παρακαλέσω* (instead of *σε παρακαλῶ*) *νά μου κάμης μὰ χάρι* 'I beg to ask a favour of you.'

1890. 4. The 2nd person often expresses a peremptory or absolute *command*, when the speaker feels certain that his order will be carried out: *you must*.

Ar. Nub. 1352 *πάντως δὲ τοῦτο δράσεις.* Eur. Med. 1320 *χειρὶ δ' οὐ παύσεις ποτε.* Ar. Vesp. 397 *τί ποιεῖς; οὐ μὴ(ν) καταβίσεις.*—For *G-B* compare the ten commandments and *Didache* 2-4. Barn. 19, 2-8. *Hermas* Vis. 2, 1, 3 *λάβε καὶ ἀποδώσεις μοι.*

So still in *N*: *θά γάρ σε νά τον πῆς.* *θά με περιμένῃς ἔδῳ.*

1891. 5. This is more frequent in interrogations, particularly negative, as: *Soph. O. T.* 1146 *οὐ σιωπήσας ἔχει;* Ar. Vesp. 397 *τί ποιεῖς; οὐ μὴ(ν) καταβίσεις;* Pl. Symp. init. *οὐ περιμένεις;* Gorg. 466 *Ε οὐκοῦν ἀποδείξεις τοὺς ῥήτορας νοῦν ἔχοντας;*

So too in *N*: *θα δὲ σιωπάς;* *θα δὲ ἡσυχάζας;* *θα δὲ με ξεφορτωθῇτε;*

1892. 6. It is sometimes periphrased by means of *ἔσομαι* and the aorist participle (1883. 2106 ff.):

*Soph. O. C.* 816 *ληπθεὶς ἔσει.* *O. T.* 1146 *οὐ σιωπήσας ἔσει;*

1892<sup>b</sup>. 6. So too in *P* (1883. 2106),—beside occasional *ἔσομαι* with infinitive (App. vi. 17), as: *Sept. Num.* 10, 2 *ἔσονται ἀνακαλῆιν.*

1893. 7. Another circumlocution coming near, but not equivalent to, the effective future is formed by means of *μέλλω* 'am about,' 'propose,' and the future (rarely aorist) infinitive (2086<sup>b</sup>. App. iv. 4). In this way—*μέλλω εἰπεῖν* = 'I propose to say' (but may be prevented).—*ἔρῳ* or *ἔσομαι εἰπὼν* = 'I shall say' (App. iv. 4; cp. 1896).

Pl. Apol. 21 *μελλῶ ὑμᾶς διδάξειν ὅθεν μοι ἡ διαβολὴ γέγονε.* Rep. 412 *οὐκοῦν δεήσει τοῦ τοιοῦτου τινὸς εἰ ἐπιστάτου, εἰ μέλλει ἡ πολιτεία σφίζεσθαι.*

1894. 7<sup>b</sup>. Analogous circumlocutions are formed in *G-B* by means of such verbs as include in themselves the inception of future: *δύναμαι*—*χρῆ, πρότει, δεῖ*, etc. (cp. also *ἔλμι*)—in particular *μέλλω, θέλω, βούλομαι, ὀφείλω* (2086<sup>b</sup> f. App. vi. 4), and above all the Latinism *ἔχω* with the infinitive (App. iv. 6 ff.).

Clement. 1, 4 *χεῖρον ἔχω παθεῖν.* 1, 12 *περὶ τούτου μαθεῖν ἔχεις, et passim.* Ignat. ad Rom. 2 *ἐὰν σιωπήσῃτε κρείττονι ἔργῳ ἔχετε ἐπιγραφῆναι.* *Hermas* Sim. 9, 10 *μικρὸν ἔχω ἀναπαύσθηναι.* *Macar.* 561 *β οὐκ ᾔδεις ὅτι γυλῶφθῆναι ἔχεις καὶ ἀποθανεῖν.* *Epiph.* i. 736 *β ἐλέγξαι σε ἔχω.* *Apophth.* 96 *α ταχέως ἔχει τὸ σῶμα σου ἀσθενεῖν.* *J Moschos* 2865 *β βλέπε πόσους κόπους θέλεις ἀπολέσαι.* *Leont.* Neap. V. S. 1685 *ο αἶριον θέλομεν ἐκδικῆσαι ὑμᾶς.* *Chiron.* 721, 20 *ἔχετε γενέσθαι.* *Theoph.* 127, 23 *ἡ Ἰλλος ἔχει εἶναι εἰς τὸ παλάτιον ἢ ἐγώ,*—so even *ἔχω ἔχειν* for *ἔξω*, as: *Porph. Adm.* 201, 5 & 218, 8 *ἔχειν ἔχομεν.*

1894<sup>b</sup>. 7<sup>b</sup>. For *N* see App. iv. 6 f. and cp. Span. 101 *ἔχεις δὲ καὶ συνειδησὶν ὅπου σὲ θέλει ἐλέγχειν.* *Prodr.* 4, 514 *καὶ τότε θέλω νά σε ἰδῶ τὸ πῶς τον θέλεις κύρειν.*

## DURATIVE FUTURE.

1895. 8. Morphologically considered, the *durative future* is, with considerable exceptions (1882), identical with the effective future, but syntactically denotes that something will go on, recur, or be repeated at some time to come (*shall be working*):

ἔξω 'shall have' (also effect. 'shall obtain'), ἀρξω 'shall be a ruler' (also effect. 'shall obtain power'). (Cp. 1853.)

εἰ τοῦτο ποιήσομεν ῥαδίως τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἔξομεν ὅσον χρόνον ἐν τῇ πολέμῳ ἐσόμεθα.—Xen. Mem. 2, 1, 17 τί διαφέρουσι τῶν ἐξ ἀνάγκης κακοπαθούτων, εἴγε πεινήσοις καὶ διψήσοις καὶ ριγήσοις καὶ ἀγγρηνησοίς; Ar. Av. 759 αἶρε πλῆκτρον εἰ μαχεῖ.

1896. 8<sup>b</sup>. For the sake of distinctness and perspicuity, it is often periphrased by means of ἔσομαι or μέλλω (cp. 1893) and the *present* participle (1883 f. 2106 f.), since *G* times also by one of the other auxiliary verbs (1893 f.) θέλω, βούλομαι, ὀφείλω, and above all ἔχω, with the *present* infinitive (App. iv. 4 & 6):

Pl. Phil. 324 ε ἐπερ μέλλει πῶλις εἶναι. ib. 30 μέλλω λέγειν different from μέλλω ἔρεῖν (1893). NT Matt. 24, 9 ἔσσεθε μισοῦμενοι. Luke 1, 20 ἔσῃ σιωπῶν καὶ μὴ δυνάμενος λαλῆσαι. Clement. 1, 17 σοὶ μὲν ἐτοίμως ἔχω σκυοδεγεῖν. Vita Epiph. 41 c καὶ ἔσῃ προσέχων. ib. d καὶ ἔσῃ φρογρογμένος, εὐφραϊνόμενος. 44 v f. ἔσομαι κρατῶν, ἔσῃ ἐχθραίνων, et passim. Damasc. ii. 325 A θέλεις λέγειν ὅτι ἐγὼ χειροποιήτα οὐ προσκυνῶ. Mal. 97, 8 γράμματα ὀφείλοντα πείσαι.

For *N* see App. iv. and cp. 1886.

1896<sup>b</sup>. 8<sup>c</sup>. Not rarely in *A*, and very often in *P-N*, the present acts as a durative future. Illustrations in 1836 and App. iv. 2 f.

## FUTURE PERFECT.

1897. 9. The completed future or *Future Perfect* (called also 3rd future), which in its simple form is peculiar to *A* and Atticistic Greek (689-1885), denotes that something will have taken place previous to some other future occurrence. It is virtually a perfect transferred to the future time:

Ar. Plut. 1027 φράζε καὶ πεπράζεται. Xen. An. 2, 4, 5 εὐθύς Ἀριαῖος ἀφεστήσει, ὥστε φίλος ἡμῖν οὐδεὶς λελείπεται.—So Aristid. εἰρήσεται, δεδῆσεται, κεκλείσεται, ἐσκέψεται, πεπραζομένου (WSchmid ii. 51).

1898. 10. In its simple form the perfect future is fairly common in the passive, but in the active it is limited to the two verbs ἐσθίξω and τεθνήξω, all the rest being formed periphrastically by means of ἔσομαι and the perfect participle (1884. 1892 f. 2106 f.).

Ar. Nub. 1435 ἦν δὲ μὴ γένηται, μάτην ἐμοὶ κεκλαῖσεται, σὺ δ' ἐγχανὼν τεθνήξεις. Dem. 4, 50 ἂν ταῦτα εἰδόμεν, καὶ τὰ δέοντα ἐσόμεθα ἐγνωκότες καὶ λόγων ματαίων ἀπηλλαγμένοι. Hermas Sim. 5, 4, 2 ἔσομαι ἐωρακώς, ἔσομαι ἀκηκώς.

1899. 10<sup>b</sup>. In *M-N* it is expressed by means of the future of ἔχω or εἶμαι preceded by the sign of the future νά, (θέλει νά), θενά (θὲ νά), θα, and followed by the perfect participle passive: θὰ ἔχω γραμμένο, θὰ εἶμαι λουσμένος, φτασμένος. (1886. App. iv. 12-15. 19.)

## MOODS IN INDEPENDENT CLAUSES.

## (SIMPLE SENTENCES.)

## A. INDICATIVE.

For an historical survey of the moods see App. v. i ff.

1900. Syntactically considered, the indicative which still fully survives in *N* (save in the future, App. iv.), denotes both in *A* and *N* something *positive* or *actual*, whether in the present, past, or future. The actuality implied by it may naturally assume the form of a direct assertion, denial, or question. Accordingly the Greek indicative, in simple clauses, substantially corresponds to the English indicative. —The negation is in *A* οὐ, in *G-N* οὐδέν, in *N* δέν, according to 1796-1800.

γράφω 'I write or am writing.' γέγραφα 'I have written.' γράψω 'I shall write.' ἔγραφον 'I was writing or I used to write.' ἔγραφα 'I (once) wrote.' ἐγγράφειν 'I had written.' —γράφει; 'does he write?' or 'is he writing?' ἐγράψατε; 'did you write?' τί γεγράφατε; 'what have you written?' πότε γράψεῖς; 'when will you write?'

So too in *N*: γράφω. θὰ γράψω, ἔγραφα. εἶχα γραμμένα. —ἔγραψε; πότε σοῦ ἔγραφε; τί θὰ γράψετε; πῶς ἔγραψες;

1901. Contrary to English usage, the Greek language employs the *potential indicative*, that is—

1. The imperfect indicative of impersonal expressions to indicate that something *could* be done, *ought* to (*should*) be done or have been done, as: ἐξῆν, εἰκὸς (δίκαιον, ἀναγκαῖον, καλὸν, αἰσχρὸν) ἦν, ἔδει, (ἐ)χρὴν, προσῆκεν, and verbals in -τέον ἦν, —all without *άν*; that is where English would require the past subjunctive (cp. 1849).

Eur. Hipp. 297 τί σιγᾷς, οὐκ ἔχρην σιγᾷν, τέκνον; Pl. Crit. 54 C αἰσχρῶς κατὰ εἰργάσω τούτους οὐς ἦκιστα ἔδει. —Clem. R. ad Cor. 46, 8.

1901<sup>b</sup>. So too in *N*, which however lacks the modal *άν* (1774): τί σωπῆς ποῦ δὲν ἔπρεπε νὰ σωπῆς; δέν του ἔπρεπε νὰ μιλῇ, δέ' σοῦ 'στεκε νὰ γελᾷς. —For *P-B* compare 1774, b, c.

1902. 2. Very often the indicative aorist after ὀλίγου or μικροῦ, 'but for a little,' 'well-nigh,' 'nearly' (also ὀλίγου or μικροῦ δεῖν [2098], ὀλίγου or μικροῦ ἐδέξατο with the infinitive [1902]), corresponding to the English pluperfect subjunctive (cp. 1879):

ὀλίγου ἐπελαθόμην 'I had almost forgotten.' Pl. Menex. 238 B ὀλίγου πληγὰς ἔλαβον οὐκ ἐπελαθόμην. (Th. 2, 77, 5 τοὺς Πλαταιᾶς ἐλαχίστους ἐδέενσε διαφθεῖραι.)

1903. Here *N* usually resorts to the infinitival construction resolved through νὰ: παρὰ (or ἀπὸ) 'λίγο νὰ πείσω, ἀπὸ (or παρὰ) τρία νὰ πείσω, ὀλίγο' ἔλειπε νὰ πείσω, 'I had well-nigh fallen.' Nevertheless the ancient mode has a certain parallel in the colloquialism ἀπὸ (or παρὰ) 'λίγο (ς)' ἐπέφτα.



## 1904-1909.] INDICATIVE—PRIMARY SUBJUNCTIVE.

**1904.** 3. The indicative of the past after εἴθε, εἰ γάρ (1748), ὥς, 'would that' (1923), to express an unattainable wish; in particular the imperfect indicative for the present, and the aorist indicative for the past (1907).—Negation μή (1804).

Eur. Her. 73 εἴθ' ἥσθα δυνατός δρᾶν ὅσον πρόθυμος εἶ. Alc. 536 εἴθ' εὔρομεν σ', Ἄδμητρε, μὴ λυπούμενον.

**1905.** Otherwise this wish may be expressed by the verbal form ὄφελον (*G-B* ὄφειλον 996<sub>193</sub>; cp. App. iv. 5) with the present or aorist infinitive:

Xen. An. 2, 1, 4 ἀλλ' ὄφеле μὲν Κύρος ζῆν. Soph. El. 1131 ὥς ὄφελον πάροιθεν ἐκλιπεῖν βίον.

**1905<sup>b</sup>.** In *G-B* this ὄφε(ι)λον (ὀφελον? 717 [1]) is sometimes treated adverbially as an equivalent of εἴθε, as: Ignat. ad Smyrn. 12, 1 ὄφελον πάντες αὐτὸν ἐμιοῦντο.

**1906.** Since *G* times popular speech often expresses this interjectional wish by simple ἵνα (*N* νά) with the subjunctive, an elliptical phrase frequently preceded in *N* by ἄς, ἄμποτε (ἀν ποτε), μακάρι νά, also ὦ νά, (ὦ) ποῦ νά, θεέ or θεῖ μου νά, Χριστέ μου (Παναγία μου, μάνα μου, etc.) νά, etc.

Epict. 4, 1, 142 ἵνα τις ἐπιστὰς διατεινομένῳ σοι τοῦτ' αὐτὸ μόνον εἶπῃ. Acta Pil. B 5, 2 τὴν ἀλήθειαν τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἵνα παραλάβῃς καὶ μέρος ἵνα ἔχῃς μετ' αὐτοῦ. Nicet. 500, 22 ἄν ποτε ἵνα ἐφρόντιζες. Cant. iii. 99, 2.

Prodr. 3, 269 ἄς ἐγενόμην ἐπαρχος κἀν δεκαπέντε ἡμέρας. 206 ff. Χριστέ νά τὴν ἐπίασα, Χριστέ μου νά τὴν ἐπίασα κτλ.

**1907.** 4. Very often the past indicative accompanied by ἂν (*potential indicative*), to express the apodosis or sequence of an hypothetical case: 'something would happen or would have happened' (1974). In particular—

a. The imperfect for the present, as: ἔγραφον ἂν 'I would write.'

b. The aorist for the past, as: ἔγραψα ἂν 'I would have written.'

For more examples see 1974 f.

**1908.** So still in *N* where, however, ἂν has been changed to νά (1774) and recently to (θεῖ νά) θα: Prodr. 3, 211 καὶ τότε νά 'δεσ, δέσποτα, πηδήματα νεωτέρου. νά ἔγραφα, θα ἔγραφα, etc. (App. iv. 14 ff.)

## B. PRIMARY SUBJUNCTIVE.

### [PRESENT AND FUTURE.]

**1909.** The independent (primary) subjunctive is used—

1. Deliberatively or dubitatively (*interrogative subjunctive*), chiefly in the 1st person, to express a hesitating interrogation, or deliberation (cp. 2037). It is often introduced by βούλει (βούλεσθε), θέλεις (θέλετε).—Negation μή.

Aesch. Sept. 1057 τί πάθω; τί δὲ δρῶ; τί δὲ μύσομαι; Eur. Ion 758 εἰπωμεν ἢ σιγῶμεν; ἢ τί δράσομεν; Xen. Mem. 1, 2, 45 πότερον βίαν φῶμεν ἢ μὴ φῶμεν εἶναι; Pl. Gorg. 521 D βούλει σοι εἶπω; Pl. Phaed. 228 F ποῦ δὲ βούλει καθιζόμενοι ἀναγνώμεν; Soph. El. 81 θέλεις μείνωμεν αὐτοῦ κἀνακοῖσσωμεν γῶν; O. R. 651.

1909<sup>b</sup>. So too in *P-B* composition, where *κελεύεις* or *προστάσεις* is also used for *θέλεις*, as: Vita Epiph. 52 c *θέλεις, Κάλλιστε, διώξω τὸ πνεῦμα ἀπὸ σοῦ*; 53 c *θέλεις ἄρω τὰ σῖθηρα ἀπὸ τῶν χειρῶν σου*; 68 A *τί προστάσεις δώσω σοι*; Callin. 91, 27 *τί ἡμεῖς εἰπώμεν*; 88, 15 *τί ἀνταποδώσωμεν*; 88, 18 *τί εἰπώ ἢ τί λαλήσω*; 92, 20 *πῶς τολμήσωμεν*; Apophth. 112 c *πάτερ, κελεύεις λάβω αὐτό*;—For another substitute as well as for *N*, see App. v. 19.

1910. The interrogative subjunctive is uncommon in the 3rd person, as: Soph. Ai. 403 *ποῖ τις οὐν φύγη*; Dem. 19, 88 *τί τις εἶναι τοῦτο φη*;

1911. For the sake of clearness *P-B* Greek adds *ἵνα* before this subjunctive, as:

Epict. 2, 19, 21 *ποῦ γὰρ ἴν' ὑμεῖς τὴν ἀρετὴν πᾶσιν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἴσῃ ἢ καὶ κρείττονα ἔργα ὑπολάβητε*; Orig. iii. 297 c *περὶ ποῖον ἀγρόν ἵνα καταγενώμεθα*; Narr. Zos. 101, 3 *τί θέλεις ἵνα ποιήσωμέν σοι*;

For more examples as well as for *N*, see 1774 & App. iv. 12 f.

1912. 2. Hortatively (*conjunctivus adhortativus*) in the 1st person (mostly plural), to express an invitation or exhortation.—Negation *μή*.

(In this case English places *let* before the imperative, 1913.)

*ἴωμεν* 'let us go.' καὶ δὴ λέγωμεν 'well, let us say.' *μή μαινώμεθα* 'let us not be mad.' Eur. Frg. 418 *φειδώμεθ' ἀνδρῶν εὐγενῶν, φειδώμεθα*, 'let us spare.'

1913. 2<sup>b</sup>. In the case of the future subjunctive, a hortative particle *ἄγε, φέρε*, (also *ἄγετε, εἰ δ' ἄγε, ἴθι, δεῦρο, δεῖτε, ἔα*) is placed before, corresponding to the English *let* (1912):

Dem. 18, 267 *φέρε δὴ τὰς μαρτυρίας ὑμῖν ἀναγνώ*. Pl. Soph. 239 B *ἔα δὴ νῦν ἐν σοὶ σκεψώμεθα*.

1914. This *A* hortative use of the subjunctive holds good for *P-B* Greek also. The only noteworthy deviation therefrom is that in *G-B* ἄφες (ἄφετε), ἔσπον (ἐίστατε), also *δεῦρο, δός, ἐπιτρέψον*, etc., are commonly substituted for the *A* representatives (cp. 1915), and sometimes used even before the 2nd person, that is before the imperative also, as:

NT Luke 6, 42 *ἀδελφε, ἄφες ἐκβάλω τὸ κάρφος τὸ ἐν τῷ ὀφθαλμῷ σου*. Matt. 27, 49 *ἄφες ἴδωμεν*. Mark 15, 36 *ἄφετε ἴδωμεν*. Epict. 1, 9, 15 *ἄφες δεῖξωμεν αὐτοῖς ὅτι οὐδενὸς ἔχουσιν ἑξουσίαν*. 1, 15, 7 *ἄφες ἀνθρώπῃ πρῶτον εἶτα προβάλη τὸν καρπὸν, εἶτα πεπανθῇ*. 2, 18, 24 *ἄφες ἴδω τίς ἐῖ καὶ περὶ τίνος, ἄφες σε δοκιμάσω*. Pallad. 1006 D *ἄφες ἴδω*. Ephes. († 431) 1285 c *ἄφες ἔλθωσιν*. Chal. 965 A. Nic. ii. 901 c *ἄφες σκέψωμαι*. Theoph. 183, 7 *ἄφες κολαζώμεθα*. Theoph. cont. 610, 19 *ἄφες μὴ ἴδω καὶ τὴν γραφήν*.

Sept. Gen. 11, 3 *δεῖτε πλινθεύσωμεν πλίνθους*. 11, 4 *δεῖτε οἰκοδομήσωμεν*. 19, 32 *δεῖρο καὶ ποτίσωμεν*. Ex. 3, 10 *δεῖρο ἀποστείλω σε πρὸς Φαραῶ*. Clement. 13, 3 *ἐάσατέ με προκαλέω*. Acta Pauli et Theclae 257, 5 *λός ἀπαγάγω τὴν θηριομάχον*. CGL 655, 4 *λός ἀναγνώ*. Vita Epiph. 53 A *δεῖρο πρόθεε τὰς σὰς βίβλους καὶ γὰρ τὰς ἐμὰς*. 64 A & B *ἐπιτρέψον παραθήσογιν τράπεζαν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις καὶ φάγονται καὶ πίνονται καὶ ἀπελεύσονται (= -ωνται)*. Apophth. 341 A *ἴδω ὑμᾶς, τίνα μου ἡγαπημένα*.

1914<sup>b</sup>. Likewise *G-B* often uses *ἵνα* with the 3rd person subjunctive instead of the 3rd person imperative simple, as: Mark 5, 23. 2 Cor. 8, 7. Ephes. 5, 33 *ἐκαστος τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γυναῖκα οὕτως ἀγαπάτω ὡς ἑαυτόν, ἣ δὲ γυνὴ ἵνα φοβῆται τὸν ἄνδρα*.

1915. For all the above hortative prepositives (1913 f.), *B-N* speech has substituted *ῥ* (from *ἄγε*? 155°), *δίντε* from *ἀγετε* (155°), and above all *ᾶς*, a particle which appears even in literary compositions since the *T*, as:

Leont. Neap. V. J. 71, 11 (c) ὁ σκανδαλιζόμενος ᾶς σκανδαλίζεται καὶ ᾶς δόση κριούς. Theoph. 387, 2 ἐλθὲ οὖν πρὸς ἡμᾶς καὶ ᾶς λαλήσωμέν σοι τὰ πρὸς εἰρήνην. 394, 26 ᾶς εἰσελθῶσι πάντες. Porph. Adm. 201, 11 ᾶς ἀποστείλῃ, ᾶς καθέξηται, ᾶς θεωρῇ. Theoph. Cont. 751, 16 ᾶς ἴδω αὐτόν. Leo. Gram. 354, 22 ᾶς καταβάσωμεν.

Alchem. 311, 13 ᾶς γένηται. 322, 2 ᾶς ψήνεται ἕως ὥρας. ib. 7 ᾶς βράζη. 324, 3 ᾶς καὶ καλῶς. 326, 8 ᾶς ἐνι τὸ ἀρτίζιντο ὅσον χρήσεις. ib. 24 ᾶς στέκεται ἕως μεσημέριν. 328, 3 ᾶς ἐξηραθῇ. ib. 17 f. ᾶς βράση, ᾶς σταθῇ. 380, 6 ᾶς δαυλύνῃ. 386, 2 ᾶς ἐπιπλήρῃ; etc. etc. Apoc. Mar. 123, 7 ᾶς ἰδωμεν. 124, 2 ᾶς κολάζωμαι. ib. 23 ᾶς ἐξέλθω καὶ ᾶς κολάζωμαι. 125, 16 ᾶς κριθῶσιν. Span. 28 τοιοῦτος ᾶς εἶσαι. 41 ᾶς σε καταπαύσω. MGlycas 167 f. καὶ κἂν ᾶς τὸν ἐκέρησες, καὶ κἂν ᾶς τὸν ἐχάρης | ᾶς εἶδες κἂν ἐνύπνιον. Prodr. 1, 104 ff. ἀλλ' ᾶς ἐκάθου σιγῆρὸς καὶ ἀπομερμυγμένους | καὶ ᾶς ἐκνήθες τὴν λέπραν σου καὶ ᾶς ἤφινες ἐμένα, | ᾶς ἔλαβες ὁμοίαν σου, καπῆλου θυγατέραν. Istaph. 379 f. καὶ ᾶς τα τρίβης ἀμάδι, ᾶς τα κάμης ἀλοιφήν. — and so on ever since *passim*.

1916. It is generally taken for granted that the above particle *ᾶς* is a corruption of *ᾤες*, but this theory is erroneous. For the verb *ᾤήμην*, owing to its irregular inflection (937; hence *P* by-forms *ᾤώ* and *ᾤέω* or *ᾤέω* 960) began as early as *G* to retreat before its synonym *ἔαω*, a circumstance which furthered the cause of the latter. Accordingly *ᾤες*, or rather *ᾤησε* (813. 949), found a formidable rival in *ἔασον* or rather *ἔασε* (cp. its adverbial present *ἔα* and *εἰα* in *A*). In the struggle which thus ensued between the two adverbial imperatives *ᾤες* and *ἔασε*, the latter prevailed, and admitting as it did of a phonopathic contraction, became *ᾤσε* (150, c; also *ᾤσε*? after 723), a form still common in *N* speech, as: *ᾤσε με* (949). It is this *ᾤσε* then, not *ᾤες*, which was reduced to the hortative particle *ᾶς*, *let*, a syncopated form due to its prepositive and proclitic use: *ᾤσε ἀκούσω, ᾤς ἀκούσω, ᾤσε τον ἀκούσω, ᾤς τον ἀκούσω*—cp. Belth. 184 ἔα λοιπὸν τὰ περὶ τὰ καὶ δεῦτε ᾶς στραφῶμεν. Asin. 280 ᾶς (i. e. ᾤς) τὴνε (= *ᾤες αὐτήν*). Picat. 299 καὶ ᾶς τοὺς νὰ βλέπουν; 308 ᾶς τον αὐτόν. Abraham 26 ᾶς τῇ. So now *ᾤσε με, ᾤς τον, ᾤς τοὺς*.

1916<sup>b</sup>. The derivation of *ᾶς* or, less correctly, *ᾤς* from *ᾤες* moreover militates against both morphology and phonopathy. In the first place *ᾤες* cannot possibly be admitted as a popular term, seeing that the *T-N* future indicative and subjunctive is not *ᾤώ*, but *ᾤήσω* (in *N* dialectally also *ᾤήκω*). Then *N* speech knows of no active imperative in *-s*, all invariably closing with *ε* (949). Accordingly the imperative of *ᾤήσω* is *ᾤησε* (so too *θέσε, δώσε*, etc.), and by apocope, or rather syncope, *ᾤησ'* or *ᾤησε*, a form actually now current in *ᾤησ' με, ᾤησ' τον*. Now this *ᾤησ'* or *ᾤησε*, or even *ᾤες*, if syncopated, in connected speech, would give *\*ᾤς* (the northern *N* form *ᾤς* is due to 030), that is *\*ᾤψ* (cp. *\*γράφ-σε γράψε, παῦσε* [i. e. *παφ-σε*] *πάψε* 180<sup>b</sup>), never *ᾤς* (or *ᾤς*).

1917. 3. Prohibitively in the 2nd (then also 3rd) person future, to express a prohibition.—Negation *μὴ* 'don't' (1801. 1804).

Dem. 21, 211 *μὴ κατὰ τοὺς νόμους δικάσῃτε· μὴ βοηθήσῃτε τῇ πεποιθότι δεινᾷ*. Xen. An. 5, 4, 19 *μηδὲν ἀθγμῆσθε ἔνεκα τῶν γεγενημένων*. Isocr. 4, 129 *μηδεὶς ὑπολάβῃ με δυσκόλως ἔχειν*.

1918. For a prohibition addressed to the 2nd and 3rd person of the present, *A* regularly uses the present imperative (1927, a). In *P* times, however, the subjunctival mode of prohibition for all cases gained popularity (owing to the easier inflection of the subjunctive 1919. 1928), and gradually altogether dislodged the imperative from pro-

hibitions. This process, which naturally gave a wider scope to the subjunctive, came to a close during *T*, and the use of the subjunctive has ever since remained absolute.

Sept. Tobit. 3 3 μή με ἐκδικῆς. Polemo 202 μηδε γέιτονα ἔχεις (write ἔχεις). Concil. Sard. († 347) 11 μή καταφρονῇ ἐκείνου καὶ συνεχέστερον ὁμιλῇ. Cyrill. H. Procat. 2 μή τις ὑμῶν εἴρεθῇ πειράζων τὴν χάριν· μή τις βί(α) πικρίας ἀνω φύουσα ἐνοχλῇ. Apophth. 380 α εἰς ὃν ἂν τόπον ἀπέλθῃς μὴ μετρεῖς (write μετρῆς) ταυτόν. Nil. 552 β μή διάκησαι. Damasc. ii. 324 α μηδὲ ἀτιμάζῃς αὐτόν, μηδὲ λέγῃς αὐτὰς εἰδωλα καὶ ἀπόλλῃς τὴν ψυχὴν σου. (More examples in App. v. 16, b.)

1918<sup>b</sup>. So now regularly in *N* (App. v. 17 f.).

1919. Prohibition being nothing else than a negative command (1927) or exhortation (deprecation), its proper exponent, the subjunctive mood, was naturally suggested also for the kindred notion of affirmative exhortation or command. Accordingly the 3rd person of the hortative subjunctive was identified with the 3rd person imperative, and in the interchange consequent thereon the imperative being less normal and familiar in point of inflection (1928) lost ground before the subjunctive, and eventually disappeared from the common language altogether. This process, which may have been furthered by the influence of Latin usage, added to the further extension of the subjunctive. (1921. 1988. App. v. 16.)

Hippol. 804 α ἐκβλητός γένηται κλήρου ἀγίου. Eus. ii. 325 σ ἐπὶ τοῦτο μόνον τραπῶσιν. Athan. ii. 701 α οἱ προειρημένοι ἐχθροὶ καθαιρεθῶσιν. Apophth. 112 α δ θέλων ἐλθεῖν ἔλθῃ. For more examples see App. v. 16.

1920. From *H* times onwards the hortative subjunctive, especially that of the future, has received a further extension by appropriating the cognate (hortative or desiderative) function of the secondary subjunctive [optative]. (App. v. 15.)

Sept. Ruth 1, 9 δῶν (or δῶρ) κύριος ὑμῖν καὶ εἵρητε ἀνάπαυσιν. Jos. B. J. 4, 3, 10 ἀπὶ δὲ ἡ πείρα τοῦ λόγου. Athan. i. 740 α ἀλλ' εἶθε κἂν ἀκοῦςῃς ἵνα σὺ πεισθῇς. For more examples see App. v. 15.

1921. 4. Prospectively in the room of the *future indicative*, mostly with the negation οὐ. This usage, which is fairly common from Homer onwards, is resorted to chiefly in confident denials, hence the negation οὐ is frequently intensified by the subjective asseveration μὴν, commonly mistaken for μή (1827). In *P* this construction spreads rapidly at the expense of the future indicative which it eventually supersedes.

Α 262 οὐ γάρ πω τοίους ἴδον ἀνέρας οὐδὲ ἴδωμαι. Z 459 καὶ ποτὶ τις εἴπησιν. μ 383 δύσομαι ἐς Αἴδαο καὶ ἐν νεκρῶσι φασίνω. π 434 οὐκ ἔσθ' οὗτος ἀνὴρ οὐδ' ἔσεται οὐδὲ γένηται, ὅς κεν Τηλεμάχῳ σῶ νιέι χεῖρας ἐποίσει. Hymn. Ap. 1 μνήσομαι οὐδὲ λάθωμαι Ἀπόλλωνος—Eur. H. F. 718 δ δ' οὐ πάρεστιν οὐδὲ μή(ν) μόλῃ ποτέ. Ar. Ach. 662 κοῦ μή(ν) ποθ' ἁλώ. Xen. Cyr. 7, 3, 13 οὐ μή(ν) σε κρύψω πρὸς δούτινα βούλωμαι ἀφικέσθαι. Dem. 4, 44 ἂν καθάμεθα οἶκοι οὐδέ ποτ' οὐδὲν ἡμῖν οὐ μή(ν) γένηται τῶν δούτων. Soph. Ph. 381 οὐ μή(ν) ποτ' ἐς τὴν Σκῆρον ἐκπλεγέσῃς ἔχων. For *P* examples see App. iv. 8 and cp. 2016.

1922. When this subjunctival mode of expressing the future had become very common, it gradually began to lose its original force and clearness, the more so as the subjunctive already performed too many other functions (1909-20). The process of weakening was then stemmed by placing before

the subjunctive as a reinforcement the modal particle *ἄν*, later mistaken for *ἵνα*, *Nvá* (1761. 1766. 1774 f.). The compound substitute thus obtained for the ancient future indicative remained in general use through *B-M* times and still sporadically obtains in present speech. But as early as *M* (about the 13<sup>th</sup>) an additional word, *θὲ* or *θέ* (i.e. *θαίλει*, 863, App. iv. 14) was placed before *νί* and so led to *θὲ νά θενά θά*, an extreme contraction universal in *N* speech since the 16<sup>th</sup> (App. iv. 14).

Plut. ii. 777 *Β οὐκ ἂν σοι προδιαλέξωμαι*. Clement. 45 *Β τίς γὰρ ἂν ἀμαρτήσῃ*; Sext. 620, 28 *οὐκ ὀλίγην δ' ἂν ἔχη μοῖραν εἰς προτροπὴν καὶ ὅταν βλέπωμεν κτλ.*

Pallad. 1113 *Β ἐὰν γὰρ μάθω, ἵνα αὐτῷ συντήχῃ· ἐὰν δὲ μὴ μάθω . . . οὐκ ἀπέρχομαι ἕως τοῦ θρου*. Acta Pil. B 4, 1 *ἡμεῖς ἵνα εἰπωμεν τῇ μεγαλειότητὶ σου τί εἶπεν αὐτός*. Apoc. Mar. 117, 27 *ἐπὶ μεσημβρίαν ἵνα ἀπέλθωμεν*.

Nicet. 304, 26 *εἰς βότρυν ἀγουρίδος μόλις ἵνα εὔρῃ τις μίαν βῶγαν ὄριμον*. Span. 137 *καὶ ἂν τὸ μικρὸν εὐχαριστῇς, νὰ σ' ἔλθῃ καὶ ἄλλο μέγα*. Prodr. 2. 107 f. *μὴ προσδοκῇς δὲ πάλιν | ὅτι ἂν με δώσῃς τίποτε νὰ τὸ κακοδικήσῃς*.

So still at present: *τώρα νὰ σε ἰδῶ*. For more examples see App. iv. 12 f.

### C. SECONDARY SUBJUNCTIVE.

#### [OPTATIVE.]

1923. In *A* the secondary subjunctive [optative] has two distinct functions, according as it is used without *ἂν* or with *ἂν*.

1. *Without ἂν*, the independent secondary subjunctive is *desiderative* (optative proper), in that it expresses a wish that something may or may not happen. It is often introduced by a desiderative particle, such as *εἴθε*, *εἰ γάρ* (1748), ὡς 'would that' (1904):

Soph. Ai. 550 *ὦ παῖ, γένοιτο πατρός εὐτυχίστερος*. Men. Mon. 336 *μὴ μοι γένοιθ' ἂ βούλομ' ἄλλ' ἂ συμφέρει*.

For *P-N* see 1905 ff. and App. iv. 5. 13.

1923<sup>b</sup>. For another *unattainable* wish see 1904-8.

1924. This desiderative secondary subjunctive held its own in the living language as late as *T*, and its currency in the time of the ancient grammarians gave it the suggestive name *optative* (677), as: NT 1 Thess. 5, 23 *ὁ θεὸς τῆς εἰρήνης ἀπαιεῖ ὑμᾶς ὁλοτελεῖς*. Phil. 20 *ἐγὼ σου ὀναίμην ἐν Κυρίῳ*. 1 Pet. 1, 2 *χάρις ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη πληθυνθεῖν*. However, as early as *H*, it began to retreat before the primary subjunctive until it eventually disappeared altogether (App. iv. 12-15) <sup>[1]</sup>.

1925. 2. *With ἂν*, the independent past subjunctive is *potential*, in that it expresses a future possibility or potentiality (*may, might, can, could*), often also a mild assertion or command, thus bordering on the future indicative and imperative (1889 ff.), also on the primary subjunctive (1918 ff.)—Negation *οὐ*.

[1] In the NT, this desiderative secondary subjunctive occurs thirty-five times in all, and that always (except once, Phil. 20) in the 3rd person singular: Mark 11, 14. Luke 1, 38; 20, 16. Acts 8, 20. Rom. 3, 4; 6; 31. 6, 2; 15. 7, 7; 13. 9, 14. 11, 1; 11. 15, 5; 13. 1 Cor. 6, 15. Gal. 2, 17. 3, 21. 6, 14. 1 Thess. 3, 11; 12. 5, 23. 2 Thess. 2, 17. 3, 5; 16. 2 Tim. 1, 16; 18. Philom. 20. Heb. 13, 21. 1 Pet. 1, 2. 2 Pet. 1, 2.

## IMPERATIVE—COMPOUND CLAUSES. [1925-1930.

Eur. And. 85 πολλὰς ἂν εἴροις μηχανάς. Xen. An. 1, 9, 3 ἐνθα πολλὴν μὲν σωφροσύνην καταμάθοι ἂν τις. Pl. Crat. 402 ἅ δις εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν ποταμὸν οὐκ ἂν ἐμβαίησ. Soph. Ant. 444 σὺ μὲν κομίζοις ἂν σεαυτὸν ἢ θέλεις. Phil. 674 χωρὶς ἂν εἴσω. So too Acts 26, 29 εὔζαιμην ἂν (the only passage in the NT).

1925<sup>b</sup>. For the *P-B* history of the potential secondary subjunctive see under dependent clauses, especially 2039-40 & App. v. 12.

[1925<sup>c</sup>. For the potential indicative of the past see 1901-7.]

1925<sup>d</sup>. For a future optative see 1935-6, 1953 f., & App. v. 14 f.

### IMPERATIVE.

1926. The imperative expresses a demand in the form of *command*; hence it always refers to the future or present (never to the past, 678).—Negation μή 'don't' (1801. 1804):—λέγε 'speak,' μὴ λέγε 'don't speak.'

Eur. Alc. 651 μένον παρ' ἡμῖν καὶ συνέστιος ῥίνοϋ. [Isocr.] 1, 16 τοὺς μὲν θεοὺς φοβοῦ, τοὺς δὲ γονεῖς τίμα, τοὺς δὲ φίλους αἰσχύνου, τοῖς δὲ νόμοις πείθου.

So too in *N*: γράφε | σώπα | λέγετε | φύγε | ἀκουσε | ἔρχου | κάθου | ἔρχεσθε |

1927. In *A* negative commands, which are called *prohibitions* (1918 ff.), are expressed—

a. If in the 2nd person, by the present imperative or <sup>αἰνέει</sup>future subjunctive, as: μὴ ποιεῖ, μὴ ποιήσης, μὴ φοβοῦ, μὴ φοβηθῇς.

b. If in the 3rd person, by the present or future imperative, as: μὴ ποιείτω, μὴ ποιήσάτω, μὴ φοβείσθω, μὴ φοβηθῇτω—rarely by the future subjunctive, as: Isocr. 4, 129 μηδεὶς ὑπολάβῃ με δυσκόλως ἔχειν.

1928. The alternative or mixed usage, found even in *A* antiquity, of the future subjunctive and the imperative in prohibitions, and the greater popularity of the former, consequent on its common frequency as well as the simplicity of its inflection (1919), could not fail to pave the way for its substitution in all cases for the prohibitive imperative,—in the 3rd person even in positive commands. For the process of this phenomenon, which set in as early as *H* times, see 1918 ff. and App. v. 13 & 16.

1928<sup>b</sup>. Comparatively speaking, the imperative is more frequent in *P-N* than in *A*, in consequence of the preference manifested by the former to substitute the paratactic imperative for subordinate, especially conditional, clauses (1977, δ. 2154).

## MOODS IN DEPENDENT CLAUSES.

(SUBORDINATE OR COMPOUND SENTENCES.)

1929. Dependent, subordinate or compound clauses are those which qualify principal clauses by means of subordinating conjunctions (declarative, causal, consecutive, temporal, conditional, final), or relative words. Mark, however, that in Greek the discourse so subordinated can, in most cases, be replaced by a participial, sometimes also by an infinitival construction.

1930. In dealing with dependent or compound clauses we must constantly remember that, in all languages, popular speech has a decided predilection for the simpler mode of parataxis (1703. 1710 f. 1928<sup>b</sup>. 1939. 1943. 2031 f.).

**1931.** In dependent clauses the choice of the mood is determined by the nature of each individual case. Only when the verb of the *leading* clause stands in a *secondary* tense, is the choice of the mood influenced (in the sense of 1933 ff.).

**1932.** *Secondary tenses* are those verbal forms which refer to the *past*: aorist, imperfect, and pluperfect of the indicative and subjunctive, including the historic present (1835). All other verbal forms, referring as they do to the present or future (present, perfect, and future of the indicative, all primary subjunctives and all imperatives), are *primary tenses*. (692.)

**1933.** The verb of a clause depending on a secondary tense may stand also in the secondary subjunctive; when this happens after a secondary subjunctive, there is apparently an assimilation of mood (1954). See 1940, 1945, 1952.

**1934.** The above rule respecting the sequence of moods (*consecutio modorum*), that is the use of the secondary subjunctive after secondary tenses, lost its force during *G* times, and holds no longer in NT Greek, not even in the writings of Luke. This writer, it is true, still sometimes uses the secondary subjunctive as a dependent mood, after secondary tenses, but, limited as it is, this usage applies only to certain indirect questions (2039 f.), and at the most to some conditional sentences hardly relevant on account of their short and parenthetical character (App. v. 10). In all other cases of dependence the secondary subjunctive has retreated before either the primary subjunctive or the indicative (cp. AButtmann 256 f.). See also 1984 & App. v. 6 ff.

**1935.** A future optative (677) makes its appearance first in Pindar, and though regarded as peculiar to *A*, is rare even in that period. It occurs chiefly in indirect discourse (sometimes after final *ὅπως* also), and that only after a secondary tense. In all cases it serves as a substitute for the future indicative (but cp. 1941 ff.), as:

Th. 1, 90, 4 ὁ μὲν ταῦτα διδάσας καὶ ὑπειπὼν ἅλλα ὅτι αὐτὸς τάκει πράξει ᾤχετο. (Cp. 1b. 3 ἀποκρινάμενοι ὅτι πέφουσιν.) Xen. Cyr. 3, 1, 3 εἴ τινα φεύγοντα λήψοιτο, προηγόρευεν ὅτι ὡς πολέμῳ χρῆσοιτο. Ag. 2, 8 ἐπεμελήθη ὅπως οἱ στρατιῶται τοὺς πόρους δυνήσονται ὑποφέρειν. See also 1941. 1953<sup>b</sup>.

**1936.** In *G-B* compositions the future optative becomes comparatively commoner (especially after *ὅς* and *ὡς* or *ὡς ἂν* = *ὥστε* in final clauses 1953<sup>b</sup>), but it is doubtful whether that be a continuation or a direct imitation of *A*. It rather points to an independent novelty suggested by the analogy of other optatives, resorted to by fastidious scribes as a substitute for the commonplace future subjunctive (cp. 1765). At any rate, considering that it is unknown to early Greek and that it is apparently absent from *A* inscriptions (cp. Meisterhans' 2c6), further that its occasional presence in *A* writings has come down to us through *B* copiers, who were actuated by the spirit of scholastic reaction, its actual occurrence in *A* writings is not beyond all doubt. For illustrations see also 1953<sup>b</sup>.

**1937. PROLEPSIS.** The subject of a dependent clause is frequently transferred by anticipation to the principal clause (generally with change of case), and thus subordinated to it. This kind of attraction is called *prolepsis* (πρόληψις 'anticipation').

Soph. Ai. 118 ὄρας, Ὀδυσσεύ, τὴν θεῶν ἰσχὺν ὅση (for ὅση ἡ θεῶν ἰσχὺς). Isocr. 4, 78 τοὺς νόμους ἐκπέπουν ὅπως ἀριβῶς καὶ καλῶς ἔξουσιν. Eur. Med. 37 δέδοκα δ' αἴτην μή τι βουλευσθαι κακόν. Pl. Apol. 22 D. Dem. 43, 23.

So still in *N*: φοβούμαι σε μὴ ἀποθάνης. τὸν εἶδα πῶς ἔτρεχε.

## DECLARATIVE CLAUSES.

**1938.** Declarative clauses are those which report the statement, thoughts, or feelings of another, not verbatim but indirectly (he says or thinks *that* . . .). They are the principal representatives of *indirect discourse* (2027 ff.).

**1939.** Since *P*, in particular *G*, times declarative clauses have on the one side spread in consequence of the growing tendency of the language to resolve the infinitive (App. vi. 7 & 13 f.), and on the other lost ground owing to the preference of popular speech for direct discourse (1703. 1710. 1930. 2036).

**1940.** Unless they are expressed through an infinitival or participial construction (1929), *declarative* clauses are introduced by means of *ὅτι* or the less assertive *ὥς* (1753), and stand in the *indicative*. Only when they depend on a *secondary* tense, do they admit also of the secondary subjunctive (1933).—Negation *οὐ*.

ISOCR. 5, 23 ἔλεγον ὥς ἐλπίζοις σέ καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἔχειν μοι χάριν. DEM. 30, 23 ἤδεσαν ὅτι τοὺς ἀπενεγκόντας οἰκέτας ἐξαιτήσομεν. XEN. AN. 2, 1, 3 ἔλεγον ὅτι Κύρος μὲν τίθησκεν, Ἀριαῖος δὲ πεφηνγῶς ἐν τῷ στρατῷ εἴη. CYR. 7, 2, 19 ὁ δὲ εἶπεν ὅτι ἔδοιντο (1935). PL. APOL. 21 C ἐπειρώμην αὐτῷ δεικνύσαι ὅτι οἷτο μὲν εἶναι σοφός, εἴη δ' οὐ. See also 2136.

**1941.** It is chiefly in this indirect discourse, when it depends on a secondary tense, that the future optative is admissible instead of the future indicative (1935 f.; cp. 1953<sup>b</sup>): XEN. CYR. 3, 1, 3 εἰ δέ τινα φεύγοντα λήψοιτο, προηγόμενον ὅτι ὥς πολέμῳ χρῆσσιτο.

**1942.** Observe that in clauses, like *ἔλεγον ὅτι ὑγαίνοις*, the dependent sentence *ὅτι ὑγαίνοις* means either 'that you were well' or 'that you are well.' Hence for perspicuity's sake, preference is frequently given to the indicative: *ἔλεγον ὅτι ὑγαίνας* or *ὅτι ὑγαίνεις*.

**1942.** The above rule 1940 holds substantially good also for *P-B* Atticistic and scholastic compositions. But as regards *P-N* speech, it is to be remembered that declarative clauses are introduced by *H-N ὅτι*, beside *H-G διότι* (ὥς?), also *καθότι*, *G-B ὥσоти*, *G-N πῶς* (present *N* speech using *πῶς* almost exclusively), and stand regularly in the indicative (1751-5. 1936).—Negation in *P-N οὐ*, beside *G-M οὐδέν*, in *M-N δέν* (1796-1800).—For examples see App. vi. 13.

**1943.** That *G-N* popular speech frequently turns declarative clauses to direct discourse with or without the introductory *ὅτι*, has already been pointed out in 1930, and will be further explained in 2031 f.

**1944.** Contrary to English usage, the declarative conjunction is never omitted, either in *A* or in *N*. For such solitary instances as: Epict. 4, 1, 73 *τίς δέ σοι εἶπε τὸ περπατῆσαι σὸν ἔργον ἐστὶν ἀκόλουτον*; so far as they do not point to a direct quotation (*τίς δέ σοι εἶπε*: *Τὸ περπατεῖν κτλ.*) are probably chargeable to clerical inadvertence (*τίς δέ σοι εἶπεν* (*ὅτι*) *τὸ κτλ.*).

## CAUSAL CLAUSES.

**1945.** Causal clauses, when not expressed by a participial or relative construction (1929 & 2013), are introduced by *ὅτι*, *διότι*, 'because'; *ὥς* 'as'; or *ἐπεὶ* 'since,' *ἐπειδὴ* 'seeing that,' (1737-43)—and stand in the indicative. Only when the principal



clause stands in a *secondary* tense and represents the cause as a matter of some one else's opinion (*ostensibly, as he says*), do they admit of the past subjunctive (but never in Homer).—Negation οὐ.

Th. 1, 52, 3 Ἀθηναῖοι ἐνόμισαν λελύσθαι τὰς σπονδὰς, διότι ἐς χεῖρας ἦλθον. 2, 21, 3 οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τὸν Περικλέα ἐκάκιζον ὅτι στρατηγὸς ὦν οὐκ ἐπεζάρτοι. Pl. Prot. 335 D δέομαί σου παραμείναι ἡμῖν, ὡς ἐγὼ οὐδ' ἂν ἐνὸς ἡδίου ἀκούσαιμι ἢ σοῦ.

1946. In this case *N* has naturally departed from *A*, inasmuch as ὡς on the one hand, and the secondary subjunctive on the other, have retreated since *H-G* times before ὅτι and the indicative respectively (1740). Be it further noted that ὅτι is at present almost obsolete (1755), ἐπεὶ (now also ἐπεὶ καί, 1717<sup>b</sup>) obsolescent, and that *N* speech has modified ἐπειδὴ to ἐπειδὴ<sup>ς</sup> or ἐπειδὴ<sup>ς</sup> καί, and διότι to γιὰτί (1717<sup>b</sup>. 1739).

1947. After expressions of *emotion* (2128 ff.), such as θαυμάζω, ἀγανακτῶ, χαλεπαίνω, χαίρω, ἀγαπῶ, δεινόν ἐστι, etc., the cause, when uncertain, is often conceived as an hypothesis and so is expressed by εἰ 'that' with the indicative:

Dem. 4, 43 θαυμάζω δ' ἐγὼ γε εἰ μῆδεις ὑμῶν μίτ' ἐνθυμείται μίτ' ὀργίζεται. Pl. Lach. 194 A καὶ ὡς ἀληθῶς ἀγανακτῶ εἰ οὕτωςι ἂ νῶα μὴ οἷος τ' εἰμὶ εἰπεῖν. Dem. 18, 160 αἰσχροὺν ἐστὶν εἰ ἐγὼ μὲν τὰ ἔργα ὑπέμεινα, ὑμεῖς δὲ μὴδὲ τοὺς λόγους ἀνέεσθε.

1948. So still in *N* with the difference that εἰ has been replaced by ἂν 'if' or more commonly νὰ 'that' (1773 ff.) with the primary subjunctive, as: μοῦ κακοφαίνεται ἂν δέ (or νὰ μὴ) μου πιστεύης 'I am sorry if (or that) you don't believe me,' θὰ χαρῶ νὰ σε ἰδῶ 'I shall be glad to see you.'

## CONSECUTIVE CLAUSES.

1949. Unless they are expressed by a relative construction (2014 ff.), consecutive or illative clauses are introduced by ὥστε—uncommonly by ὡς (1756 f.),—with a finite mood (mostly indicative) when the consequence is an actual occurrence (*so that*), and with the infinitive when the consequence is represented as a resulting possibility (*so as to*):

Dem. 2, 26 οὕτως ἀγνωμόνως ἔχετε ὥστε ἐλπίζετε αὐτὰ χρηστὰ γενήσεσθαι; Isocr. 12, 103 εἰς τοῦτ' ἀπληστίας ἦλθον ὥστ' οὐκ ἐξήρκεσεν αὐτοῖς ἔχειν τὴν κατὰ γῆν ἀρχήν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν κατὰ θάλασσαν δύναμιν οὕτως ἐπεθύμησαν λαβεῖν, ὥστε τοὺς συμμάχους τοὺς ἡμετέρους ἀφίστασαν. Xen. An. 5, 6, 20 πλοῖα ἡμῶν πάρεστιν, ὥστε ὅπη ἂν βούλησθε ἐξαίφνης ἂν ἐπιπέσσετε. Soph. El. 1172 θυγὴς δ' Ὀρέστης, ὥστε μὴ λίαν στένε. Eur. Hec. 730 σὺ δὲ σχολάζεις ὥστε θαυμάζειν ἐμέ. Isocr. 4, 43 τοιοῦτον ἔθος ἡμῖν παρέδωκεν ὥστε σπείσασμένους κυνελθεῖν ἐς ταῦτόν. Xen. Cyr. 6, 3, 19 πᾶν μοι ἐμίλησεν ὥστε εἰδέναι.

Xen. Cyr. 7, 5, 81 τοσοῦτον πλεονεκτῆσει ὥς πεινήσας τῶν ἡδίστων σιτίων τεγέεται. 8, 7, 27 ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλῇ ἤδη ἔσομαι ὥς μὴδὲν ἂν ἐτι κακὸν παθεῖν.

1950. Accordingly ὥστε with the *infinitive* is regularly used—

a. To express a designed result (*so as to*), as: Pl. Gorg. 476 c πᾶν ποιοῦσιν ὥστε δίκην μὴ δίδόναι.

b. After a comparative with *ἥ* (1187), as: Xen. Mem. 3, 5, 17 μέizon ἢ ὥστε φέρειν δύνασθαι κακόν.

c. After a negative or hypothetical principal clause: [Dem.] 59, 91 ταῦτα οὐ πάλαι ἐστὶ γεγενημένα ὥστε ἀγορεύειν ὑμᾶς.

1951. The above rule (1949 f.) applies also to those *P-B* compositions, whose authors show more or less skill in the use of the infinitive. But as regards popular speech, on the one hand it avoids the consecutive construction (1759), and on the other uses not only ὥστε and its rare companion *ὥς*, but also *ὅτι* 'so that,' *ἵνα* 'so as to,' sometimes even *ὅπως* 'so as to' (thus confounding consecutive with final clauses)—while *N* speech for this variety of particles has substituted *ὅπου* or *ποῦ* either with the indicative (so *that*) or with *ν* and the subjunctive (so *as to*). Cp. 1757 ff. & 2016 ff.

Sept. Ex. 3, 11 τίς εἰμι ἐγὼ ὅτι πορεύσομαι πρὸς Φαραῖ, βασιλεία Αἰγύπτου, καὶ ὅτι ἐξίσω τοὺς υἱοὺς Ἰσραὴλ ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου; NT Matt. 8, 27 ποταπὸς ἐστιν οὗτος ὅτι καὶ οἱ ἄνεμοι καὶ ἡ θάλασσα ὑπακούουσιν αὐτῷ; John 7, 35 ποῦ μέλλει οὗτος πορεύσθαι ὅτι οὐχ εὐρήσασθαι αὐτόν; Theod. i. 1680 ο τοσοῦτον δ' ἀπέσχον τοῦ πιστεύσαι τῷ τῶν ὄλων θεῷ ὅτι τὸν πρὸς αὐτοὺς κατὰ ταῦτόν ἤρσαντο πόλεμον. 1704 ο οὕτω, φησὶν, ἐστὶ μεγάλη ὅτι καὶ τὰ μῦρα τῶν ἰχθύων περιέκονται γίνη καὶ τὰ μέγιστα κήτη ἀδεῶς ἐν αὐτῇ κεῖται. Apophth. 252 ο εἰς τοσοῦτον ἦλθε μέτρον ὅτι ἡσθένει καὶ κληνῆρης ἦν.

Sept. Job 7, 16 οὐ γὰρ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα ζήσομαι ἵνα μακροθυμήσω. NT Mark 11, 28 τίς σοι τὴν ἐξουσίαν ταύτην ἔδωκεν ἵνα ταῦτα ποιῇς; Jos. B. J. 4, 3, 10 πρὸς τοσοῦτον ἤκουον συμφωρῶν ἵνα ἡμᾶς ἐλεήσῃ καὶ πολέμοι; Plut. ii. 233 Δ τί μοι πάποτε τοιοῦτο συνέργως ἵνα τοιαύταις με κολακείῃς ἡδοναῖς; Athan. i. 390 ο οὐ γὰρ Ῥωμαῖκή ἐστὶν ἡ κρίσις ἵν' ὥς βασιλεὺς πιστεγθῇς. Mal. 26, 17 οὐδὲ ἡμᾶς τοιοῦτος ἔσως κατεῖχεν ἵνα περὶ τούτου ζητήσετε.

For many more instances of *ὅτι* and *ἵνα* see 1757-8 & [1].

## FINAL CLAUSES.

1952. Unless they are otherwise expressed (by a participial, infinitival, or relative construction, 1929. 2020 f.), final clauses are introduced by *ἵνα*, *ὅπως* (*ὅν*), *ὥς* (*ὅν*) (1760 ff.)—negatively *ἵνα μὴ*, *ὅπως (ὅν) μὴ*, *ὥς μὴ*, or simple *μὴ*—and stand in the primary subjunctive. It is only when the verb of the principal clause is in a secondary tense (1932 f.), that they equally admit of the secondary subjunctive<sup>[1]</sup>.

Xen. Mem. 3, 2, 3 βασιλεὺς αἰρεῖται οὐχ ἵνα ἑαυτοῦ καλῶς ἐπιμελήται, ἀλλ' ἵνα καὶ οἱ ἐλόμενοι δι' (δὴ?) αὐτὸν εὖ πράττωσι. An. 2, 6, 21 φίλος ἐβοῶλετο εἶναι τοῖς μέγιστα δυναμένοις, ἵνα ἀδικῶν μὴ διδοῖν δίκην. Mem. 2, 10, 2 παρακαλεῖς ἰατροὺς ὅπως μὴ ἀποθάνῃ. Pl. Crit. 43 B ἐπιτήδεις σε οὐκ ἡγεῖρον ἵνα ὥς ἥδιστα διάγῃς. Xen. An. 1, 4, 18 τὰ πλοῖα Ἀβρακόμας κατέκαυσεν ἵνα

[1] According to Weber's statistical calculations extending to all writers before Aristotle, the proportion of primary subjunctives to secondary subjunctives [optatives] after secondary tenses, is 528: 894. In particular Homer 35: 156, Pindar 2: 10, Aeschylus 2: 9, Sophocles 2: 23, Euripides 31: 65, Aristophanes 13: 37, Herodotus 86: 47, Thucydides 168: 60, Lysias 22: 19, Isocrates 21: 17, Isaios 8: 17, Demosthenes 40: 40, Aeschines 13: 7, Plato 22: 79, Xenophon 45: 265. In the Attic writers and Herodotus, excluding Xenophon, the frequency of the primary and secondary subjunctive is just equal, namely 441. (WGoodwin p. 114 footnote.)—According to WMüller, Theophr. 52, neither Aristotle nor Theophrastus any longer use the secondary subjunctive in final clauses. However Athn. πολ. 18, 29 κατηγόρει τῶν τοῦ τυράννου φίλων ἐπιτήδεις ἵνα ἀσεβήσαιεν ἔμα καὶ γένοιτο ἀσθεναῖς.

μὴ Κύρος διαβῇ. Th. 3, 23, 5 *παρανίσχον φρυκτοὺς ὅπως ἀταφῇ τὰ σῆμιά η* (if not ειη) καὶ μὴ βοηθοῖεν.

1953. In final clauses, P-N Greek has considerably departed from A in that it has altogether discarded the secondary subjunctive (1934) and modified the final particles (1760-9).

1953<sup>b</sup>. That the secondary subjunctive became, as early as H, foreign to ordinary Greek is shown also by the occasional blundering of writers like Hdn. Hist. 2, 2, 10 ἵνα αὐτοὺς ἐκβιάσονται ὑπακούσαι, πανδημεὶ συνήλθον. Synes. 143; α μὴδὲ γὰρ δικαίον ποτὲ φόνον προσάψοιτο. Basil. Sel. 585 D *μὴδὲ νῦν ἀνάσχοιτο, μὴδὲ . . . συγχωρήσῃς*. Eus. ii. 825 c *ἤρπεν οὖν ὥστε . . . βεβαιώσαιμι*. Jos. Ant. 17, 4, 2 ὁ διακονῆσσιτο. 17, 9, 4 οἱ διαλλάσσιντο. 20, 2, 1 ἐξ ἧς λήφοντο. Plut. i. 721 E ἐξ ὧν ἀναδειχθήσονται. Dio C. 48, 36, 1 ἐφ' οἷς καταλλαγήσονται. Eriph. i. 820 c ἵνα κτήσονται. So 413 B ὅπως διαδράσῃ οὐ -σπ?). Agath. 37 (1304 A) ὅπως παραστήσονται. Hrdn. Hist. 3, 4, 11 ἡθροιστο ὥς θεάσονται.—So too ὥσαν (ὥς ἄν) = ὥσινα (1767, a): Eus. ii. 172 B ὥσαν καταλείψοι. 636 B ὥσαν ἐπὶ τὴν συνοδὸν ἀπαντήσῃ. 761 A ὥσαν αὐτῶν ὀλεον λάβοιεν. Proc. ii. 171, 19 ἡν εἵπομεν. Bekk. An. 819, 20 εἰ τις ἐπισκέψεται. Agath. 47 (1312 c) ὥσαν ἀνακαλέσονται, et passim. Men. Hist. 280, 3 & 285, 14. 290, 18 ὥσαν ἔσονται. 295, 23 ὥσαν παράσχοιτο, et passim. Vita Euthym. 2, 2 πρὶν αὐτὸν κατίδοι καὶ προσαπολογῆσθαι. 15, 2 εἰ μὴ καταδέξεται ἄλλ' ἀναβάλλοιτο. Dosithe. Mag. Ars Gramm. (HKeil vii.), p. 378 ἄπερ ἄν θέσει μακρὰ εἴη—ἐὰν ἡ προτέρα μακρὰ εἴη—ἐὰν δ' ἡ ὑστέρα ἐκτεταμένη εἴη—εἰ ἀμφοτέραι βραχεῖαι εἴεν, etc. 379 ἵνα μὴ βῆμα εἴη, etc. Malchi excerpta 263, 20 ὥς ἐξοίσειεν. Theophyl. 150, 9 τερατολογούσιν ἵνα χυθῇ. 136, 16 τὴν ἐκθεσιν ὑποστορέσω ἵνα προσέλθοι (-θη!). (805. 1765. 1767, b. App. v. 14 f.)

1954. When the principal clause stands in a past tense and expresses a subjective potentiality (1974), or an unattainable wish (1904), the final clause (then led by ἵνα, rarely by ὅπως) naturally falls within the past and thus stands in the past indicative (without ἄν). This may be called *assimilation of mood* (1934).

Pl. Gorg. 335 c ἀλλὰ σὲ ἐχρὴν ἡμῖν συγχωρεῖν τὸν ἀμφοτέρα δυνάμενον ἵνα συνουσίῃ ἐρίγντο. Meno 89 B εἰ φύσει οἱ ἀγαθοὶ ἐγίγνοντο, ἐφυλάττοντο ἂν ἐν ἀκρόπολει, ἵνα μὴδὲς αὐτοὺς διέφθειρεν. Dem. 22, 28 χρὴν σε ἀπάγειν ἵνα ἐκινδύνεγες περὶ χιλίων. Lys. 3, 21 ἐβουλόμην ἂν Σίμωνι τὴν αὐτὴν γνώμην ἐμοὶ ἔχειν ἵν', ἀμφοτέρων ἀκούσαντες τάληθ', ῥαδίως ἐγνώτε τὰ δίκαια.

1954<sup>b</sup>. So too ever since down to the present time; but regularly with ἵνα, N νὰ or γιὰ νὰ:

Acta Xanth. 59, 24 οὐκ ἔμαθον τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ καινοῦ διδασκάλου ἵνα ἐπεκαλέσασθην αὐτοῦ τὴν εὐχὴν. 61, 1 ἵνα πᾶν μικρὸν ἀνεπαγάρμην. 67, 34 ἵνα αὐτὸς ἐλθὼν ἔδωκεν. 77, 10 εἶθε κατὰ ἡμῶν ὥς ἐν τῶν θηρίων ἵνα μὴ ἡδεῖν τί ἐστιν αἰχμαλωσία. 81, 31 ἵνα μὴδ' ὅλας ταύτας συνέτυχον. Acta Nerei 8, 3 εἶθε ἐκ πάλαι ἡ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπίγνωσις αὐτῇ πρὸς με ἐλήλυθεν, ἵνα μήτε ὄνομα νύμφης προσέλαβον.—N: ἄς εἶχα γιὰ νὰ διδα. ἄς ἐφύλαγε τὰ πλοῦτή του γιὰ νὰ 'χε 'ς τὴν ἀνάγκην του. θὰ σ' ἐπαίδευσεν γιὰ νὰ μάθαινες. ἂν ἐπρόφτανε θὰ σοῦ 'γραφα γιὰ νὰ μ' ἐπερίμενες. ἄς μοῦ 'γραφες γιὰ νὰ τό 'ξερα. ἄς μὴν ἐκοιμάτονε γιὰ νὰ 'βλεπε. For a different and commoner construction see the following section (1955).

1955. Considered from the point of time of the leading sentence, the above final clauses naturally fall within the present or future, and thus commonly stand in the primary subjunctive.

Dem. 23, 7 ταῦτ' ἂν ᾗδῃ λέγειν πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐπεχείρουν ἵν' εἰδῆτε κτλ. 30, 20 φ' μὴ . . . εἰπῇ τις ἂν ἐπίστευσεν ἵν', εἰ τις γίγνητο διαφορά, κομίσασθαι βραδίως παρ' ὑμῖν δύνηται. Cr. 24, 44; 34, 30. Lys. 3, 44.

So still in *N*: ἂν ἐπρόφτανα θὰ σοῦ ἴγραφα γιὰ τὰ νὰ με περιμένῃς. ἄς ἐφύλαγε τὰ πλοῦτή του γιὰ τὰ χη'ς τὴν ἀνάγκην του.

**1956.** After expressions of *fear, caution, danger*, and kindred notions, the object of fear is introduced by *μὴ* 'lest,' 'that' (negative *μὴ* οὐ 'lest not,' 'that not' (1805. 1827), and stands in the present or future *subjunctive*, rarely in its kindred future indicative. Only when the leading verb stands in a secondary tense may the object of fear be expressed also by the secondary subjunctive:

ISOCR. 14, 38 κίνδυνός ἐστι μὴ μεταβάλλωνται καὶ γένωνται μετὰ τῶν πολέμιων. Pl. Phaedr. 257 C ὁκνῶ μὴ μοι ὁ Δυσίας ταπεινὸς φανῇ. Th. 3, 53 ὑποπτεύομεν καὶ ὑμᾶς μὴ οὐ κοινοὶ ἀποθῆτε. Pl. Theaet. 183 E αἰσχυνόμενος μὴ φορτικοὶ φανώμεν. Xen. Cyr. 2, 3, 6 δέδοικα μὴ ἄλλου τινὸς μεθέζω. Pl. Phil. 13 A φοβοῦμαι μὴ τινὺς ἡδονὰς ἡδοναῖς εὐρίσκομεν ἐναντίας.

Xen. An. 1, 10, 9 ἔδεισαν οἱ Ἕλληνες μὴ προσάγοιεν πρὸς τὸ κέρας καὶ αὐτοὺς κατακόψειαν. 3, 4, 29 οὐκέτι ἐπετίθεντο δεδοικότες μὴ ἀποτμηθεῖνσαν. Symp. 2, 11 οἱ θεώμενοι ἐφοβοῦντο μὴ τι πάθῃ. Cyr. 1, 4, 2 ὑπερφοβεῖτο μὴ οἱ ὁ πάππος ἀποθάνῃ.

**1957.** This usage still substantially survives in *N*. The only *P-N* changes consist: (1) in the retreat of the secondary subjunctive and future indicative since *H-G* and *T-B* respectively (App. v. 6-13 & 15. App. iv.); (2) in the modification in *N* of *μὴ* οὐ to *μὴ* δέν (1799. 1805); (3) in the occasional amplification in *N* of *μὴ* to *μὴν* πᾶ νά (also *μὴν* πᾶς καὶ, 1806<sup>b</sup>. 2049<sup>b</sup>), corresponding to ancient *μή* πως.

Thus *N*: φοβοῦμαι or ἐφοβήθηκα *μὴ* βρέξῃ, *μὴ* δέν ἔρθῃ—also *μὴν* πᾶ νά βρέξῃ (*μὴν* πᾶς [μήμπας] καὶ βρέξῃ)—*μὴν* πᾶ νά *μὴν* ἔρθῃ (*μὴν* πᾶς [μήμπας] καὶ δέν ἔρθῃ).

**1958.** But when the object of fear refers to the past or present and at the same time is represented as an *actuality*, it regularly stands in the indicative.

Th. 3, 53 φοβοῦμεθα μὴ ἀμφοτέρων ἡμαρτήκαμεν. Pl. Lach. 196 C ὁρῶμεν μὴ Νικίας οἰεῖται τι λέγειν. Charm. 163 A ὅρα μὴ ἐκέινον κωλῆει.

**1959.** So still in *N*, though *μὴ* in this case may be replaced by *μὴν* πᾶς (*μήμπας* 2049<sup>b</sup>) or more commonly by *πῶς* (= ὅτι 1755): φοβοῦμαι *μὴν* (*μὴν* πᾶς [μήμπας], or πῶς) ἐβρεξε, φοβοῦμαι *μὴ* (or πῶς) βρέχει.

**1960.** The word expressing the fear is sometimes omitted, and thus *μὴ* or *μὴ* οὐ with the subjunctive stands elliptically [in so far as it is not actually direct interrogative 2046 f.]:

Pl. Gorg. 462 E μὴ ἀγροικότερον ἢ τέλῃθις εἰπεῖν. Apol. 39 A ἀλλὰ μὴ οὐ τοῦτ' ἢ χαλεπὸν, θάνατον ἐκφυγεῖν.

**1961.** When used in the sense of 'I fear or hesitate to,' the above expressions (1956) govern the (prospective) infinitive (2087), and in *N* its analysis with *νά*.

Xen. Cyr. 8, 7, 15 φοβήσεται ἀδικεῖν. Th. 4, 110 οὐ κατέδεισαν ἐσελθεῖν. Dem. 25, 11 φυλαττόμενον καὶ προορώμενον μὴ καταίσχῃναι ταύτην.

So *N*: φοβοῦμαι νά περάσω 'I fear to cross over.' δειλιῶ νά πηδήσω.

**1962.** After verbs expressing an *effort* (exertion, care, etc.), the object clause is introduced by ὅπως or ὡς—negative ὅπως μὴ, ὡς, μὴ—with the future indicative or, less frequently (but regular in *G-B*), with its cognate future subjunctive (App. iv. 8). It is only when the leading verb stands in a secondary tense that the object clause in *A* also admits of the secondary subjunctive, rarely of the future optative (1935 f.).

Such verbs of effort are: ἐπιμελίσθαι, φροντίζειν, σκοπεῖν, σκέψασθαι, μέλειν, σπουδάζειν, πράττειν, παρασκευάζεσθαι—also φυλάττεσθαι, εὐλαβεῖσθαι, 'take care.'

Isocr. 2, 37 φροντίζ' ὅπως μὴδὲν ἀνάξιον τῆς τιμῆς ταύτης πράξεις. Xen. An. 1, 3, 11 σκεπτέον ὅπως ὡς ἀσφαλίστατα μενοῦμεν. Symp. 8, 25 οὐ γὰρ ὅπως πλείονος ἄξιος γένηται ἐπιμελείται, ἀλλ' ὅπως αὐτὸς ὅτι πλείστα ὥραϊα καρπώσεται. Dem. 6, 25 οὐ φυλάξεσθ' ὅπως μὴ δεσπότην εὔρητε. Xen. Cyr. 8, 1, 43 ἐπεμελείτο ὅπως μὴ ἄσιτοί ποτε ἔσονται. Th. 1, 57 ἐπρασσεν ὅπως πόλεμος γένηται.

**1963.** With the gradual retreat, since *P*, of ὅπως (or ὡς) before ἵνα (1761 f.), the latter particle substituted itself for the former in all kinds and cases of final clauses, and thus brought ὅπως into disuse. Hence ὅπως and still more ὡς are foreign to *G-N* speech, their place having been taken by ἵνα (*B-N* *và*) and its various modifications, as explained in 1760-9.

## CONDITIONAL SENTENCES.

### *General Remarks.*

[**1964.** A conditional sentence consists of a supposition and its consequence: *if you persevere you will succeed*. The clause containing the supposition (*if you persevere*) is called *protasis* (condition, hypothesis, *If*-clause), that containing the consequence (*you will succeed*) is called *apodosis* (*Then*-clause).]

**1965.** Conditional sentences may be classed under two broad heads, according as they express an undetermined supposition (*objective form*)<sup>[1]</sup>, or an unreal assumption (*subjective form*)<sup>[2]</sup>. Either case may naturally refer to the present, past, or future time.

**1966.** The conjunctions introducing the *protasis* are two: εἰ 'if,' and εἰν or εἴν (also ἦν) 'if,' all identical in meaning but varying in point of construction (cp. εἴτε and εἰν τε 1727-8). The former (εἰ), after a long record, retreated before the latter (εἴν or εἴν), which thus acquired an absolute dominion (1771 f.). It still fully survives in the form εἴν, often amplified to εἴνε, or abbreviated to simple εἴ (1772), sometimes also by metathesis to νά (1773 ff.).

**1967.** The *protasis* or *If*-clause may be expressed: by εἰ and the indicative or secondary subjunctive; by εἴν (εἴν, ἦν) and the primary subjunctive; by a relative clause (2023); or by a participle alone (1977. 2153-4). The *apodosis* or *Then*-clause may be expressed by any finite mood. Of these finite moods the indicative and secondary subjunctive are, in certain cases, accompanied by the modal particle εἴν,

[1] As *if it rains I shall get wet* (but it may or may not rain, therefore I may or may not get wet).

[2] As *if I had been invited I should have gone* (but I was not invited, therefore I did not go).

and called on this account *potential* indicative or potential subjunctive [potential optative] respectively.

1868. The protasis is almost always negated by *μή* (1804; but cp. 1807<sup>b</sup> f.), the apodosis by *οὐ* (*N δε"*) or *μή*, according to the nature of the case (1801-1821).

1869. A. The *objective* conditional form (1965), which leaves it undecided whether the protasis is a reality or a mere assumption, has a threefold construction :

1869<sup>b</sup>. 1. If it refers to any time (past, present, or future) and puts no special stress on the supposition—which is the commonest case—the protasis is expressed by *εἰ* with the *indicative* of any tense (or by the conditional participle, 1967), and the apodosis by any finite mood.

*εἰ θέλεις δύναιαι, or θέλων δύναιαι, if you wish, you can.*

Eur. Bell. Frg. 294, 7 *εἰ θεοὶ τε δρώσιν αἰσχρὸν οὐκ εἰσὶν θεοί.* Soph. Frg. 18 *εἰ δεῖν' ἔδρασας, δεῖνὰ καὶ παθεῖν σε χρη.* Eur. Frg. 5 *εἰ μή καθέξεις γλώσσαν ἔσται σοι κακά.* Pl. Cr. 49 B *σοὶ εἰ πῃ ἄλλη δέδοκται, λέγε καὶ διδάσκει.* Soph. Phil. 526 *ἀλλ' εἰ δοκεῖ πλέωμεν, ὀρμάσθω ταχύς.* Dem. 18, 10 *εἰ μὲν ἴστε με τοιοῦτον . . . μηδὲ φωνῇ ἀνάσχησθε.* Ar. Av. 1390 *σὺ δὲ κλῶν εἰσεῖ τάχα.* Xen. Cyr. 8, 7, 28 *τοὺς φίλους εἰργετοῦντες, καὶ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς δυνήσεσθε κολάζειν.*

For *P-N* see 1984-92.

1870. 2. If it refers exclusively to the *present* or *future* with a certain emphasis upon the supposition, the protasis is expressed by *ἐάν* (*ἄν, ᾗν*) with the primary *subjunctive*, or by the conditional participle (1967)<sup>(1)</sup>, and the apodosis by any prospective mood (indicative of any primary tense, imperative, primary subjunctive).

*ἐάν θέλῃς or θελήσῃς δυνήσῃ, or θέλων (θελήσας) δυνήσῃ, if you (really) wish, you will succeed.*

Pl. Lach. 201 C *ἢ ζω παρὰ σέ αὐριον, ἐάν θεὸς ἐθέλῃ.* Men. 165 *ἐάν δ' ἔχωμεν χρήμαθ' ἔξιμεν φίλους.* Xen. Cyr. 5, 3, 27 *ἐάν οὖν ἴης νῦν, πότε ἔσει οἴκοι;* Pl. Rep. 473 D *ἐάν μή ἡ οἱ φιλόσοφοι βασιλεύσων ἢ οἱ βασιλῆς φιλοσοφῶσιν οὐκ ἔστι κακῶν παῦλα ταῖς πόλεσιν.* Ar. Ran. 586 *ἢν σε τοῦ λοιποῦ ποτ' ἀφέλωμαι χρόνου, κάκιστ' ἀπολοίμην.* Xen. Cyr. 3, 2, 13 *ἢν πόλεμον αἰρήσῃ, μηκέτι ἤκετε δεῦρο ἄνευ ὀπλων.* Soph. Ant. 1255 *ἀλλ' εἰσόμεθα δόμους παραστείχοντες.* Gnom. θεοῦ διδόντος οὐδὲν ἰσχύει φθόνος, | καὶ μὴ διδόντος οὐδὲν ἰσχύει πόνος.

So still in *N*: *ἄν ἔχης στεῖλε μου. ἄν ἐκουράστηκες κάθισε. ἄν ἱβρεῖς θά εἰνε λάσπη.* See also 1984-92.

1871. 3. Conversely, if it refers to the future, but represents the case as a mere potentiality, the protasis is expressed by *εἰ* with the secondary subjunctive, or by the participle (1967), and the apodosis by the potential secondary subjunctive (1925).

*εἰ θέλοισ (or θέλων) δύναιο ἄν, if you should wish, you would succeed.*

(1) 'All conditional particles connected with future tenses must be resolved into *ἐάν* with subjunctive.' B LGildersleeve, Trans. Amer. Phil. Soc. 1876, p. 14.

Xen. Cyr. 2, 1, 8 οὐδ' εἰ πάντες ἔλθοιεν Πέρσαι, πλήθει γε οὐχ ὑπερβαλοίμεθ' ἂν τοὺς πολέμιους. Pl. Phaed. 68 B οὐ πολλή ἂν ἀλογία εἴη, εἰ φοβοῖτο τὸν θάνατον ὁ τοιοῦτος; Th. 1, 70, 9 εἰ τις ξυνηλὼν ταῦτα φαίη ὀρθῶς ἂν εἴποι. Aesch. Ag. 37 οἶκος δ' αὐτός, εἰ φθογγὴν λάβοι, σαφέστατ' ἂν λέξειεν. Sept. 195 τοιαῦτα ἴ' ἂν γυναιξὶ κυνναίων ἔχοις. Soph. Ant. 185 οὐδ' ἂν ciωπήσαιμι τὴν ἀτὴν ὁρῶν (i. e. εἰ ὁρῶν) στείχουσιν ἀσπίς.

1972. Of this form of conditional sentences not one instance is found in the NT, though once at least it was suggested in Acts 8, 31 (1984 f.).

1973. For the case when the protasis serves as indirect sentence question, see 2054.

1974. B. The *subjective conditional form* (1965), which represents a case as a mere assumption contrary to reality, refers either to the *past*, or to the *present conceived as past*. The *protasis* then is expressed by *εἰ* with the *indicative* of any *secondary* tense, or by the *participle* (1967), and the *apodosis* by the *potential indicative* with *ἂν* (1901. 1907. 1967).—In particular the imperfect stands here for the present, and the aorist (rarely pluperfect) for the past (1904. 1907).

εἰ ἤθελες (or θέλων), ἐδύνω ἂν, *if you wished, you would succeed*.

εἰ ἠθέλησας (or θελήσας), ἐδυνήθης ἂν, *if you had wished, you would have succeeded*.

Xen. Mem. 4, 3, 3 φῶς εἰ μὴ εἶχόμεν ὅμοιοι τοῖς τυφλοῖς ἂν ἦμεν. Th. 1, 9 οὐκ ἂν νήσων ἐκράτει εἰ μὴ τι καὶ ναυτικὸν εἶχεν. Dem. 27, 63 τί ποτ' ἂν ἐπαθόν ὑπ' αὐτῶν εἰ πλείω χρόνον ἐπετροπεύθην; Xen. An. 2, 1, 4 εἰ μὴ ὑμεῖς ἤλυθε ἐπορευόμεθα ἂν ἐπὶ βασιλείᾳ. Dem. 18, 76 τῶν ἀδικημάτων ἂν ἐμέμνητο τῶν αὐτοῦ εἰ τι περὶ ἐμοῦ γ' ἔγραφεν. 18, 228 οὐ γὰρ ἂν μεταπίθειν ἡμᾶς ἐχέτει μὴ τοιαύτης οὔσης τῆς ὑπαρχούσης ὑπολήψεως περὶ ἐκατέρου. Pl. Rep. 620 D τὰ αὐτὰ ἂν ἐπράξε καὶ πρώτη λαοῦσα.

1974<sup>b</sup>. So too in *P-B* compositions, as: Ignat. ad. Tral. 11, 2 εἰ γὰρ ἦσαν ἐφαίνοντο ἂν κλάδοι τοῦ σταυροῦ καὶ ἦν ἂν ὁ καρπὸς αὐτῶν ἀφθαρτος. Callin. 57, 6 χαλκεὺς εἰ ἦμην ἡ τέκτων οὐκ ἂν με ἐμιμήσασθε—but ἂν in this case is frequently replaced by *ἤβελον*, as: Test. xii. εἰ μὴ Ἰακῶβ προσήξατο ἤβеле Κύριος ἀνελεῖν με.

1975. *Temporal condition*. Only in appearance is conditional the case where *εἰ* with the secondary subjunctive (and after its retreat, the past indicative, App. v. 9), or *ἐὰν* with the primary subjunctive, is used to express a *repeated* or *customary* action referring to the past or present. In reality *εἰ* and *ἐὰν* here are substitutes for *ὅτε* and *ὅταν* 'when(ever)', so that such a conditional sentence is virtually an iterative temporal clause and so must be treated accordingly (1997 ff.).

εἰ θέλοις or θελήσειας, ἐδύνω, *when(ever) you wished, you could*.

Th. 8, 66 εἰ δέ τις καὶ ἀντείποι εὐθὺς ἐτεθνήκει 'when(ever) any one objected, he was a dead man.' Hdt. 1, 100 εἰ τινα πυνθάνοιτο ὑβρίζοντα τοῦτον ἐδικαίει. Eur. Alc. 755 ἀλλ' εἴ τι μὴ φέροιμεν ὥτρυνεν φέρειν. 671 ἦν ἐγγὺς ἔλθῃ θάνατος οὐδεὶς βοῦλάται θνήσκειν. Xen. An. 5, 8 Περσῶν εἴ που τι ὀρῶν βρωτὸν διεάδου. Dem. 2, 12 ὅπας ὁ λόγος, ἂν ἀπὴ τὰ πράγματα, μάταιόν τι φαίνεται καὶ κενόν.

Callin. 63, 1. 64, 2 εἴ τις ἐθλίβετο. 105, 5 εἴ τις ὠφέληθῃ. 105, 16. 120,

20 εἰ που ἦν. 127, 20 εἴ τι ἔλλαλει. Leont. Neap. V. J. 65, 1 εἰ δὲ πού τινα σκληρόν καὶ ἀπάνθρωπον ἦσθετο (= ἡσθάνετο, 99δ<sub>8</sub>; App. iii. 3) δὲ μακάριος, τοῦτον μετετέλλετο καὶ παρεκάλει.—More examples in App. v. 9.

PECULIARITIES OF CONDITIONAL SENTENCES.

1976. *Mixed forms.* The form of the apodosis is not always fixed by the form of the protasis, but depends on the individual conception or intention of the speaker. Hence we frequently find that an objective or real protasis is associated with a potential apodosis.

Xen. An. 5, 6, 7 δείξαιμι ἂν ταῦτα, εἰ μοί τινα βοῦλεσθε συμπέμψαι. 2, 4, 19 οὐδὲ ἂν πολλὰ γέφυραι ὥσιν, ἔχοιμεν ἂν ὅποι σαθῶμεν. Pl. Apol. 25 B πολλὰ γὰρ ἂν εὐδαιμονία εἴη περὶ τοὺς νέους εἰ εἰς μὲν μόνους αὐτοὺς διαφθεῖρει, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι ὠφελοῖσιν.

1976<sup>b</sup>. Sometimes while the protasis is conceived as a mere potentiality, the apodosis is represented as a definite case: *should you perchance see him, write me at once.* In that case the primary subjunctive of the *If*-clause is replaced by the secondary subjunctive preceded by *εἰ*, as: *εἰ αὐτὸν ἴδοις, παραχρῆμα γράψον μοι.*

Pl. Meno 80 D εἰ ἐντίχοις αὐτῷ, πῶς εἴσει ὅτι τοῦτο ἐστίν; Charm. 173 C εἰ δὲ δοῖσθαι γέ, καὶ τὴν μαντικὴν εἶναι ἐνγυωρήσωμεν ἐπιστήμην τοῦ μέλλοντος ἔσεσθαι. Eur. Ant. Frg. 211 τί δὲ καλῆς γυναικός, εἰ μὴ τὰς φρένας χρηστὰς ἔχοι; Luc. Tim. 15 εἰ γε τάληθες ἐξετάσοις, ἄμφω σοι εὐλογα δόξω ποιεῖν. [Cyrill. H. Catech. 13, 22 καὶ εἰ τις ἐρεγνήσειε, εὐρήσει καὶ ἄλλας αἰτίας. Hieron. Gr. Dial. 848 C εἰ τοῦτο δοίης, ἀντερῶ σοι.]

1977. *Substitutions for the protasis.* In objective conditional sentences, the relation (1969-71) is often expressed by a simpler and more vivid mode. This is effected by changing the protasis—

(a) to a direct *interrogative* clause, the apodosis then serving as a reply to it, as:

Dem. 18, 274 ἐξήμαρτέ τις ἐκὼν; ὀργή καὶ τιμωρία κατὰ τοῦτον. ἐξήμαρτέ τις ἄκων; συγγνώμη ἀντὶ τῆς τιμωρίας τούτου.—NT Jas. 5, 13 κακοπαθεῖ τις ἐν ὑμῖν; προσευχέσθω. εὐθυμεῖ τις; ψαλλέτω. ἀσθενεῖ τις ἐν ὑμῖν; προσκαλεσάσθω τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους κτλ. 1 Cor. 7, 21 δούλος ἐκλήθης; μὴ σοι μελέτω. 1 Pet. 1, 24 ἐξηράνθη ὁ χόρτος; καὶ ἄνθος αὐτοῦ ἐξέπεσεν. Epict. Ench. 15 γέγονε τι κατὰ σέ; ἐκτείνας τὴν χεῖρα κοσμίως μετάλαβε. παρέρχεται; μὴ κάτεχε. οὕτω ἦκει; μὴ ἐπιβάλλε πόρρω τὴν ὄρεξιν, ἀλλὰ περίμενε.

(b) to an *imperative*, the apodosis then being subjoined by means of *καὶ*. This case is very common, especially in *P-N*, as:

Soph. El. 1207 πείθοις λέγοντι κοῦχ ἀμαρτήσῃ ποτέ. Pl. Theaet. 149 B. Rep. 467 C. Ar. Plut. 1027 φράζε καὶ πεπράγεται.—Luc. Indoc. 29 τοὺς κουρίας τοῦτους ἐπύκνεσαι καὶ ὄψαι. Dial. D. 2, 2 εὐρύσθημα βαίνει καὶ ὄψαι.—Sept. Sir. 2, 6 πίστευσον αὐτῷ καὶ ἀντιλήψεται σου. 3, 17 ἐν πράττητι τὰ ἔργα σου διέεζε καὶ ἀγαπήσῃ. NT John 2, 19 λύσατε τὸν ναὸν τοῦτον καὶ ἐν τρισὶν ἡμέραις ἐγερῶ (ἐγείρω;) αὐτόν. So 1, 40. Matt. 7, 7 αἰτεῖτε καὶ δοθήσεται ὑμῖν ζητεῖτε καὶ εὕρησεν κροῦετε καὶ ἀνοιγήσεται ὑμῖν. So 11, 29, etc. Matt. 4, 19. 8, 8. Luke 7, 7. 10, 28. Jas. 4, 7. Mark 6, 22. Luke 10, 28. John 14, 16. Rev. 4, 1. Hermas Vis. 1, 1, 9 προσεγγύχοι πρὸς τὸν θεὸν καὶ ἴσεται τὰ ἀμαρτημάτων σου. Vita Epiph. 41 C. 49 B. 96 C. 85 D. 96 C; et passim—and so on ever since.

(c) to a preposition with its case, or some other form of expression (1991), as:



Dem. 18, 49 διὰ γε ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς πάλαι ἂν ἀπωλώλιτε. Isoc. 4, 143 τὸ μὲν ἐπὶ ἐκείνῳ πολλάκις ἂν διελογήσαν.

(d) to a relative clause, for which see 2023 f.

1978. *Protasis omitted.* The protasis of a subjective condition is often omitted, especially when the apodosis, if expressed, would be equivalent to a potential clause (one *might*, one *could*).

Xen. Cyr. 7, 1, 38 ἐνθα δὲ ἔγνω ἂν τις ὅσου ἄξιον εἴη τὸ φιλεῖσθαι ἀρχοντα. Eur. And. 85 πολλὰς ἂν εἴροις μηχανάς 'you could find many devices.' Pl. Rep. 487 Ε ἀκούοις ἂν, εἴ μοιγε φαίνονται τάληθ' ἔλγειν.—So often ἐβουλόμην ἂν, and βουλόμην ἂν 'I wish I could,' 'I should like.'

1979. *Verb omitted.* The verb of the protasis may be suppressed when it is readily supplied. This blending has led to a number of pregnant and crystallized adverbial expressions:—

1980. 1. εἴ (or εἴπερ) τις καὶ ἄλλος ('if any one it is he') 'as much as any one,' 'more than any other.' (Cp. 1712.)

[1980<sup>b</sup>. On this principle we must read in NT 2 Cor. 11, 23 εἴπερ ἐγώ (1685<sup>b</sup>).]

1981. 2. εἰ μὴ, less common ἔάν μὴ, (=πλὴν) 'except,' 'unless,' used chiefly after a negation or interrogation. (1735.)

Xen. An. 4, 7, 5 οὐ γὰρ ὀρώμεν εἰμὶ ὀλίγους τούτους. Pl. Crito 53 Ε οὐδεὶς οὐδὲν σε κακὸν ἐρεῖ ἂν μὴ τινα λυπῆς.

1981<sup>b</sup>. Hence εἰ μὴ εἰ (=πλὴν εἰ) 'unless.'

1982. In this exceptive sense both εἰ μὴ and ἂν μὴ are still preserved in N as crystallized adverbs. The latter, moreover, has been phonopatically contracted to δμ(μ)ή, recently also to δμ(μ)έ, as: ABC 39, 4. 82, 6. 88, 4.

1982<sup>b</sup>. For this δ(μ)μή modern speech often substitutes μά, that is Italian *ma* (from Latin *magis* 'rather'). (1736.)

1983. 3. εἰ δὲ μὴ (rarer ἂν δὲ μὴ) 'if not,' 'otherwise,' used in alternative cases, especially after εἰ μὲν, εἰ μὲν, εἰ (εἰάν) μὲν μὴ:—

Xen. An. 7, 1, 8 μὴ ποιήσῃς ταῦτα, εἰ δὲ μὴ αἰτίαν ἔξεις. An. 3, 2, 3. Pl. Phaed. 91 C ἐάν μὲν τι ὑμῖν δοκῶ ἀληθὲς λέγειν ἐυνομολογήσατε· εἰ δὲ μὴ, παντὶ λόγῳ ἀντιτείνετε. Crito 52 Ε. Th. 3, 3 ἦν μὲν ἐυμβῆ ἡ πείρα . . . εἰ δὲ μὴ. Luke 10, 6. 13. 9. Acts 5, 38 f.

1984. The P-N history of the conditional sentences has been determined by various causes, both direct and indirect. In the first place the secondary subjunctive had shown, even in A, unmistakable signs of retreat (1923 ff. 1934). In the less subtle language of subsequent times this retreat was inevitably accelerated, and we shall see in App.v.6 ff. (cp. also 1934) that towards the beginning of our era the secondary subjunctive, as a dependent mood, had completely passed out of use in the unconventional living language. As a natural consequence the third form of objective conditional protases (1971) retreated with the secondary subjunctive and soon disappeared completely.

1985. Even Polybios makes hardly any use of this form of conditional protasis, and in the NT there are only nine instances of εἰ with the secondary subjunctive, but even these solitary examples are doubtful, partly also irrelevant. (2039. Cp. 1972.)

1986. A second and parallel cause which told on the P-N history

of conditional sentences was the early retreat of the future indicative (App. iv). This inevitably led to a further limitation of the conditional sentences, inasmuch as that portion of the first conditional form which referred to the clear future (*ei* + fut. indic. 1969<sup>b</sup> f.) had now to be given up in favour of the ever spreading primary subjunctive. Accordingly with the disappearance of the secondary subjunctive and the future indicative, the prospective part of the first form of conditional sentences (1969-70) and the entire third form (1971) were replaced by the primary subjunctive with *ἐάν* (*ān*). To put it another way, all *If*-clauses referring to the future are henceforth expressed indiscriminately by the primary subjunctive with *ἐάν* (*ān*).

1987. Lastly another morphological, but equally important, factor contributed to determine the *P-N* fate of conditional sentences. The two parallel conjunctions *εἰ* and *ἐάν* or *ἄν* (*ān*),—later also their temporal correlatives *ὅτε* and *ὅταν*—synonyms as they were even in *A*, became gradually identical in meaning, the only distinction retained in *P* Greek being their respective constructions. Before long, however, this syntactical difference was also levelled, and the two groups of conditional particles became in every respect synonymous and interchangeable (1772. 1780). At this stage of complete identity, the stronger naturally prevailed over the weaker, and thus *ἐάν* (*ān*) and *ὅταν* invaded the domain of *εἰ* and *ὅτε* respectively. Accordingly *ἐάν* (*ān*) and *ὅταν* even in the Septuagint and in Polybios appear with the past indicative in the room of *εἰ* and *ὅτε* respectively.

Gen. 38, 9 ὅταν εἰσῆρχετο. Ex. 17, 11 ὅταν ἐπῆρε Μωϋσῆς τὰς χεῖρας. Num. 11, 9 ὅταν κατέβη. 21, 9. 1 Reg. 17, 34 ὅταν ἤρχετο ὁ λέων. Ps. 119, 7 ὅταν ἐλάλουν. (So *ἦν* *ān* Gen. 30. 42. Ex. 33, 8. 34, 34. 40, 36.) Deut. 2, 16 ἐπειδὴν ἔπεσαν.—NT 1 John 5, 15 ἂν οἶδαμεν. Mark 3, 11 ὅταν αὐτὸν ἐθεώρουν. 11, 19 ὅταν ἐγένετο. Barn. 12, 3 ὅπότεν καθέλει. 4, 14 ὅταν βλέπετε. Ignat. ad Eph. 8, 1 ὅταν μηδεμία ἐπιθυμία ἐνῆρκεται ἐν ὑμῖν. Hermas Sim. 9, 1, 6 ὅταν ὁ ἥλιος ἐπικεκαγῇ ξηραὶ ἐγίνοντο. 9, 4, 5 ὅταν ἐτέθκαν. 9, 6, 4 ὅταν ἐπάτασεν. 9, 17, 3 ὅταν ἐτέθκαν. Polyb. 4, 32, 5 ὅταν οὗτοι πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἢ πρὸς ἐτέρους πολεμοῦντες ἐν περισπασμοῖς ἦσαν. 13, 7, 10 ὅταν οὖν προσήρειε ταῖς χερσὶ πρὸς τὰ νῦτα τῆς γυναίκος. 9, 31, 2 ἂν δὲ καὶ προκατέχευε καὶ προδιελήφατε περὶ τούτων, τίς ἐτι καταλείπεται λόγος; 13, 7, 8 ἐπειδὴν ἀνέστησε. Strab. 1, 1, 7 ὅταν οὕτω φησί. 12, 3, 27 ὅταν δεικνύται ψεῦδος λογόμενόν τι. Philo i. 109, 27. 120, 26. ii. 112, 23 ὅταν εἰς ἔννοιαν ἦλθεν. ii. 252, 33. 584, 49. Jos. Ant. 12, 2, 3 ὅταν ἀποδιδῶσι. Apoc. Mar 122, 29 ὅταν ἀνέβαινον. Other examples in 779.

1988. On the other hand, *εἰ* and *ὅτε*, while retreating before their advancing rivals, are also subjected to their influence; hence fastidious scribes now begin to use them as equivalents to *ἐάν* and *ὅταν* respectively, and thus construct them with the subjunctive now so popular in every respect (1990. App. v. 13 ff.).

Sept. Deut. 8, 5 ὥς εἴ τις ἀνθρώπος παιδεύσῃ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ. NT Phil. 3, 12 δῶκω εἰ καὶ καταλάβω. 3, 11 εἰ πως κατανήσω εἰς τὴν ἐξάνστασιν. Rom. 11, 14 εἰ πως παραζηλώσω μου τὴν σάρκα καὶ σώσω τινα ἐξ αὐτῶν. Luke 13, 35 ὥς ἔχει and ὅτε εἶπτε. CWessely N. Zaub. 25, 445 ὅτε θέλει (read -λησι). Cyrill. H. Procat. 15 ὅτε εἰσέλθonte. Carth. 1319 E ὅτε λάβωσιν. Apophth. 105 B ὅτε δ' ἔλθῃ ἡ ὥρα. 112 B ὅτε θέλῃ. Alchem. 311, 15 ὅτε γῆ καλῶς. 312, 16 ὥς ὅτε ὁσμήν θείον μὴ ἀποπέμψῃ. Acta Tho. 5, 8 εἰ τις δὲ παρητίσεται καὶ μὴ παρατήχῃ. 27, 6 εἰ δὲ ἐπώμεν. 28, 18 εἰ μὴ ἐπάρτε ταυτοῦ. Apophth. 413 C ὅτε πεινᾷς φάγε' ὅτε διψᾷς πῖε' ὅτε νυκταεῖς

## 1988-1992.] CONDITIONAL SENTENCES SINCE A.

κοιμῶ. Callin. 83, 11 ὅτε πράξῃ. ib. 20 εἰ ἀγνηθῇ. 87, 28 ὅτε ἀλοήσῃ. 134, 9 εἰ δὲ ἐπέλωσιν. CGL 232, 1 ὅτε ὑπάγομεν (ᾤπιτε-ωμεν) διηγήσομαι σοι 'quando uadimus narrabo tibi.' Narr. Zos. 105, 13 ὅτε δὲ ἐλώσιν. ib. 29 ὅτε ἀπέλθῃ. Porph. Cer. 211, 10 ὅτε ἀπέλθῃ. 220, 16. 380, 9. Vita SA. 6\* c τοῦ κόσμου τὸ χρυσίον εἰ μοι ἐνέγκῃς. 14\* c εἰ μὲν ἢ φίλος αὐτοῦ.—So too θέλῃς οὐ θέλῃς 'willy nilly' (1729).

1989. The construction of *εἰ* with the primary subjunctive is frequent in Homer, and occurs also in A poets, but in our normalized texts of A prose it is rare (RKühner ii.<sup>2</sup> 398, 2 D), as: Th. 6, 21 εἰ (v. l. ἦν) ζυγτώσιν. Pl. Leg. 761 c εἰ τι . . . ἦ. 95<sup>8</sup> D εἴτε . . . ἦ. Rep. 579 D εἰ μὴ τῷ δοκῇ. Xen. An. 3, 2, 22 εἰ . . . ὥσι. Mem. 2, 1, 12 εἰ . . . ἀζιώσῃς, θεραπεύσῃς. Cyr. 3, 3, 50; Andoc. 1, 141 εἰ γένηται. Dem. 19, 221 εἰ . . . ἀπόλωμαι. [Dem.] 46, 11 εἰ . . . θογληθῇ.—In late prosaists, like Dion. H., Diod., Luc., Plut., *εἰ* + prim. subj. is frequent (cp. Baehr ad Plut. Artax. p. 24, Jacob ad Luc. Tox. p. 53). Luc. Tox. 7 εἰ μὴ ἐπ' ἰσῆς κοινωνήσῃ (edd. -σοσι) τῶν ἡδέων. Bis accus. 2 εἰ (edd. ἦν) γὰρ τι καὶ μικρὸν ἐπινηγτάζωμεν. Hermot. 42 εἰ ἐκείνῳ πρῶτον ἢ δευτέρῳ ἐντύχῃς (edd. -χοις), τί ποιήσεις. Deo. Dial. 7, 2 εἰ (edd. ἦν) σοι προσέλθῃ μόνον. Dial. Mort. 3, 2 τί φῆς; εἰ μὴ ἐς Λεβαδείαν γὰρ παρέλθω καὶ . . . εἰσέρπῃς. Timon, 19 οὐκοῦν εἰ μὴ ἐμφράζηται (v. l. -ζεται) τὸ κεχρηδὸς τοῦτο.—See also 1921.

1990. This laxity, which appears at first sporadically, becomes more common in process of time, until finally *εἰ* and *ὅτε*, having lost all individual force, disappeared altogether during T from the living language. (1988.)

1991. From the preceding evidence (1987 ff.), taken in connexion with the general tendency of the language, since H times, for the primary subjunctive (App. v. 13-20), it becomes clear that, in G-M unscholastic compositions, it is the primary subjunctive rather than the indicative which is required in all conditional clauses referring to a clearly prospective supposition. Hence constructions like NT 1 Cor. 9, 11 εἰ ἡμεῖς ὑμῶν τὰ σαρκικὰ θερίσωμεν, and 14, 5 ἐκτός εἰ μὴ διερμηνεύῃ, well agree with the spirit of the language and need no emendation. On the other hand, the construction of *ἰάν* and *ὅταν* as well as *ἵνα* (779), with the indicative instead of with the primary subjunctive, in cases of total homophony, is indefensible (2000). Accordingly instances like the following ought to be emended:

NT Rom. 14, 8 ἰάν ἀποθνήσκομεν. 1 Th. 3, 8. Acts 8, 31 ἰάν ὁδηγήσει. John 8, 36 ἰάν οὖν ὁ υἱὸς ὑμᾶς ἐλευθερώσει. Luke 11, 12 ἰάν αἰτῇσι φόβον. Acts 5, 15 ἵνα ἐπισκιάσει. 1 John 5, 20 ἵνα γινώσκωμεν. Acts 21, 24 ἵνα ξυρήσονται. Rev. 14, 13 ἵνα ἀναπαύσονται Gal. 6, 12 ἵνα διώκονται. R v. 6, 11 ἵνα ἀναπαίσονται. Barn. 10, 4 ὁ χοῖρος ὅταν τρώγῃ τὸν κύριον οὐκ οἶδε. 15, 5 ὅταν καταργήσῃ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦ ἀνέμου καὶ κρινεῖ (write κρίνῃ) τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς καὶ ἀλλάξῃ τὸν ἥλιον κτλ. Hermas Sim. 9, 12, 4 f. εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ οὐδεὶς ἐισελεύσεται εἰ μὴ λάβοι (write -ῃ) τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ. ἰάν γὰρ εἰς πόλιν θελήσῃς ἐσελθεῖν τινα κἀκείνη ἢ (read ἢ) πόλιν περιτετευσμένην κύκλῳ καὶ μίαν ἔχει πύλιν, μήτι δύνησῃ εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἐκείνην ἐσελθεῖν εἰ μὴ διὰ τῆς πύλης ἥς ἔχει; Mart. Petri 82, 11 ὅταν ἀνέρχομαι. Mart. Petri et Pauli 120, 5 ἰάν θελήσῃ, 132, 14 ἰάν μὴ βασιλεύσῃ. 144, 4 ἵνα μὴ τολήσῃ. 16, 146 ἵνα μὴ μαστίξῃ,—and so on. (Cp. 779.)

1992. The other leading form of conditional clauses—subjunctive or unreal hypothesis (1974 f.)—has a simpler and at the same time longer record, and this is mainly due to three favourable circumstances. At the outset it had a distinct and well-defined office to discharge, that is a mere assumption (*εἰ* εἶχον ἐδίδουν *ἂν*, 'if I had I should give,'—but I have not); then it was expressed by the permanent imperfect and aorist indicative; and lastly it was at all times invariably led

by the conjunction *εἰ*, the use of *ἐάν* or *ἄν* being perhaps felt as inappropriate in the protasis owing to the presence of another (modal) *ἄν* in the apodosis (\**ἄν* *εἶχον* *ἐδίδουν* *ἄν*, however cp. Xen. An. 2, 4, 19). As a consequence, conditional clauses of this form preserved their *A* pattern as late as *T*. At that time, however, a different agency came into play: the conjunction *εἰ* having been previously dislodged by *ἐάν* or *ἄν* from the present indicative now retreated from the past indicative also—its last intrenchment—before the all-carrying *ἐάν*, now regularly *ἄν* (1772). Accordingly, in the unconventional living language, *ἄν* has been ever since down to the present day the sole and absolute particle introducing conditional clauses, whether objective or subjective. See also 1972.

### CONCESSIVE CLAUSES.

1993. Concessive clauses, when not expressed by a participial construction (2155 f.), are introduced either by—

a. *εἰ καί, ἐάν (ἄν) καί, although*;—or—

b. *καὶ εἰ, καὶ ἐάν, καὶ ἄν (κἄν), even if*;

and follow, as regards tense and mood, the rule of conditional protases.—Negation *μή*.

Dem. 16, 24 τὰ μὲν δίκαια πάντες, ἐὰν καὶ μὴ βούλωνται . . . ἀσχύνονται μὴ πράττειν. Men. 19 γελᾷ δ' ὁ μωρὸς κἄν τι μὴ γελῶν ᾗ.

1994. So still in *N*, but *καὶ εἰ* or rather *καὶ ἄν* (1771. 1992) has been differentiated to *καὶ νά* (1775), while *εἰ καὶ* or rather *ἄν καί*, owing to the obliteration in it of the force of *καί* (1717), has been since *M* either replaced by *καλὰ καί* also (*ἄν καλὰ*) *ἀγκαλὰ καί* (corresponding to Italian [bene che] *benchè*), or commonly amplified by contamination to *ἵστωντας* (= *ἵστω*) also to *ἵστωντας καὶ νά* (Italian *essendo che*, 116) 'notwithstanding that.' A third form *μὲ ὄλον ποῦ* or *μ' ὄλον ὅτι*, which savours of literary affectation, is a translation of the Italian *con tutto che*.

### TEMPORAL CLAUSES.

1995. Unless they are expressed by a participial construction (2147 ff.), temporal clauses are introduced by—

a. *ὅτε, ὁπότε, ἡνίκα, 'when'—ἐπεὶ, ἐπειδὴ 'when,' 'after'; ἐπεὶ (ἐπειδὴ) τάχιστα 'as soon as'; ἀφ' οὗ, ἐξ οὗ (ἀφ' ὅτου, ἐξ ὅτου) 'since';*

b. *ἕως, ὥστε, μέχρι (οὔ), ἐν ᾧ 'as long as';—πρίν (ἤ) 'ere,' 'before' (1776-94);—*

and admit of a twofold construction according as they denote a definite or indefinite time. (1776.)

1996. When they point to a definite or fixed time, they stand in the indicative.—Negation *οὐ*.

Xen. An. 3, 1, 13 ἐπεὶ πάντες συνῆλθον, ἐκαθέζοντο· ὅτε δὲ ταῦτα ἦν, ἦσαν μέσαι νύκτες. Th. 3, 10 μέχρι ἀπὸ τοῦ ἴσου ἡγοῦντο, προθύμως ἐπέμβα. Xen. Hell. 1, 1, 3 ἐμάχοντο μέχρι οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀπέπλευσαν. Cyr.

7, 5, 39 ὁ ὄχλος πλείων καὶ πλείων ἐπέρρει ἕωςπερ ἔφθασεν ἑσπέρα γενομένη.

For *P-N* see 1999 f.

**1997.** But when they refer to an *indefinite, potential or conditional* futurity (indefinite repetition, or duration : *any time, whenever*, etc.) they are expressed by the primary subjunctive with *ἄν* (1975. 2023). Only when the principal clause stands in a secondary tense, do they also admit of the secondary subjunctive without *ἄν* (1933. 1954).—In either case the negation is *μή*.

**1998.** The particle *ἄν* coalesces with those temporal conjunctions which admit of elision, into one word : (ὅτε *ἄν*) ὅταν, ὁπότε; (ἐπεὶ *ἄν*) ἐπὶ, (ἐπειδὴ *ἄν*) ἐπειδάν—but *ἕως ἄν* (*G-N ὡς ἄν* 152), *πρὶν ἄν*, etc.

Eur. I. T. 625 τάφος δὲ ποῖος δέξεται μ' ὅταν θάνω; Dem. 4, 14 ἐπειδὴν ἅπαντα ἀκούσῃτε, κρίνατε. Philem. 156 μανόμεθα πάντες ὁπότεν ὀργιζώμεθα. Xen. An. 4, 1, 16 θαμνὰ παρήγγελλεν ὁ Ξενοφῶν ὑπομένειν ὅτε (whenever) οἱ πολέμιοι ἰσχυρῶς ἐπικέοιντο. Pl. Phaed. 59 D περιεμένονεν ἑκάστοτε ἕως ἀνοιχθεῖν τὸ δεσματήριον· ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἀνοιχθεῖν, εἰσήμην παρὰ τὸν Σωκράτη. Xen. Cyr. 3, 3, 46 μὴ ἀναμείνωμεν ἕως ἂν πλείους ἡμῶν οἱ πολέμοι γένωνται, ἀλλ' ἴωμεν ἕως ἔτι οἰόμεθα εὐπετῶς ἂν αὐτῶν κρατῆσαι. Ignat. ad Smyrn. 9, 1 εὐλογόν ἐστιν λοιπὸν ἡμᾶς ἀνανῆσαι ὥς ἔτι καιρὸν ἔχοντες εἰς θεὸν μετανοεῖν. See also 1975.

**1999.** Regarding *P-N* discourse it will be remembered that the secondary subjunctive retreated early before the primary subjunctive and partly before the indicative also (1934. App. v. 6 ff.). Again the presence of a great variety in *A* of temporal conjunctions could not but lead to a confusion among them, and to the consequent retreat of some of them before others or before novel substitutes (1487 ff. 1491. 1780). Thus—

For <i>A</i>	<i>N</i> has substituted
ὅτε, ὁπότε, ὅς	ὅταν (ὁπότεν)—also ὡςάν, ὄντε*
ἐπεὶ, ἐπειδὴ	ὡςάν, ὡς, ἄμα, ἄλλο τό
ὡς (or ἐπεὶ) τάχιστα	ἀφ' οὗ, (ἀφ' οὗ), ἀπ' ἧς
ἐξ οὗ, ἀφ' οὗ	ὅσο*
ἐν ᾧ—ἕως, ἕστε, μέχρι 'as long as'	ὡς νά, ὥστε νά
ἕως, ἕστε, μέχρι οὗ 'until'	πρὶν νά, προτοῦ (νά), πρίχου (νά).
πρὶν (ἄν), πρὶν ἢ, πρότερον ἢ	

**2000.** This process of confusion, retreat, and substitution among the particles inevitably affected their construction, and so established a simpler principle in *N*. Accordingly, irrespective of the original nature and force of temporal conjunctions, all temporal clauses which refer to the future or to an indefinite present are now put in the primary subjunctive, while all those referring to the past or to a definite present are put in the indicative (1991).

For more particulars and examples see 1776-95.

**2001.** In *A*, whether they refer to a definite or indefinite time, the conjunctions *ἕως* and *μέχρι* (ἄχρι) after a negative antecedent are usually replaced by *πρὶν* (ἄν). (2005.)

PECULIARITIES OF *πρὶν*.

**2002.** As a conjunction, the temporal particle *πρὶν* (often preceded by *πρότερον*) has a twofold construction, according as the antecedent or leading clause is *affirmative* or *negative*.

**2003. a.** When the antecedent clause is *affirmative*, *πρὶν* governs the *infinitive* (mostly aorist, rarely present or perfect), and corresponds to English *before* :

Th. 2, 12 ἀποπέμπουσιν οὖν αὐτὸν πρὶν ἀκοῦσαι. Xen. An. 1, 4, 16 διέβησαν πρὶν τοὺς ἄλλους ἀποκρίνασθαι. Isocr. 6, 26 ἡμεῖς τοῖνυν Μεσσηνὴν εὖλομεν πρὶν Πέρσας λαβεῖν τὴν βασιλείαν καὶ κρατῆσαι τῆς ἡπείρου καὶ πρὶν οἰκισθῆναι τινὰς τῶν πόλεων τῶν Ἑλληνίδων. Xen. Cyr. 5, 2, 9 πολλοὶ ἄνθρωποι ἀποδύσκειν πρὶν δῆλοι γίγνεσθαι οἷοι ἦσαν.

**2004.** This construction of *πρὶν* holds good for *P* also, though its range in this period suffered a considerable limitation through the development of its rivals *πρὸ* (1644–52) and *προτοῦ* (1787 ff.). With the retreat and final disappearance of the infinitive, *πρὶν* as well as its associates naturally acceded to the analysis of the infinitive by *ἵνα* (*N* *và*) and the subjunctive, the easier as this construction was already suggested by the alternative form and construction of *πρὶν ἄν* (1997 f.). Accordingly *N* constructs *πρὶν*—now generally *πρίχον* or *πρίχου* (1789)—as well as *προτοῦ*, with *và* and the subjunctive, the analytical successor of the infinitive. (See 1787 f.)

**2005. b.** When the antecedent clause is *negative*, *πρὶν* is a mere substitute for *ἕως* or *μέχρι* (ἄχρι) ‘until’ (2001), and so governs a *finite mood* (in the sense of 1996 ff.), rarely the infinitive.

Th. 2, 65 οὐ πρότερον ἐπαύσαντο ἐν ὄργῃ ἔχοντες αὐτὸν πρὶν ἐζημιώσαν χρήμασιν. Xen. An. 1, 2, 26 οὔτε τότε λῆναι ἤθελε πρὶν ἢ γυνὴ αὐτὸν ἐπεισε. 5, 7, 5 οὐ χρὴ μὲν ἐνθένδε ἀπελθεῖν πρὶν ἂν δῶ δίκην. 5, 7, 12 μὴ ἀπέλθῃτε πρὶν ἂν ἀκούσῃτε. Isocr. 14, 18 τοὺς δ’ οὐ πρότερον παύσονται πρὶν ἂν οὕτως ὥσπερ ἡμᾶς διαθώσιν.—Xen. Cyr. 1, 4, 14 ἀπηγόρευε μηδένα βάλλειν πρὶν Κύρος ἐμπλησθεῖν θηρῶν.—Th. 8, 9 οὐ προεθυμήθησαν ἐνυπλεῖν πρὶν τὰ ἴσθμα . . . διεορτάωσιν. Xen. Cyr. 2, 2, 8 εἶπον μηδένα τῶν ὀπισθεν κινεῖσθαι πρὶν ἂν ὁ πρόσθεν ἤγῃται. Oec. 12, 1 οὐκ ἂν ἀπέλθοιμεν πρὶν παντάπασιν ἢ ἀγορὰ λυθῇ.

**2006.** An inspection of the above examples will show that after a negative antecedent *πρὶν* mostly governs the primary subjunctive, chiefly with *ἄν*. Only when the negative antecedent clause stands in a secondary tense, does *πρὶν* also govern the aorist indicative (without *ἄν*), provided it refers to a *past* act; if not, it governs the primary subjunctive (mostly with *ἄν*), sometimes also the past subjunctive without *ἄν*.

**2007.** The office of *πρὶν* after a negative antecedent is but rarely performed by the otherwise proper particles *ἕως* and *μέχρι* (ἄχρι), as : Lys. 25, 26 καὶ οὐ πρότερον ἐπαύσαντο ἕως τὴν πόλιν εἰς στάσεις κατέστησαν. Pl. Crat. 396 C οὐκ ἂν ἐπανόμην ἕως ἀπεπειράθην.

**2008.** *N* also regularly constructs *πρὶν*, as well as its associates *προτοῦ* and *πρίχου* or *πρίχον* (1787)—all followed or not by *và*, due to *ἄν*—with the subjunctive, and that in all cases :

δὲν πιστεύω πρὶν (và) ἰδῶ	δὲν ἔρχεται πρὶν (và) ἐξημερώσῃ
δὲν θὰ πιστέψω προτοῦ (,,) ,,	δὲν θὰ ῥθῃ προτοῦ (,,) ,,
δὲν ἐπίστευα πρίχου (,,) ,,	δὲν ἤρχετο πρίχου (,,) ,,
δὲν ἐπίστεψα ,, (w) ,,	δὲν ἤρθε ,, (,,) ,,

2009. Only when *A* πρὶν would require the (aorist) indicative. *N* by preference uses either ὥστε (i. e. ἕως ὅτε 1786) ποῦ, or the exceptive formula παρὰ σάν 'except when,' 'except after,' 'until':

δὲν ἡσύχασε ὥστε ποῦ το κατάρθρωσε. δὲν ἐσηκώθηκε ὥστε ποῦ (οἱ παρὰ σάν) ἐξημέρασε.

## RELATIVE CLAUSES.

2010. Relative clauses are those introduced by a relative pronoun or adverb. They are either *definite*, in that they mainly specify some definite term in the principal clause, or *indefinite* in that they connote some other relation (cause, consequence, purpose, condition, time), which, if more emphasized, would change them in each individual case to a dependent clause (causal, consecutive, final, conditional, temporal).

2011. Observe here that, in the less polished style, a relative pronoun is often replaced, for brevity's sake, by its equivalent local adverb. (Cp. RKuhner, ii.<sup>2</sup> 907, 4; 941, 3.)

(B 852 ἐξ Ἑνετῶν ὅθεν ἡμιόνων γένος=ἐξ ὧν. γ 319. δ 220 εἰς οἶνον βάλε φάρμακον ἐνθεν ἔπινον=ἐξ οὗ. τ 62. Soph. El. 11 δῶμα Πελοπιδῶν τόδε | ὅθεν σε... ἤνεγκα. Ant. 892 οἴκησις οἱ πορεύομαι. Ai. 1081. Hdt. 3, 51 ἡ... εἰς τούτους.) Xen. Hier. 2, 4 ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἐνθαπερ. Cyr. 2, 3, 22. An. 6, 2, 1. 2, 1, 3 ἐν τῷ σταθμῷ ὅθεν. Pl. Hipp. 1, 283 β ἐκ Λακεδαιμόνος οἵπερ καὶ πλειστάκις ἀφίξαι.—Λ 757 Ἀλκισίου ἐνθα κολώνη κέκληται. Simon. ep. 112 ἐνθα καλεῖται Ἀρτέμιδος τίμενος. Pind. N. 9, 41. Soph. Tr. 638. O. R. 1451. Eur. Or. 331 ἵνα μεσόμφαλοι λέγονται μυχοί. Xen. Hell. 5, 1, 10 ἐνθα ἡ Τριπυργία καλεῖται. Oec. 4, 6 πάντας ἅμα συνάγων ἐνθα δὴ ὁ σύλλογος καλεῖται. NT Acts 24, 11 οὐ πλείους εἰσὶν μοι ἡμέραι ἀφ' ἧς ἀνέβην. Phil. 3, 20 ἐν οὐρανοῖς ὑπάρχει ἐξ οὗ καὶ σωτήρα ἀπεκδεχόμεθα. Rev. 2, 13 παρ' ὑμῖν ὅπου ὁ σατανᾶς κατοικεῖ.

## I. DEFINITIVE RELATIVE CLAUSES.

2012. I. *Definite* (or *descriptive, explanatory*) relative clauses are treated like simple or independent clauses. Hence they take that construction which would be required if they were independent clauses.

πράγμα δὲ οὐ γίγνεται —δὲ οὐ γενήσεται—δὲ οὐκ ἐγένετο  
 „ δὲ οὐκ ἂν γένοιτο—δὲ οὐκ ἂν ἐγένετο  
 „ δὲ μὴ γένοιτο —δὲ μήποτε ποιῶμεν οἱ ποιήσωμεν  
 „ δὲ μὴ ποιείτε —δὲ μὴ ποιήσητε.

So still in *N*: πρᾶμα ποῦ δὲ γίγνεται—που δὲ θὰ γένη—ποῦ δὲν ἔγινε. πρᾶμα ποῦ δὲ θὰ ἐγένετο—ποῦ νὰ μὴ γένη, ποῦ νὰ μὴ κάμετε.

## II. INDEFINITE RELATIVE CLAUSES (2010).

2013. 1. *Causal* relative clauses (2010) stand in the indicative. —Negation οὐ, as:

Xen. Mem. 2, 7, 13 θαυμαστὸν ποιεῖς ὅς ('since') ἡμῖν οὐδὲν δίδως.

So still in *N*: εἶσαι καλόνυχος ποῦ ἔχεις τέτοιους φίλους.

2014. 2. *Consecutive* relative clauses stand (contrary to Latin

usage) in the *indicative*, mostly of the future (2020).—Negation οὐ, αὐ :

Lys. 24, 6 παῖδες μοι οὕτω εἰσὶν οἱ με θεραπεύουσιν, *qui me colant*. Xen. An. 2, 5, 12 τίς οὕτω μαινεται ὅστις οὐ βούλεται σοι φίλος εἶναι ;

2015. On the same principle the *indicative* is used after the following formulas (1435 f.) :

εἰσὶν οἱ (or ἔστιν οἱ) 'there are those who'	τίς ἐστιν ὅς . . .
οὐκ ἔστιν οὗτις	οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως
οὐδεὶς ἔστιν ὅστις οὐ	οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως οὐ.

Eur. Hec. 864 οὐκ ἔστι θνητῶν ὅστις ἔστ' ἐλεύθερος. Heracl. 707 οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως ἤβην κτήσει πάλιν αὐθις. Xen. An. 5, 2, 14 ἥσαν δ' οἱ καὶ πῦρ προσέφερον. —NT Matt. 10, 26 οὐδέν ἐστι κεκαλυμμένον ὃ οὐκ ἀποκαλυφθήσεται. So 24, 2. 1 Cor. 6, 5 οὐκ ἔστι ἐν ὑμῶν οὐδεὶς σοφὸς ὃς διηγήσεται διακρίναι ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ ;

2016. Instead of the *indicative*, *G-B* writers use here also the primary subjunctive, probably through the influence of Latin. (Cp. 1919. 1921. App. iv. 8.)

NT Luke 8, 17 οὐ γάρ ἐστιν κρυπτόν ὃ οὐ φανερόν γενήσεται, οὐδὲ ἀπόκρυφον ὃ οὐ μὴ(ν) γινωσκῇ καὶ εἰς φανερόν ἔλθῃ (cp. 1827 f.). Acta Tho. 73, 23 ἄρτον τοῦτον ζωῆς ποίησον ὃν οἱ ἐσθίοντες ἀφθαρτοὶ διαμείνωσιν.

2017. Following this usage, *N* substitutes *ὅπου* or *ποῦ* for *ὅς* or *ὅστις* (608) with *νά*, or more commonly resorts to the direct consecutive construction by means of simple *νά* (1757 ff.) : ποῖός εἶνε ποῦ δὲν ἀγαπᾷ τὸ συμφέρον τοῦ ; κάνεις δὲν εἶνε τόσο τυφλὸς (ποῦ) ἢ μὴ βλέπῃ, —(ποῦ) ἢ μὴ ἰδῇ, —(ποῦ) ἢ μὴ εἶδε. See also 1951.

2018. It will be remembered (1759. 1951), however, that unscholarly writers since *G* times make but a limited use of consecutive relative clauses, the alternative of resorting to direct final clauses by means of *ἵνα* and the subjunctive being a far more popular mode of expressing purpose (cp. AButtmann 229).

John 5, 7 ἄνθρωπον οὐκ ἔχω ἵνα βάλῃ με εἰς τὴν κολυμβήθραν. 2 Cor. 12, 7. Rev. 19, 15. Gal. 4, 5 ἐξαπέστειλε τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ ἵνα τοὺς ὑπὸ νόμον ἐξαγοράσῃ.

2019. It is this construction which still rules in *N* (2017) : δὲν ἔχω δοῦλον ἢ σου μηνύσω. ἔστειλαν παντατοφόρο ἢ πῇ τοῦ δασκάλου πῶς δὲν ἐρχονται.

2020. 3. a. When definite, *final* relative clauses stand (contrary to Latin usage) in the *future indicative* (2014).—Negation *μή*.

Soph. Ai. 658 κρύψω τὸδ' ἔγχεος ἔνθα μή τις ὄψεται. Xen. An. 1, 3, 14 ἡγεμόνα αἰτήσομεν Κύρον ὅστις ἡμᾶς ἀπάξει. Hell. 2, 3, 2 ἔδοξε τῷ δήμῳ τριάκοντα ἄνδρας ἐλέυθαι, οἱ τοὺς πατέριους νόμους συγγραψοῦσι καθ' ὅς πολιτεύουσιν (*conscripterent* — *viverent*).

2021. 3. b. But when they are indefinite (in Homer in all cases), they stand in the primary subjunctive, occasionally also in the secondary subjunctive, the latter being admissible after a past tense or after another secondary subjunctive (1933).

Th. 7, 25 (τῶν νεῶν) μία ἐς Πελοπόννησον ᾤχετο πρέσβεις ἀγοῖσα οἵπερ τὰ σφέτερα φράσασιν ὅτι ἐν ἐλπίσιν εἰσὶν, καὶ τὸν ἐκεῖ πόλεμον μάλλον ἐποτρύνωσι γίνεσθαι. Isocr. 4, 44 τοιοῦτον ἔθος παρέδωκαν ὥστε ἐκατέρους ἔχειν ἐφ' οἷς φιλοτιμηθῶσιν. Pl. Symp. 194 D οὐδὲν ἐτι διοίσει αὐτῷ, ἐὰν μόνον ἔχῃ ὅτῳ



διαλέγεται. Xen. Oec. 7, 20 τοῖς μέλλουσιν ξεῖν ὅ,τι εἰσφέρωσιν. Pl. Ion 536 b ἀπορεῖς ὅ,τι λέγῃς . . . εὐπορεῖς ὅ,τι λέγῃς (cp. 2093).—Soph. Phil. 281 (ὄρων) ἄνδρα οὐδέν' ἐντοπον, οὐχ ὅστις ἀρκέσειεν, οὐδ' ὅστις νόσου κάμνοντι συλλάβοιτο. Tr. 903 κρύψας' αὐτήν ἐνθα μή τις εἰσίδοι, βρυχάτο. Pl. Rep. 578 ε εἰ τις θεῶν ἕνα ἦρας ἐκ τῆς πόλεως αὐτόν τε καὶ γυναῖκα καὶ παῖδας θείῃ εἰς ἐρημίαν ὅπου αὐτῷ μηδεὶς μέλλοι βοηθήσειν. Xen. Hell. 2, 3, 11 αἰρεθέντες ἐφ' ᾧτε ξυγγράψαι νόμοις καθ' οὔστινας πολιτεύοιντο.

**2022.** With the early retreat of the secondary subjunctive from final clauses and its replacement by the primary subjunctive (1934. App. v. 8. 20), the latter mood obtained still greater popularity, and, being at the same time fostered by the parallel use in Latin of the subjunctive, gradually ended by dislodging the future indicative (1921. App. iv. 8).

NT Acts 21, 16 ἀγοντες παρ' ᾧ ξενισθώμεν Μνάσωνι τινι Κυπρίῳ. Hebr. 8, 3 ἀναγκαῖον ἔχειν τι καὶ τοῦτον ὃ προσενέγκῃ. Luke 7, 4 ἀξιός ἐστιν ᾧ παρέσῃ τοῦτο.

**2023.** 4. *Conditional* relative clauses refer to some word in the leading clause, and at the same time connote a supposition. Hence they are virtually condensed clauses capable of being changed into conditional protases by means of εἰ τις, ἐάν τις, and take the construction of ordinary conditional sentences (1969 ff. 1977, c).

ὅς, ὅστις = εἰ τις. ὅς ἂν, ὅστις ἂν = ἐάν τις.

A. *Objective condition* (1965 ff.).—a. (1969): Pl. Apol. 21 d καὶ μὴ οἶδα (= εἰ τινα μὴ οἶδα) οὐδὲ οἶομαι εἰδέναι. Th. 3, 89 (ἡ θάλασσα) ἀνθρώπους διέφθειρεν ὅσοι μὴ εἰδύναντο φθῆναι πρὸς τὰ μετέωρα ἀναδραμόντες (those, if any). Dem. 4, 51 νικῶν δ' ὅ,τι πᾶσιν ὑμῖν μέλλει συνοίσειν.—b. (1970): Lys. 12, 24 ἀπόκριται ὅ,τι ἂν σε ἐρωτῶ (ἐάν σε ἐρωτῶ). Xen. An. 1, 3, 15 τῷ ἀνδρὶ ὃν ἂν ἐλησθε πείσομαι. Gnom. νέος ἀπόλλυθ' ὅντιν' ἂν φιλήσῃς. Pl. Symp. 196 ε πᾶς ποιητὴς γίγνεται οἷον ἂν ἔρως ἀψῆται.—c. (1971): Xen. An. 1, 3, 17 ἐγὼ μὲν ὑπονοῶν ἂν εἰς τὰ πλοῖα ἐμβαίνειν ἂν ὑμῖν Κύρος δοίῃ (εἰ δοίῃ). Pl. Men. 92 ο πᾶς ὅν ἂν εἰδείης περὶ τούτου τοῦ πράγματος οἷον παντάπασιν ἀπειρος εἴη. Lys. 215 b ὃ δὲ μὴ ἀγαπήσῃ οὐδ' ἂν φιλοῖ. Ar. Vesp. 1431 ἔρδοι τις ἢν ἕκαστος εἰδείῃ τέχνην.

B. *Subjunctive condition* (1974 f.): Lys. 12, 98 οἱ παῖδες ὑμῶν ὅσοι ἐνθάδε ἦσαν ὑπὸ τούτων ἂν ὑβρίζοντο (εἰ τινες ἦσαν). 32, 23 ὁπότερον τούτων ἐποίησεν, οὐδένος ἂν ἦττον Ἀθηναίων πλούσιοι ἦσαν. Xen. Rep. Ath. 1, 16 εἰ δὲ οἱκοὶ εἶχον ἕκαστοι τὰς δίκας, τούτους ἂν ἀπάλλυσαν οἵτινες φίλοι μάλιστα ἦσαν Ἀθηναίων δήμῳ.

**2023<sup>h</sup>.** The close connexion of indefinite relative clauses with conditional clauses in G-B Greek is more strikingly shown by the occasional combination of the particles εἰ and ἂν (1772), as: Callin. 105, 7 εἰ τι ἂν εἶδες ἀγαθὸν τοῦ θεοῦ ἐστιν. 118, 14 ἤλεγχε τοὺς ἀρχοντας εἰ τι ἂν συνέγων ἄποπον.

**2024.** Conditional relative clauses have become commoner since P times owing to the propensity of popular speech to replace suppositions, especially those of general character (*if one ever, if any thing, etc.*), by the clearer and more emphatic relative clauses (*whoever, whatever, etc.*). In this case καὶ (or δέ) is frequently inserted between the relative and the particle ἂν (1716. 1719). This class of relative clauses is uncommonly frequent in N:

A. *Objective condition*.—a. (1969 f.): ὅ,τι δὲ γινώσκω οὕτε στοχάζομαι πῶς το γινώσκω. μὴ λέγῃς ὅ,τι δὲν πρέπει. ἂς γίνῃ ὅ,τι με συμφέρει.—b. (1970): ἀποκρίνομαι μοι εἰς ὅ,τι

καὶ δ' ἄν σε βρωῶ. θ' ἀπακούσω εἰς ὅποιο καὶ ἄν διαλέξεται. ὅποιος ἔρθη καλῶς τὸ ῥῆθ. ὅπογ ἀστοχήσης γύρισε καὶ ὅπογ πετόχης φύγει.—c. (1971) : for this form see 1972 & 1984-92.

B. *Subjective condition* (1974) : ὅ,τι καὶ νὰ μοῦ ἔιδες δὲ θὰ πῆγαινα. ὅποιος καὶ ἄν (or νὰ) μου τό 'λεγε δὲ θὰ το ἐ]πίστευα.

2025. As in final and temporal (1933. 1954. 1957), so in relative clauses an assimilation of mood is admissible, especially in case the secondary subjunctive should be the antecedent mood, as : Ar. Vesp. 1431 ἔρδοι τις ἢν ἕκαστος εἰδεῖν τέχνην.

2026. Conditional clauses which at the same time act as temporal relative clauses have already been treated separately in 1995-2009 (cp. 1975).

## INDIRECT DISCOURSE.

2027. When the words or thoughts of a person are not quoted verbatim, or in *direct discourse* (*oratio recta*), but are merely reported in the form of an oblique or dependent clause, they are said to be in *indirect discourse* or *oratio obliqua* (1938).

A. *Direct discourse* : Σωκράτης ἔλεγεν ὁί θεοὶ πάντα ἴσασιν Socrates said : 'The gods know all things.'

B. *Indirect discourse* :

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| a. Σωκράτης ἔλεγεν ὅτι οἱ θεοὶ πάντα ἴσασιν (or εἰδεῖν) | } 'S. said that the gods knew all things.' |
| b. Σωκράτης ἔλεγε τοὺς θεοὺς πάντα εἰδέναι              |  |

2028. It will be seen that *indirect discourse* or *oratio obliqua* comprises all clauses depending on verbs or expressions which imply *thought* or the *expression of thought* (*verba sentiendi et declarandi*), also on such expressions as : φαῖνεται 'it appears,' δοκεῖ 'it seems,' ὄντων ἔστι, σαφές ἐστιν 'it is evident,' and the like.

2029. *Indirect discourse* is expressed in three ways :

- (a) By *declarative clauses*, as already explained in 1940-4 ;
- (b) By the *declarative infinitive* after verbs of *saying* and *thinking* (*verba declarandi et sentiendi*), which will be explained in 2085 ff. ;—For P-N cp. 2086 ff.
- (c) By the *participle* after verbs of *perceiving* (*verba sentiendi*), which will be treated in 2133-7 ;—For P-N see 2138.

2080. Sometimes an indirect discourse commencing with ὅτι or ὥς and a finite mood, passes to an infinitival construction, and conversely (App. vi. 6 f.) : Lys. 10, 15 ὑμᾶς πάντας εἰδέναι ἡγοῦμαι ὅτι ἐγὼ μὲν ὀρθῶς λέγω, τοῦτον δὲ σκαῖον εἶναι.—More illustrations in App. vi. 7, b.

2031. Very frequently the indirect discourse, though opening with the infinitive or by ὅτι (ὥς) passes suddenly to the direct discourse. This change which lends a vivacity to speech has been popular through all times, particularly after verbs of *asking* or *ordering* :

Xen. Hell. 2, 1, 25 οὐκ ἐν καλῷ ἔφη αὐτοὺς ὀρμεῖν ἀλλὰ μεθορμῆσαι εἰς Σηστόν παρῆναι πρὸς τε λιμένα καὶ πρὸς πόλιν· οὐ ὄντες ναυμαχίσετε, ἔφη, όταν

βούληθε. Dem. 50, 37 λέγοντος ἐμοῦ ταῦτ' ἀποκρίνεται μοι ὅτι ὁ συντρήραρχος αὐτῷ οὐχ ἦκοι ἐπὶ τὴν ναῦν οὐκ οὐκον παραλήψομαι μόνος τὴν τρήρη.

NT Luke 5, 14 παρήγγειλεν αὐτῷ μηδενὶ εἰπεῖν, ἀλλὰ δεῖξον σεαυτὸν τῷ ἱερεὶ καὶ προσένεγκε κτλ. Acta Tho. 16, 20 ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς πάνυ ὀργισθεὶς ἐκέλευσεν ὑπὸ δεσμὸν γενέσθαι τὸν τε ἔμπορον καὶ Ἰούδαν τὸν καὶ Θωμᾶν καὶ εἰς φυλακὴν βληθῆναι ζωὸς ἀνακρίνας μάθῃ τίνοι ἐδόθη τὰ τοῦ βασιλέως· καὶ οὕτως αὐτὸν ἀπολίσσω μετὰ τοῦ ἐμπόρου.

**2032.** In this popular mode of direct discourse, it is very common to indicate the dependence of the verbatim clause by placing before it the conjunction ὅτι, which then seems redundant (so in NT about 120 times) and corresponds to our modern colon (:) or quotation marks (80), as :

Th. 1, 137 ἐδῆλον δὲ ἡ γραφὴ ὅτι Θεμιστοκλῆς ἦκα παρὰ σέ. So 1, 139, 8, 53. Xen. An. 1, 6, 8 δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο ὅτι Οὐδ' εἰ γανοίμην (φίλος), ᾧ Κύρε, σοὶ γ' ἂν ἐτι ποτὶ δόξαιμι. Cyt. 3, 1, 8 εἶπε δὲ ὅτι Εἰς καιρὸν ἦκεις, ἔφη. Pl. Crit. 50 c ἴσως ἂν εἴποιεν (οἱ νόμοι) ὅτι, Ὡ Σώκρατες, μὴ θαύμαζε τὰ λεγόμενα. Antiph. 5, 21 αὐτὰ ταῦτα σκοπεῖτε ὅτι Μὴ προνοίᾳ μᾶλλον ἐγένετο ἡ τύχη.

NT Matt. 26, 74 τότε ἤρξατο καταναθεματίζειν καὶ ὁμνυεῖν ὅτι Οὐκ οἶδα τὸν ἄνθρωπον. 26, 75, 27, 43 εἶπεν γὰρ ὅτι Θεοῦ εἰμι υἱός. Mark 14, 58 ψευδομαρτύρουν κατ' αὐτοὺ λέγοντες ὅτι Ἡμεῖς ἠκούσαμεν αὐτοῦ λέγοντος ὅτι Ἐγὼ καταλύσω τὸν ναὸν τούτων κτλ. John 10, 34 ἀπεκρίθη· Οὐκ ἔστιν γεγραμμένον ὅτι Ἐγὼ εἶπα θεοὶ ἔστε; Acta Tho. 2, 3 οὐκ ἐβούλετο δὲ ἀπελθεῖν λέγων μὴ δύνασθαι μήτε χωρεῖν διὰ τὴν ἀσθένειαν τῆς σαρκὸς καὶ ὅτι Ἀνθρώπος ὢν Ἑβραῖος πῶς δύναμαι πορευθῆναι ἐν τοῖς Ἰνδοῖς κηρύξαι τὴν ἀλήθειαν; 5, 2 ἔλεγον δὲ αὐτῷ οἱ ἐκείσε ὅτι Καὶ σὺ οἱ θεοὶ ἡγαγον ἵνα εὐωχηθῇς ἐν τῇ πόλει ταύτῃ. 9, 26; 27, 15, 20 etc. (Cp. Evang. Tho. A 14, 3 παρήγγειλε τῇ μητρὶ αὐτοῦ ὅπως Ἐξὺς τῆς θύρας μὴ ἀπολύσεις [read -σῃς] αὐτόν.) Callin. 57, 20 βιαζόμενος ἔλεγεν ὅτι Εἰ τι παρ' ἐμοῦ ῥητεῖτε, ταῦτα ἐν τῇ θεοπνεύστῃ γραφῇ εὐρήσετε. 71, 12 ἔλεγεν ὅτι Λόγον ἔχετε δοῦναι, et passim. Acta Pil. A, 1, 2 εἶπατέ μοι ὅτι Πῶς δύναμαι ἐγὼ ἡγεμῶν ὢν βασιλεῖα ἔξετάσαι;

2032<sup>b</sup>. So now very often in *N*: AB 83, 28 ἐμήνυσέ τον μὰν αὐγὴν· Κυρά μου ὅτι ἀγαπῶ σε.—μὰς ἐφάναζαν πῶς Ἑσεὶ δὲν εἴστε χρῆσιμοι ἀθρώποι 'they shouted to us: you ain't respectable men.' Καὶ τότες εἶπε πῶς Δέ σου τό 'λεγα ἐγώ; 'then he said: didn't I tell you so?'

## INTERROGATIVE CLAUSES.

**2033.** So far as they are not indicated by the mere tone of the voice, interrogative clauses are introduced in *A*, as well as *N*, either—

*a.* By interrogative pronouns and adverbs, also by εἰ (*N* αἴ) 'whether,' as in English; in which case they are called *Word-questions*; τίς εἰ καὶ πόθεν ἦκεις; or—

*b.* By special interrogative particles referring to the whole clause, in which case they are called *Sentence-questions* (2046 ff.).

**2034.** Contrary to English usage, the syntactical position of the subject in Greek interrogative clauses is not influenced by the presence of the interrogation (cp. 1158).

ἔστι πλούσιος ἡ πένης ὁ ἀνὴρ;—ὁ ἀνὴρ πλούσιός ἐστιν ἡ πένης;—πλούσιος ἡ πένης ὁ ἀνὴρ ἐστιν; τὸν υἱὸν φιλεῖ ὁ πατήρ;

So still in *N*.

**2035.** Either form of interrogative clauses can be *direct* or *indirect* (*dependent*), according as it represents a question either put directly or subordinated to an antecedent verb of *enquiring*, *saying*, *knowing*.

A. *Direct question*: τίς εἶ καὶ πόθεν ἦκεις; 'who are you and whence have you come?'

B. *Indirect question*: ἐρωτῶ τίς εἶ καὶ πόθεν ἦκεις, 'I ask who you are and whence you have come.'

**2036.** Since A times the scope of indirect questions has become gradually narrower in consequence of the decided predilection of popular speech for the more simple and vivid direct discourse (1703. 1710. 1930. 1939. 2031). Hence P-N is very fond of putting a direct question after verbs of *asking*, *deliberating*, *seeing*, *knowing*, *saying*, etc.

NT John 9, 19 ἠρώτησαν· Οὗτος ἐστὶν ὁ υἱὸς ἡμῶν; 5, 6 λέγει αὐτῷ· Θέλεις ὑγιῆς γενέσθαι;

**2037.** Whether direct or indirect, interrogative clauses have commonly the form and construction of independent clauses. In A, however, *indirect* questions equally admit (a) of *relative* beside interrogative pronouns and adverbs; (b) after secondary tense, of the *secondary subjunctive* beside either the indicative or the interrogative primary subjunctive (1909).

a. ἐρωτῶ σε ὅστις (beside τίς) εἶ καὶ ὅποθεν (πόθεν) ἦκεις.

b. ἠρόμην σε τίς or ὅστις εἶη (beside εἶ) καὶ πόθεν or ὅποθεν ἦκοις (beside ἦκεις).

a. Th. I, 137 Θεμιστοκλῆς φράζει τῷ ναυκλήρῳ ὅστις ἐστὶ καὶ δι' ἃ φεύγει. Pl. Gorg. 500 A ἄρ' οὖν παντὸς ἀνδρός ἐστὶν ἐκλέξασθαι ποῖα ἀγαθὰ τῶν ἡδέων ἐστὶ καὶ ὅποια κακά. 448 E οὐδεὶς ἐρωτᾷ ποῖα τις εἴη ἢ Γοργίου τέχνη, ἀλλὰ τίς καὶ ὅτινα δέοι καλεῖν τὸν Γοργίαν. Xen. Mem. 4, 4, 13 οὐ γὰρ αἰσθάνομαι σου ὁποῖον νόμῳ ἢ ποῖον δίκαιον λέγεις.—See also 1446.

b. Xen. Cyr. 1, 3, 15 ἡ μήτηρ διηρώτα τὸν Κύρον πότερον βοῦλοιο μένειν ἢ ἀπιέναι. An. 7, 2, 25 ἐπῆρετο τὸν Μηδοσάδην εἰ ἀληθῆ ταῦτα εἶη. Dem. 19, 122 συνελθόντες ἐβοηγέονθ' οἷτοι τίν' αὐτοῦ καταλείψουσιν. Pl. Apol. 21 B ἡπόρουγ τί ποτε λέγει. Th. I, 63 ἡπόρῃσε μὲν ὁποτέρῳε διακινδυνεύει χωρήσας. 2, 4, 6 οἱ Πλαταιῆς ἐβοηγέοντο εἴτε κατακαίωσιν ὥσπερ ἔχουσιν ἐμπήσαντες τὸ οἶκμα, εἴτε τι ἄλλο χρήσονται. Xen. Mem. 2, 1, 23 ὅρῳ σε ἀποροῦντα ποῖαν ὁδὸν ἐπὶ τὸν βίον τράπη.—See also 1446.

**2038.** The use of the relatives in indirect questions brought them into association with the ordinary or direct interrogatives and thus rendered them admissible in questions also, especially in A dialogue. This peculiarity is unusual in narrative A prose, but fairly common in P-B compositions, apparently owing to the influence of the parallel use in Latin of relatives which acted as interrogatives as well.

Eur. Rh. 703 ὁποῖον ἐπέυχεται τὸν ὑπατον θεῶν; Pl. Rep. 578 E ἐν ποίῳ ἄν τιμῇ καὶ ὁπόσῳ φόβῳ οἶμαι γενέσθαι αὐτόν; Lys. 212 C ὁποτέρου οὖν αὐτῶν ποτέρου φίλος; Ar. Ran. 198 οὗτος, τί ποιεῖς;—ΔΙ. ὅ,τι ποῶ; Ach. 594 ἀλλὰ τίς γὰρ εἶ;—ΔΙΚ. ὅστις; πολίτης χρηστός. Pl. Euthyph. 2 C ἀλλὰ δὴ τίνα γραφήν σε γέγραπται;—ΣΩ. ἥντινα; οὐκ ἀγεννή, ἐμοὶ γὰρ

δοκεί. Hipp. I, 292 c. Leg. 662 A καὶ πῶς ἂν ταῦτα γ' ἔτι ξυγχωροῖμεν; —ΑΘ. ὁπως;

Sept. I Chron. 17, 6 ὅ,τι οὐκ ᾠκοδομήσατέ μοι οἶκον κέδρινον; NT Mark 9, 11 ἐπρώτων λέγοντες: 'Ο,τι λέγουσιν οἱ γραμματεῖς ὅτι 'Ηλίαν δεῖ ἐλθεῖν πρῶτον; ib. 28 ἐπρώτων αὐτόν: 'Ο,τι ἡμεῖς οὐκ ἠδυνήθημεν ἐκβαλεῖν αὐτό; (where Euthym.: τὸ ὅ,τι ἀντὶ τοῦ διατί). Mark 2, 16. Matt. 26, 50 ἐφ' ὃ πάρε; (cp. Jas. 3, 5 ἰδοὺ ἡλίκον πῦρ ἡλίκην ὕλην ἀνάπτει.) Jul. Frg. 276 E θεοτόκον ὑμεῖς ἀνθ' ὅτου τὴν παρθένον εἶναι φασί; 'wherefore?' Just. Cohort. 5 (p. 253 A) δι' ἣν αἰτίαν . . ὡς ἀλθεύοντι προσέχεις 'Ομήρῳ; [Just.] 1288 B ὅ,τι οὖν τῶν δύο ἀληθέστερον; Method. 165 c. Cyrill. A. i. 204 A ἀνθ' ὅτου δὴ οὖν ἀνίσχῃ μὲν τοὺς ἐν ἡβῃ καὶ ἐν ἀκμῇ; Theod. iv. 512 A ἀνθ' ὅτου τὰ βρέφη βαπτίζομεν; Stud. 380 B ὅτου χάριν; so Barn. 748 B ὅτι (read ὅ,τι) δὲ τὸ ἔριον ἐπὶ τὸ ξύλον; Apophth. 105 c 'Αρσένις, δι' ὃ ἐξήλθες; CGL 231, 15 ὅπου ἦν; ubi erat? 642, 21 ὅπου οὖν λουσώμεθα; ὅπου θέλεις. ubi ergo lauamur? ubi uis. Mal. 256, 20 εἰ δ' αὐτοῦ μαθητῆς τοιαῦτα θαυμάσια ἐποίει, ὁ ὁποῖος ὑπῆρχεν ἐκεῖνος δυνατός;

2038<sup>b</sup>. That in *G-N*, interrogatives and their relative substitutes can be preceded by the definite article τὸ in indirect questions, will be explained in 2041.

2039. As regards the use of moods in indirect questions among *P-N* scribes, the *A* practice holds good even in the case of the secondary subjunctive which lingers as late as *T*, if we may judge from the NT writings. (1934.)

Luke 1, 29 διελογίζετο ποταπὸς εἶν ὁ ἀσπασμὸς οὗτος. 1, 62 ἐνένεον δὲ τῷ πατρὶ αὐτοῦ τὸ τί ἂν θέλοι καλεῖσθαι αὐτό. 3, 15 διαλογιζομένων περὶ τοῦ Ἰωάννου μή ποτε αὐτὸς εἶν ὁ Χριστός. 6, 11 διελάλουν πρὸς ἀλλήλους τί ἂν ποιήσαιεν τῷ Ἰησοῦ. 8, 9. 9, 46 ἐσθλὸν δὲ διαλογισμὸς ἐν αὐτοῖς τὸ τίς ἂν εἴη μείζων αὐτῶν. 15, 26 ἐπυνθάνετο τί εἴη ταῦτα. 18, 36. 22, 23 ἤρξαντο συζητεῖν πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς τὸ τίς ἄρα εἶη ἐξ αὐτῶν ὁ μέλλων τοῦτο πράσσειν. Acts 5, 24 διεπύρουν περὶ αὐτῶν τί ἂν γένοιτο τοῦτο. 10, 17 διεπύρει δὲ Πέτρος τί ἂν εἴη τὸ δράμα ὃ εἶδεν. 17, 11 ἀνακρίνοντας τὰς γραφὰς εἰ ἔχοι ταῦτα οὕτως. 21, 33 ἐπυνθάνετο τίς εἴη καὶ τί ἔστιν πεποικώς.—Clem. R. 14, 3 κατεσκόπουν τὸ τί ἂν ἐν κυρφαῖ φαιδύντες πράττοιτε. Gr. Urk. Berlin 347<sup>2</sup> († 170), 10 Σεργηριανὸς ἐπύθετο τῶν κορυφαίων εἰ σημείον τι ἔχοι οἱ παῖς. (See also App. v. 10.)

[2040. From the above list which is nearly complete for the NT writings, it appears that the secondary subjunctive lingered longer in indirect questions than in any other case of dependent speech. At the same time it must be noted that most of the instances cited, coming as they do from Luke, point to a Hellenizing tendency. It is further significant that they all express a speculative or potential contingency, often intensified by the insertion of some modal particle (ἐν, ἄρα, πῶς, τί, ποτέ, 1749), and so border on potential clauses (1925). Finally it is rather striking that in all these cases we should meet either with the ever recurring εἴη and γένοιτο—standing formulas in the devotional language of the church—or with endings homophonous in both the primary and secondary subjunctive (οἰ=η), so that one might be tempted to suspect an itacistic mis-spelling traceable to the scholastic zeal of the copiers (cp. App. iv. 9. v. 14). And the suspicion becomes the more warrantable as in these cases the other NT writers (sometimes also Luke himself) use the interrogative primary subjunctive (1909), perhaps also its associated future indicative (1888):

Mark 9, 6 οὐ γὰρ ᾔδει τί ἀποκριθῇ. 14, 1 ἐζήτουν οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ οἱ γραμματεῖς πῶς αὐτὸν ἐν δόλῳ κρατήσωτες ἀποκτείνωσιν. ib. 11 ἐζήτησεν πῶς αὐτὸν παραδοῖ (App. v. 8<sup>c</sup>). ib. 40 οὐκ ᾔδεισαν τί ἀποκριθῶσιν αὐτῷ. Luke 22, 2 ἐζήτουν οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ οἱ γραμματεῖς τὸ πῶς ἀνέλωσιν αὐτόν. ib. 4 ἀπελθὼν συνελάλησεν τοῖς ἀρχιερεῦσιν καὶ στρατηγοῖς τὸ πῶς αὐτοῖς παραδοῖ αὐτόν. Acts 4,

αι ἀπέλυσαν αὐτοὺς μηδὲν εὐρίσκοντες τὸ πῶς κολάσωνται αὐτούς, and elsewhere. —(John 21, 19 τοῦτο δὲ εἶπεν σημαίνων ποίῳ θαύτῳ δοξάσαι [read -σῃ App. v. 14 ff.] τὸν θεόν. Mark 3, 2 παρετήρουν αὐτὸν εἰ ἐν τοῖς σάββασις θεραπεύ(σ)ει αὐτόν.—Cp. further Matt. 6, 25. Mark 6, 36, 13, 11. Luke 12, 5; 11; 22; 29. John 12, 49. Protev. Jac. 14, 1 διελογίζετο τὸ τί αὐτὴν ποιήσει (write -σῃ). 22, 3 περιεβλέπετο πού αὐτὸν κρύψει (-ψῃ). Callin. 67, 8 ἤριζον ὁ τε Ὑπάτιος καὶ ὁ Τιμόθεος τίς πλεόν νηστεύσει ἡ ἀγρυπνήσει ἡ εὐξεται ἡ ταπεινοφρονήσει ἡ ἐλεήσει (write everywhere -σῃ for -σει). 58, 15 ἐτήρει καιρὸν ὅτε ἀπέλθῃ. 84, 2. 87, 8 κλαίει πῶς περὰ σὲ καὶ εἰσέλθῃ. 88, 5.]

**2041.** Another peculiarity characteristic of *G-N* speech is the frequent practice of introducing indirect word-questions by means of the neuter article τὸ, as if the question were a direct quotation conceived as one object (1217 ff.). Though very common in *M* Greek, this peculiarity is now obsolescent.

Aristid. 8, 88, 91 καὶ τὸ ὅστις ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ ἦντινα ἔχει τὴν φύσιν. Luke 1, 62 ἐνένεον τῷ πατρὶ τὸ τί ἂν θέλοι καλεῖσθαι αὐτό. 9, 46. 19, 48. 22, 2 ἐξήτουν τὸ πῶς ἀνέλυσιν αὐτόν. Acts 22, 30 βουλόμενος γῶναι τὸ ἀσφαλὲς τὸ τί κατηγορεῖται παρὰ τῶν Ἰουδαίων. Clem. Rom. 14, 3 κατεσκόπουν τὸ τί ἂν ἐν κρυφαῖς εἰσιόντες πράττοιτε. Protev. Jac. 14, 1 διελογίζετο τὸ τί αὐτὴν ποιήσει (write -σῃ). Acta Pil. A 1, 4 ἰδόντες δὲ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι τὸ σχῆμα τῶν σιγῶν τὸ πῶς ἐκάμψθησαν. Narr. Josephi 2, 2 οὐκ εἶχον τὸ πῶς τὸ πάσχα ποιῆσαι. 5, 2 οὐκ ἔτι τὸν ληστὴν ἰθιασάμεθα τὸ τί ἐγένετο. Acta Phil. in Hellad. 7 ἵνα αὐτὸς ἡμῖν ἀπαγγείλῃς τὸ τί βούλεται εἶναι τὸ ὄνομα τοῦτο. Amphil. 177 ο διηγήσομαι τὸ ὅπως ἐκ θέας ἐπιφανείας αὐτόπτης ἐγένετο. JMoschos 27 θέλον παρ' αὐτοῦ μαθεῖν τὸ τίς ἐστιν. Mal. 206, 17 γνοὺς περὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων τῆς Ἱερουσαλὴμ τὸ τί πεπραχάν κατ' αὐτοῦ. 231, 17 ἐπηρώτησε τὴν Πυθίαν τὸ διατί οὐκ ἐδόθη αὐτῷ ἀποκρισις. Leont. Neap. V. J. 5, 12 πανορίζων τὸ τί ἐποίησεν. 19, 11 μὴ δυσνηθέντες γνωρίσαι τὸ πού ὑπάγομεν. 21, 22 ἐρωτᾷ αὐτὸν τὸ τί ἐλαβεν. 74, 18 ἐξαμολογεῖτο τὸ τί ἦν ποιήσας. 47, 2 μετενόουν καὶ ἐκύπτοντο ἅπαντες. . . τὸ ἐν ποία ἀτιμίᾳ εἶχον αὐτόν. Chron. 729, 18 ἐσημάναμεν τὸ πῶς ὁ Θεὸς καὶ ἡ δέσποινα ἡμῶν ἡ Θεοτόκος συνέπραξεν ἡμῖν. Porph. Adm. 220, 14 περιέχον τὸ τί ὀφείλουσιν.

So still in *N*: μου εἶπε τὸ τί ἐπαθε. νά σου διγῆθῶ τὸ πῶς ἐγλύτωσα.

**2042.** Sometimes two interrogative words are found in the same clause, side by side, but without connective:

Xen. Mem. 2, 2, 3 τίνας ὑπὸ τίνων εὐροιμεν ἂν μείζονα εὐεργετημένους ἢ παῖδας ὑπὸ γονέων; Pl. Theaet. 280 ε πῶς τί τοῦτο; Rep. 400 Α ποία δ' ὁποῖος βίον μμήματα οὐκ ἔχω λέγειν; Od. α 170 τίς πόθεν εἰς ἀνδρῶν;

**2043.** In this case *N* inserts the conjunction καὶ: ἀπὸ πού καὶ πῶς καὶ πόσα;

**2044.** The question *why?* is expressed in *A* Greek by τί; also by διὰ τί (διατί), ἵνα τί;—indirectly by ὅτι (διότι)—but when it implies surprise or disapprobation (*why on earth?* *why should?*) recourse is very fondly had to the idiomatic phrase τί παθών; (sometimes τί μαθών), also τί ἔχων;—indirect by ὅτι παθών (μαθών), ἔχων, as:

Ar. Nub. 341 λέξον δὴ μοι, τί παθοῦσαι θνηταῖς εἰῆσαι γυναῖξιν; Pl. Phaedr. 236 ε τί δῆτα ἔχων στρέφει;

Protev. Jac. 13, 2 τί τοῦτο ἐποίησας; τί ἐταπεινώσας τὴν ψυχὴν μου; Callin. 101, 27 τί ἔχεις μετ' ἐμοῦ, ἀνθρώπε; τί ἐπαίρεις τοὺς ἐμούς; . . τί ἔχεις μετ' ἐμοῦ; τί τὰ ἐμὰ πραιδεύεις; CGL 233, 6 τί στήκει; *quid stas?* So 652, 11.

2045-2049<sup>b</sup>.] INTERROGATIONS, DIRECT.

2045. So still in *N*: *τί φωνάζεις; διατί (γιατί) φωνάζεις*; but after the retreat of the active participle (2166 ff.), the above terms *παθών*, (*μαθών*), *ἔχω*, have been necessarily turned into finite co-ordinate verbs: *τί ἐπαθες καὶ κλαίεις*; *τί ἔχεις καὶ κλαίεις*; (EGeorg. Const. 426.)<sup>[1]</sup>

2046. So far as it is not indicated by the mere tone of the voice (2033), a *direct* SENTENCE-question is introduced by—

*ἄρα*, ἦ (=Latin *-ne*), 'I wonder,' suggesting the answer **yes** or **no**;

\**οὐ*, ἄρ οὐ (=Latin *nonne*) " " " **yes** (cp. 1812);

*ἰὼ*, ἄρα μὴ, μὴν (Latin *num*) " " " **no** (cp. 1812);

while the second member, if any, is invariably introduced by *ἢ* 'or.'

Eur. I. T. 575 ἄρ' εἰσὶν; ἄρ' οὐκ εἰσὶ; τίς φράσειεν ἄν; Xen. Mem. 3, 10, 1 ἄρα γραφικὴ ἐστὶν ἡ εἰκασία τῶν ὁρωμένων; Ἀληθὴ λέγεις, ἔφη. 4, 2, 22 ἄρ' οὐκ διὰ τὴν τοῦ χαλκεύειν ἀμαθίαν τοῦ ὀνόματος τούτου τυγχάνουσιν; οὐ δῆτα. Pl. Rep. 341 Ε ἢ ὁρθῶς σοι δοκῶ ἂν εἰπεῖν οὕτω λέγων ἢ οὐ; Ὅρθῶς, ἔφη. Soph. El. 997 οὐκ εἰσορᾷς; O. C. 883 ἄρ' οὐχ ὕβρις τάδε; Aesch. Pr. 962 μὴ τι σοι δοκῶ ταρβέειν; Xen. Mem. 4, 2, 10 ἀλλὰ μὴ ἀρχιτέκτων βούλει γενέσθαι; 2, 6, 34 ἄρα μὴ διαβιάλλεσθαι δόξεις ὑπ' ἐμοῦ; Soph. El. 446 ἄρα μὴ δοκεῖς λυγίρῃ αὐτῇ ταῦτα τοῦ φόνου φέρειν; Pl. Prot. 310 D μὴν τί σε ἀδικεῖ Πρωταγόρας;—Callin. 96, 31 μὴ τι κακὸν διεπράξω; 97, 21 μὴ τι προσέκρουσας τῷ θεῷ;—See also 1747 ff. & 1812.

2047. With certain modifications, the leading representatives of the above particles (*ἄρα*, *οὐ*, *μὴ*) still survive in *N*, and even preserve their *A* usage and construction.

[2047<sup>b</sup>. For *εἰ*=*ἄρα* in Biblical Greek see 2055 f.]

2048. In particular, *ἄρα* is now very common in the amplified form *ἀραγε*, though it is open to doubt whether its present popularity be not rather a revival than a survival of *A* *ἄρα*, due to the influence of literary style. At all events the NT writers hardly use it (only Luke twice: 18, 8 and Acts 8, 30; preferring *ἢ* instead 2050), unless we are willing, as we ought, to admit its presence in such cases as *τίς ἄρα*, *τί ἄρα* (writing *τίς ἄρα*, *τί ἄρα*, 1748) and the like (cp. AButtman 247);—while it is completely absent from some *N* dialects<sup>[2]</sup>.

2049. On the other hand, *οὐ* in its modification *οὐ]θέν* (1798 f.), and *μή* are still universally common in their *A* use and sense: *λέ' σου τό 'λεγα 'γώ*; 'did I not tell you so?' *μὴ σου ἔγυνα δοῦλος*; 'I haven't become your servant, have I?'

2049<sup>b</sup>. The latter particle (*μή*), however, is now generally amplified to *μήπως* or more commonly to *μήμπας* (with or without a following *καὶ* or *να*). Of these two amplifications, the former (*μήπως*), though the one generally received in cultivated speech, is open to the suspicion of being an Hellenized form of *μήμπας* (1749. 1957), the more so as the latter appears 'unclas-

[1] The participle *μαθών* has no corresponding substitute in *N* (never *τί ἐμαθες καὶ* . .) and this circumstance adds strength to the suspicion that *μαθών* may be a corruption of *παθών*.

[2] E.g. in Crete, where in the western parts its place is held by *παῖδιά* (cp. John 21, 5 *παῖδιά, μή τι προσφάγιον ἔχετε*); and in the eastern commonly by *κῶ*, this being an abbreviation of the universal vocative *καλέ* (251<sup>b</sup>), used chiefly in exclamations implying surprise: *καλέ, τί λές*!

sical' and therefore unpalatable to the scribes. In reality, however, this colloquialism is a corruption of *μὴν πᾶ(γ)ει(ς) νᾶ* or *καί* (1749), analogous and equivalent to *μὴν τύχη* νᾶ or *καί* (cp. *P τυχόν*), *μὴ λάχη* νᾶ or *καί*, combinations also current in popular speech (1717 f. 1749), as: *φοβούμαι μὴν ἀποθάνν*.—*μὴμπα ν' ἀποθάνν* (= *μὴμπα<sup>s</sup> καὶ πεθάνν*)—*μὴ λάχη καὶ ἀποθάνν*.—The complex *μὴν πᾶ<sup>s</sup> καί* is often shortened to *(μ)πᾶ<sup>s</sup> καί* (as: *(μ)πας κ' ἐτρελάθηκες*; 'have you perchance gone mad?') very different from *πῶς κ' ἐτρελάθηκες*; 'how is it that you have gone mad?'),—a circumstance clearly disproving the presence of *πῶς* in *μὴμπα<sup>s</sup>*, and strengthening the suspicion against *μὴπας* as a direct survival of *Δ*.

2050. Of the remaining two particles, *μῶν* (from *μὴ οὖν* or Doric *μὴ ὄν*) was peculiar to *Δ* and apparently never passed to *P* discourse (the NT shows no trace of it), its place having been taken by its associates *μὴ δῖα* (Moeris 242: *μῶν Ἀττικῶς*, *μὴ δῖα Ἑλληνικῶς*. Cp. RKühner ii.<sup>2</sup> 1024 f.), or rather *μὴ γάρ* (1948) (*N μηγάρ<sup>s</sup>*), *μή τι*, *μή πως* (1749), as: Pl. Crat. 429 σ *μή γάρ οὐδὲ τοῦτο αὐτῷ ῥ*; Epict. 21, 19 *μή γάρ ἐπὶ τοῦτο ἤλθες*; *μή γάρ τούτου ἐνεκά μοι παρακάθῃσαι*; *μή γάρ διὰ τοῦτο ποτὲ λύχων ἦψας ἢ ἡγρίπνησας*; ib. 21 *μή γάρ ἐπύθου*.—On the other hand *ῥ*, an alternative and equivalent of *δῖα*, enjoyed a far wider and longer popularity, since it appears even in Homer as a very common particle and remains so through *Δ*, especially in colloquial speech (dialogue), down to post-Christian times (2055).

Plut. Apophth. 10 (ii. 209 Δ) *ἢ δοκεῖ σοι δ καὶ τῷ πατρί*; Ael. V. H. 6, 6 *ἢ γὰρ οὐ καὶ ταῦτα Λακωνικά*; Aristid. 1, 1, 4.—NT Matt. 26, 53 *ἢ (ubi male ῥ) δοκεῖς ὅτι οὐ δύναμαι παρακαλέσαι τὸν πατέρα μου*; Rom. 3, 29, 6, 3. 11, 2 *ἢ οὐκ οἴδατε*; so 1 Cor. 6, 9. 14, 36 *ἢ ἐξήλθεν*; 2 Cor. 11, 7 *ἢ διαμαρτίαν ἐποίησα*; Jas. 4, 5 *ἢ δοκεῖτε*; 1 Thes. 2, 19. Stob. Ecl. 3, 23, p. 567 *ῥ ποιοῦμεν*; ib. *ῥ οὖν ἐγνωμεν*; etc.

2051. The two interrogative particles *μὴ* and *οὐ* are frequently joined together in the complex *μὴ οὐ* (*nonne?*) when the interrogator confidently expects an emphatic affirmation: *yes indeed!*

Xen. Mem. 4, 2, 12 *μὴ οὖν οἷ δύνامي ἐγὼ τὰ τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἔργα ἐξηγήσασθαι*; NT Rom. 10, 18 *μὴ οὐκ ἤκουσαν*;—*μενοῦνγε*. so ib. 19. 1 Cor. 9, 4-5 *μὴ οὐκ ἔχομεν ἐξουσίαν φαγεῖν καὶ πίνειν*; *μὴ οὐκ ἔχομεν ἐξουσίαν ἀδελφὴν γυναῖκα περιάγειν*; so 11, 22.

So still in *N*: *μὴ δὲν ἔβαλα τὰ δυνατά μου*; 'haven't I done my best?' *μὴ δέ σου τό λεγα*; 'didn't I tell you so?' *μὴ δὲν τό ξέρες*; 'surely you did know it?'

2051<sup>b</sup>. For the alleged converse complex *οὐ μὴ*, see 1827 f.

2052. *Alternative* or *disjunctive* questions, whether direct or indirect, are often introduced by *πότερον*—*ῥ*, *utrum*—*an*, as:

Xen. Cyr. 3, 1, 12 *ῥ ἄρχων τις τύχη σοι καὶ δμάρτη, πότερον ἑὸς ἄρχειν ἢ ἄλλον καθίστης ἀντ' αὐτοῦ*; Aesch. Cho. 118 *πότερα δικαστὴν ἢ δικηφόρον λέγεις*; Xen. Cyr. 1, 3, 15 *διηρώτω πότερον βούλοιο μένειν ἢ ἀπίναι*. Dem. 23, 79 *πότερον δέδρακεν ἢ οὐ*;

2053. But the introductory *πότερον* can be omitted, as: Pl. Prot. 310 B *ἐγγήγορας ῥ καθεύεις*; and this is the regular practice in *P-N*.

2053<sup>b</sup>. In fact the custom of introducing the question by *πότερον* had become obsolete as early as the 1<sup>st</sup> c. A.D., if we may judge from the NT writers who scarcely ever use it (only once, John 7, 17). Cp. Matt. 11, 3 *σὺ εἰ δ ἐρχόμενος ἢ ἔτερον προσδοκῶμεν*; Mark 12, 14 *ἔξεστιν δοῦναι κήσον Καίσαρι ἢ οὐ*; *δῶμεν ἢ μὴ δῶμεν*;



**2054.** When they are conditional ('whether'), indirect sentence-questions are introduced, if simple, by *εἰ* (uncommonly by *ἐάν*) 'whether' (German *ob*), if double or alternative, by *εἰ . . . ἢ* or *εἴτε . . . εἴτε* 'whether . . . or.'

Xen. Cyr. 1, 6. 10 ἐρωτᾷς εἰ που ἂν ἀπὸ σοῦ πόρος προσγένοιτο; Mem. 2, 5, 2 σκοποῦμαι τοῦτο, εἰ ἄρα ὥσπερ τῶν οἰκετῶν οὕτω καὶ τῶν φίλων εἰσὶν ἤξια. An. 1, 10, 5 ἐβουλεύετο εἰ πέμποιεν τινας ἢ πάντες ἴοιεν ἀρῆζοντες. Pl. Gorg. 452 C σκόπει δὴτα ἐάν σοι πλοῦτου φανῇ τι μείζον ἀγαθὸν ὄν. Xen. Mem. 4, 4, 12 σκέψαι ἐάν τόδε σοι μᾶλλον ἀρέσκη. Cyr. 2, 4, 6 ἄκουε τοίνυν ἂν τι σοι δόξω λέγειν. Lys. 20, 34 οὕτω ὥστε εἴτε ἀγαθοὶ εἴτε κακοὶ ἡβήσαντες ἐσονται.

**2054<sup>b</sup>.** So still in *N* where *εἰ* has naturally made room for (*ἐάν*) ἂν (1772), as:

μ' ἐρώτησε ἂν ἔχω ἀδερφοῦς. στοχάζεται ἂν πρέπη νὰ μείνῃ ἢ νὰ πάγῃ. μοῦ εἶν' ἀδιάφορο εἴτε ἔχασες εἴτ' ἐκέρδισες.

**2055.** It is alleged that *εἰ* occurs as a *direct* interrogative particle (equivalent to *ἄρα*), rarely in *A*, but often in NT Greek, as: NT Acts 21, 37 μέλλαν εισάγεσθαι εἰς τὴν παρεμβολὴν ὁ Παῦλος λέγει τῷ χιλιάρχῳ· εἰ ἔξεστιν μοι εἰπεῖν τι πρὸς σέ; Matt. 12, 10 ἐπηρώτησαν αὐτὸν λέγοντες· εἰ ἔξεστιν τοῖς σάββασι θεραπεύειν; So further Matt. 13, 3. 19, 3. 20, 15. Mark 8, 23. Luke 13, 23. 22, 49. Acts 1, 6. 7, 1. 19, 2. 21, 37. 22, 25. 23, 9. But this assumption, though general among Biblical scholars, is based on a misconception, since *εἰ* here is nothing but an itacistic misspelling of the colloquial *ἦ* (2050). The copiers of our MSS, in whose time *ἦ* (= *ὄντως*, *ἄρα*) had disappeared from the living language, finding *H* unaccented and being unable to account for any other than disjunctive and comparative *ἦ*—either mistook it for such and transcribed *ἦ*, or, where this was too obviously inadmissible, changed it to its homophonous *εἰ* (37 ff.), which they imagined to be the nearest approximate in sense, associating it with the conditional *εἰ* in indirect questions. In other cases again where *ἦ* was followed by *μήν*—a very frequent occurrence—the asseverative combination *ἦ μήν*, then pronounced as one word *ἡμήν* <sup>[1]</sup>, was mistaken by Biblical readers and Christian copiers for the now familiar Hebrew *ἀμήν* and changed accordingly <sup>[2]</sup>, notwithstanding that its position at the opening of a clause ought to have served as a criterion. Hence *ἦ* is to be restored not only in all direct questions like the above (2050), but also in asseverative clauses (*ἦ* = *verily*), like Rom. 7, 1. 11, 2. 1 Cor. 6, 9. 14, 36, and elsewhere where *ἦ* or *εἰ* now stands, as well as in the numerous instances where (especially in John) it opens an assertion (*ἦ μήν* λέγω ὑμῖν, so for *ἀμήν* λέγω ὑμῖν).

Cp. Sept. Gen. 22, 17 ἡ μὴν εὐλογῶν εὐλογήσω σε, where Et. M. 416, 50 observes *ἦ ἐπίρρημα ὀρκικόν, ὅπερ καὶ διὰ διφθόγγου (i.e. ηἰ or η) γράφεται· ἡ μὴν εὐλογῶν εὐλογήσω σε. ἡ ὄντως καὶ ἀληθῶς*. Ezek. 33, 27 (ὡ ἐγὼ (= by my life), ἡ μὴν οἱ ἐν ταῖς ἡρημαιμέναις μαχαίραις πεσοῦνται. So 34, 8.

[1] Hrdn. (ALentz) i. 508, 17 τὸ δὲ ἡμὴν ὀρκικὸν ἐπίρρημα δέχνεται (1744, 2).

[2] If not direct, the process of interpolation and corruption is not difficult to trace: the asseveration *ἦ μήν*, written HMHN, which since early Christian centuries became obsolescent, appeared obscure to some Christian reader or commentator who 'explained' it, on the margin or above the line, by the more familiar Biblical term AMHN. The next copier then mistook this explanation for part of the text and interpolated it, thus producing HMHN AMHN, a complex which naturally struck the third copier as being a 'clerical error,' and so he in his turn unhesitatingly corrected HMHN AMHN to AMHN AMHN (ἀμήν ἀμήν), a phrase both Christian-like and grammatically not incorrect, since at that time a term could be strengthened by its mere repetition. (513. 521. 665.)

35, 6. Num. 14, 28. Job 27, 3 ὅτι ὁ θεὸς (= by God) ἢ μὴν λαλήσει τὰ χεῖρά μου ἀνομα. Judith 1, 12 ὥμοσε . . . ἢ μὴν ἐκδικήσῃ πάντα τὰ ὄρια τῆς Κιλικίας. Baruch 2, 29 εἰ μὴ ἀκούσητε τῆς φωνῆς μου ἢ μὴν ἡ βόμβησις ἀποτρέψει κτλ.—NT Hebr. 6, 14 (= Sept. Gen. 22, 17).—Polyb. 6, 21, 2 ἐξορκίζουσιν ἢ μὴν πειθαρχήσῃν. 6, 58, 3 ὁρκίσας ἢ μὴν ἐπαυήσῃν πρὸς αὐτόν. 11, 30, 4 ὥμνον ἢ μὴν πειθαρχήσῃν τοῖς παραγγελλομένοις. 12, 6, 3 ὁμολογίας ποιήσαντο ἢ μὴν εὐνόησιν αὐτοῖς. 9, 30, 9 ἢ πού τις ἀξιοχρεὼς ἂν εἴη. (Cr. 12, 11, 9 ἢ πού τις ἂν οὗτος παρεσιώπησεν). Plut. C. Mar. 29, 2 (i. 422 c) ὁμόσαι ἢ μὴν ἐμμενεῖν οἱς ἂν ὁ δῆμος ψηφίσαιτο. id. Alex. 47, 4 (i. 692 Δ) ἐπώμοσεν ἢ μὴν μάλιστα φιλεῖν ἀνθρώπων πάντων ἐκείνους. Cat. min. 32, 2 (ii. 775 A). Tib. Grac. 14, 3 (i. 831 B) εἰς ὁρισμὸν τινα προκαλεῖτο τὸν Τιβέριον ἢ μὴν ἡτιμασθῆναι τὸν συνάρχοντα. Cic. 23, 1 (i. 872 B). Pyth. Or. I (ii. 394 P) ἢ φιλοθεάμων τις ἡμῖν καὶ περιττῶς φιλήκοος ὁ ξένος. Aelian N. A. 1, 32 ἢ δεινὸν κακὸν καὶ νόσημα ἄγριον ἢ ἐχθρὰ. Babr. 40, 3 ἢ κακῶς πρᾶσσω. Apoc. Mar. 122, 15 ἢ μὴν οὐχ ἑώρακας τὰς μεγάλας κατασκευάς.

## ANSWERING A QUESTION.

2056. The answer to a question is expressed—

A. In *word-questions* by a term corresponding to that which leads the question :

Τίς λέγει;—Δημοσθένης, ὁ ξένος, οὗτος, ὃς ἂν βούληται, ὁ βουλούμενος. πῶς;—μετρίως, πρᾶως, καθ' ἡσυχίαν, γελῶν. πότε;—χθές, νύκτωρ, τότε, ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ χρόνῳ, ἐπειδὴν ἔλθῃ, ἐλθὼν. ποῦ; ποῖ;—ἐνθάδε, ἐκεῖ, ἄνω, πανταχοῦ, ἐν Ἀθήναις, εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν. So too in N.

2057. B. In *sentence-questions* the notion of *yes* or *no* is expressed—

a. By repeating in the affirmative or negative the word bearing the stress of the question :

Eur. Hipp. 1396 ὁρᾷς με, δέσποιν', ὡς ἔχω, τὸν ἄθλιον;—Ὅρῳ. Pl. Phaed. 65 D ΦΑΜΕΝ ΤΙ Εἶναι ΔΙΚΑΙΟΝ Αὐτὸ ἢ ΟὐΔΕΝ;—ΦΑΜΕΝ ΜΕΝΤΟΙ, Νῆ ΔΙΑ. Soph. Ant. 512 ΟὐΚΟὐΝ ΟἰΑΙΜΟΣ ΧΩ ΚΑΤΑΝΤΙΟΝ ΘΑΝΩΝ;—ὍΡΑΙΜΟΣ.

2057<sup>b</sup>. So too in N, though less frequently than in A, as: *ἔχεις χρήματα*;—*ἔχω*. *Μ' ἀκουσες ποῦ σοῦ φάναζα*;—*Δὲ σ' ἀκουσα*.

2058. b. By means of *ἐγώ*, *ἐγώ γε*, *οὐκ ἐγώ γε*—*φημί*, *οὐ φημί* :

Pl. Rep. 352 E ΔΟΚΕῖ ΤΙ ΣΟΙ Εἶναι ἵππου ἔργον;—Ἐμοί γε. Soph. Ant. 498 ΘΕΛΕΙΣ ΤΙ ΜΕΙΖΟΝ ἢ ΚΑΤΑΚΤΕῖΝΑΙ Μ' ΕΛΩΝ;—Εγὼ μὲν οὐδέν. Dem. I, 19 Σὺ ΓΡΑΦΕΙΣ ΤΑΥΤ' Εἶναι ΣΤΡΑΤΙΩΤΙΚΑ;—Μὰ Δι' ΟὐΚ ΕΓΩ ΓΕ. Pl. Crat. 391 E.

2058<sup>b</sup>. This mode of answering is questionable in G-B speech and foreign to N.

2059. C. By means of certain affirmative or negative particles, such as—

ναί 'yes,' πάνν μὲν οὖν, (καὶ) πάνν (γε), μίλα γε, καὶ μάλα (γε), ἔγωγε, ἔμοιγε (529<sup>b</sup>), 'certainly,' ἢ 'surely,' 'verily' (2055), etc.—*πῶς γὰρ οὐ*; 'why not?'

οὐ 'no,' οὐχί, οὐδαμῶς (μηδαμῶς), ἥκιστα γε, οὐ μὰ Δία, 'by no means,' etc.

2060. This is the commonest way of answering a sentence-question in N also. The particles still fully surviving and universally used in N are ναί 'yes' and οὐχι 'no,'—such other terms as μάλιστα 'yes (indeed),' βέβαια 'certainly,' ἐννοεῖται 'of course,' καθ' ὅλου (καθόλου), δι' ὅλου (διόλου) 'not at all,' and the like being due to literary influence.

**2061.** For the sake of emphasis *A* οὐ and ναί were often amplified to οὐχί (οὐχι? cp. Et. M. 607, 29; 638, 49.) and ναίχι (ναίχι? <sup>[1]</sup>). The former is found even in Homer (beside οὐκί [or οὐκι?]) and served as pattern for the latter (οὐχί and ναίχι, cp. μηκέτι after οὐκέτι). Their respective representatives in *N* are ὅχι (dialectally also ὅι 155<sup>c</sup>), often amplified to *M* ὅχικα (i. e. ὅχι καλέ cp. 251<sup>b</sup>), ὅχεσκε (NSophianos 81) or ὄγεσκε, then contracted to (\*ὄσκε) ὄσκε, 'no indeed,' and, after it, ναίσκε 'yes indeed,'—all these lengthened forms being considered, in popular parlance, as politer than ὅχι (ὅι) and ναί respectively.

## INFINITIVE.

### INTRODUCTORY.

**2062.** The infinitive is a verbal substantive partaking of the nature of both the substantive and the verb. Its *nominal* nature is clearly shown by its combination with the article (τό, τοῦ, τῷ): τὸ λέγειν, τοῦ ἰέναι, τῷ ἐπαινεῖσθαι. On the other hand, its *verbal* nature is fully borne out by the following principal facts: (a) like an ordinary verb, it is qualified by adverbs (not adjectives): τὸ εὔ ζῆν (2071). (b) it takes an object and that in the case required by the other verbal forms: τὸ ἀσκεῖν τὴν ἀρετὴν, τὸ τοῖς νόμοις πείθεσθαι (ἀσχοῦμεν τὴν ἀρετὴν, πείθονται τοῖς νόμοις); (c) it shows the nature and voice of the verb: παιδεύσαι, παιδεύσασθαι, παιδευθῆναι. (d) it specializes time: φυγεῖν, φεύγειν, πεφευγῆναι. (e) it can be accompanied by the modal particle ἄν.

**2063.** Notwithstanding its convenience, the Greek infinitive, compared with its two associates—noun and finite verb—from the outset laboured under several serious disadvantages. In the first place, as a noun, it lacked nominal inflection, having neither case-endings nor plural form, and thus appeared abnormal and foreign to the genius of the Greek language which at no time admitted of a noun without inflectional properties (App. vi. 2 & 25). Then as a verb, it was still more indefinite, since it indicated neither number nor person, often also no precise time. Now when it is remembered that the cardinal points aimed at in popular discourse are simplicity, perspicuity, and emphasis, and that, speaking of the Greek language in particular, these conditions have at all times (*A-N*) been fulfilled by means of inflectional properties (endings, prefixes, etc.), it is evident that the absence of these requisites from the infinitive often rendered it unfit for the purpose. As a natural consequence, popular discourse began as early as *G* times to dispense with the infinitive and replace it either by equivalent abstract nouns (in -μα, -ιον, -μός, -σις, -σία, 1021) or finite moods (ἴνα with primary subjunctive, ὅτι with indicative). This process of retreat and substitution, though slow in its manifestation, advanced steadily and reached its close in early *B* times. All subsequent (*M-N*) cases of the infinitive, whether nominal or verbal, savour of scholasticism or literary mannerism. For fuller particulars see App. vi.

[<sup>1</sup>] Hdn. in JACramer's An. iii. 279: τὰ εἰς ἰ λήγοντα (ἐπιρρήματα) δέχυνται ἀμσθί, δευρί. προπερισπῶνται δὲ ταῦτα αὐθι, ἤχι, ἱφι. τὸ ναί, χι (read ναίχι) δέχυνται. Et. M. 315, 21; 607, 20.

## SUBJECT AND PREDICATE OF THE INFINITIVE.

**2064.** 1. The subject of the infinitive, when different from the subject of the leading verb, stands in the *accusative*; so too its predicate, if any. (Cp. 1160 f.)

Xen. Mem. 1, 1, 19 Σωκράτης ἡγεῖτο θεοὺς πάντα εἰδέναι. An. 1, 3, 6 νομίζω ὧμας ἐμοὶ εἶναι καὶ πατρίδα καὶ φίλους καὶ γυμμάχοις.

So too in *P-B* compositions.—For *M-N* speech see 2063 & App. vi.

**2065.** 2. The subject of the infinitive, when it is identical with that of the leading verb, is omitted (cp. 1164). In that case its predicative or attributive adjuncts, if any, stand in the case of the leading subject.

Th. 3, 74 ἡ πόλις ἐκινδύνευσε πᾶσα διαφθαρῆναι. Xen. An. 1, 3, 10 ἀδικεῖσθαι νομίζει. 4, 4, 17 ἐρωτώμενος ποδαπὸς εἴη, Πέρσης ἔφη εἶναι. Th. 2, 65, 10 ὠρέγοντο τοῦ πρώτου ἕκαστος γίνεσθαι. 1, 34, 1 οὐκ ἐπὶ τῷ λόγῳ εἶναι ἐκπέμπονται ἀποικοί. Pl. Apol. 41 Α ἀπαλλαγείς τῶν φασκόντων δικαστῶν εἶναι.

So too in *P-B* compositions.—For *M-N* speech see 2063 & App. vi.

**2066.** 3. But when special emphasis is laid on the subject of the infinitive, then, notwithstanding its identity with the subject of the leading verb, it is expressed separately by means of a personal or reflexive pronoun put either in the *accusative* or in the *nominative* (cp. 1163):

Soph. El. 471 δοκῶ με πείραν τήνδε τολμήσειν ἔτι. Pl. Hipp. maj. 282 Ε οἶμαι ἐμέ πλείω χρήματα εἰργάσθαι ἢ ἄλλους σύνδου. Symp. 175 Ε. Xen. An. 8, 1, 30. Eur. Alc. 641. Dem. 9, 74 εἰ δ' οἶεσθε Χαλκιδικᾶς τὴν Ἑλλάδα σώσειν ἢ Μεγαρέας, ὧμεῖς δ' ἀποδράσασθαι τὰ πράγματα, οὐκ ὀρθῶς οἶεσθε.

**2067.** This is still commoner in *P-B* diction, even where there lies no perceptible emphasis: NT Rom. 2, 19 πέποιθας σεαυτὸν ὁδηγὸν εἶναι τυφλῶν. Luke 20, 20 ὑποκρινομένους ἑαγτοὺς δικαίους εἶναι. Acts 25, 21 τοῦ δὲ Παύλου ἐπικαλεσαμένου τηρηθῆναι αὐτὸν ἐκέλευσα τηρεῖσθαι αὐτὸν ἕως οὗ ἀναπέμψω αὐτὸν πρὸς Καίσαρα. (Cp. 1399.)

**2068.** Particularly striking is here (in *P-B* Greek) the very frequent use of the articular infinitive with a redundant subject in cases where *Α* would have preferred the adverbial or circumstantial participle (2102. 2164 ff.), as: Matt. 26, 32 & Mark 14, 28 μετὰ τὸ ἐγερθῆναι με (for *Α* ἐγερθεῖς) προσέω ὑμᾶς. Luke 10, 35 ἐγὼ ἐν τῷ ἐπανέρχεσθαι με (for *Α* ἐπανερχόμενος) ἀποδώσω σοι. 22, 15. John 2, 24. Hebr. 7, 24. 2 Cor. 2, 13.

**2069.** 4. When the subject of the infinitive is identical with some oblique case in the leading clause, it is omitted, while its predicative or attributive adjuncts, if any, are either attracted by that oblique case, or put in the *accusative*.

Xen. Hell. 1, 5, 2 Κύροϋ εἰδόντο ὡς προηγουμένου γενέσθαι. Dem. 3, 23 ἔρεσκον ὧμιν ἐγδαίμοσι γενέσθαι. Xen. An. 1, 2, 1 Κύρος παραγγέλλει τῷ Κλεάρχῳ λαβόντι ἡκεῖν ὅσον ἦν αὐτῷ στράτευμα· καὶ Ξενία τῷ Ἀρκάδι ἡκεῖν παραγγέλλει λαβόντα τοὺς ἄλλους. 3, 1, 5 ὁ Σωκράτης συμβουλεύει τῷ Ξενοφῶντι ἐλθόντα εἰς Δελφοὺς ἀνακοινῶσαι τῷ θεῷ περὶ τῆς πορείας.

So too in *P-B* compositions, as: NT Acts 25, 27 ἀλογον γὰρ μοι δοκεῖ πέμποντα . . . σημᾶναι. Hebr. 2, 10 ἐπρεπεν αὐτῷ πολλοὺς υἱοὺς εἰς δόξαν

## 2069-2074.] INFINITIVE, ARTICULAR.

ἀγαρόντα τὸν ἀρχηγὸν . . . τελειῶσαι. Acts 15, 25 ἔδοξε ἡμῖν . . . ἐκλεξαμένοις πέμψαι. So also 11, 12, 27, 3, 26, 20; 21.

**2070.** 5. The subject of the infinitive, when it is indefinite or general (τινά, τινάς, ἀνθρώπους, 'some one,' 'people'), is commonly omitted (1165), while its predicative or attributive adjuncts, if any, are put in the *accusative*.

Men. 118 δίκαιον εὖ πράττοντα μεμνησθαι θεοῦ. Isocr. 2, 15 φιλάνθρωπον εἶναι δεῖ καὶ φιλόπολιν.

**2070<sup>b</sup>.** So too in P-B compositions, but the omission of the subject is far less common.

### I. SUBSTANTIVAL OR ARTICULAR INFINITIVE.

**2071.** 1. Preceded by the article, the infinitive assumes the character of a substantive without, however, forfeiting its verbal nature and function (2062)<sup>[1]</sup>.

**2072.** Owing to the absence of the article in early (Homeric) Greek, the articular infinitive makes its appearance first in Theognis (256 τὸ τυχεῖν), Simonides (95, 1 τὸ καλῶς θησκειν) and Pindar, but its complete development is manifested in *A*. Here while fully preserving its verbal nature and function, it at the same time holds the room of an abstract substantive and stands in all the cases of the singular, with or without prepositions. From *A* it passes to *P* with a steadily increasing popularity and extension of usage. For while in *A* its verbal character prevailed over the substantival, in *G-T* the latter function comes to greater prominence. With the opening of *B* it had become almost an ordinary abstract noun, but lacking the inflectional properties of a noun (2063), could no longer hold its own against it and so became extinct. *N* therefore preserves no sure trace of the articular infinitive, its place having been taken either by its analysis (τὸ νᾶ for actions referring to the future and conditional present, and τὸ ὅτι or rather τὸ πῶς for actions referring to the past and actual present 1222<sup>[2]</sup>), or by abstract substantives, especially neuters in *-μα* and *-ιμο*<sup>3</sup> (1021). For fuller particulars see App. vi. 20 ff., 25.

**2073.** 2. The substantival infinitive stands usually in the present or aorist, uncommonly in the future (chiefly after ἔλπις, ὑπόσχεσις and the like, 2086<sup>b</sup>), rarely in the perfect.

**2074.** 3. The article is *admissible* before the infinitive when the latter acts as subject or direct object; it is *indispensable*

[<sup>1</sup>] 'The article might take a demonstrative besides, as in Ar. Vesp. 89 ἐρᾷ τε τούτου τοῦ σπουδάσειν, but in classic Greek there is no parallel for certain Latin constructions, such as are usually set down as Hellenisms. See my remarks on Persius 1, 9. In such Greek as that of Ignatius, we are not surprised to find (Ep. ad Eph. 3) τὸ διδάσκατον ἡμῶν ζῆν. 11 τὸ ἀληθινὸν ζῆν. ad Magn. 1 τοῦ διὰ πάντος ἡμῶν ζῆν. 5 τὸ ζῆν αὐτοῦ,—all vulgarisms or Latinisms.' BLGildersleeve in Trans. Amer. Phil. Soc. 1878, p. 7.

[<sup>2</sup>] Compare Apophth. 120 B τρεῖς λογισμοὶ ὀχλοῦσι με· ἡ τὸ πλάσσειν ἐν ταῖς ἐρήμοις, ἡ ἵνα ἀπέλθω ἐπὶ ξένης. . ἡ ἵνα ἐγκλείσω ἐαυτὸν εἰς κελλίον. IStaph. p. 25, 2 ἀπήγαγαν οἱ τρεῖς καλοὶ ἀδελφοὶ εἰς τὸ ὄρος τῶν Ἐλαιῶν διὰ τὸ ἵνα εὕρωσι βότανα. ib. 9 ὑπάγομεν εἰς τὸ ὄρος τῶν Ἐλαιῶν διὰ τὸ ἵνα εὕρωμεν βότανα. 426 περὶ τὰ μηδὲν πέφτογν τὰ μαλλία. 430 περὶ τὰ μηδὲν πέσογν τρίχες.

when the latter stands in the genitive or dative, or when it depends on a preposition.

Men. 724 τὸ πολλὰ τολμᾶν πόλλ' ἁμαρτάνειν ποιεῖ. Pl. Gorg. 476 D τὸ δίκην δίδόναι πότερον πάσχειν τί ἐστιν ἢ ποιεῖν; Men. 387 νέοις τὸ σιγᾶν κρείττον ἐστὶ τοῦ λαλεῖν. 381 νίκησον ὀργὴν τῷ λογιέσθαι καλῶς. Xen. Mem. 2, 1, 15 διὰ τὸ ξένος εἶναι οὐκ ἂν οἶε ἀδικηθῆναι; Dem. 3, 3 ἐκ τοῦ πρὸς χάριν δημηγορεῖν. Xen. Mem. 4, 8, 2 ἐθουμάζετο ἐπὶ τῷ εὐθύμως ζῆν. Cyr. 1, 3, 1 πάντων διαφέρων ἐφαίνετο καὶ εἰς τὸ ταχὺ μανθάνειν ἃ δέοι καὶ εἰς τὸ καλῶς ἕκαστα ποιεῖν.

So too in *P-B* compositions. App. vi. 21 ff.

**2075.** 4. Like any ordinary noun, the substantival infinitive may stand in any case of the singular:

*Nominative.* Soph. Ant. 1347 τὸ φρονεῖν εὐδαιμονίας πρῶτον ὑπάρχει. Xen. Cyr. 8, 3, 42 οὗτοι ἡδὺ ἐστὶ τὸ ἔχειν χρήματα οὕτως ὥς ἀνιάρων τὸ ἀποβάλλειν. 5, 4, 19. 7, 5, 8. 7, 5, 76. Pl. Gorg. 497 A.

*Accusative.* Pl. Gorg. 522 E αὐτὸ τὸ ἀποθνήσκειν οὐδεὶς φοβέεται. Apol. 28 D δέισας τὸ ζῆν. Soph. 247 C αἰσχύνονται τὸ τολμᾶν. Xen. Cyr. 1, 4, 21. Pl. Gorg. 512 E.

*Genitive.* Th. 7, 84 τοῦ πνέιν ἐπιθυμία. Xen. An. 1, 4, 15 ἄρξαντες τοῦ διαβαίνειν. Pl. Phaed. 117 E ἐπέσχομεν τοῦ δακρύειν. Xen. Cyr. 1, 5, 13.

*Dative.* Pl. Phaed. 71 C τῷ ζῆν ἐστὶ τι ἐναντίον, ὥσπερ τῷ ἐργηγορεῖν τὸ καθεύδειν. Dem. 18, 269. Th. 2, 42. Xen. Cyr. 4, 5, 9. Dem. 8, 11.

**2075<sup>b</sup>.** So too in *P-B* Greek, but the prepositional usage is by far commoner, in that it very often (especially in historical narration) takes also the place of the now retreating circumstantial participle (1561. 1601. 2068. 2141 <sup>c</sup>), as: ἐν τῷ καθεύδειν, εἰς τὸ λαλῆσαι, εἰς τὸ εἶναι, εἰς τὸ παρακαλεῖσθαι, διὰ τὸ ἔχειν, ἀντὶ τοῦ λέγειν, πρὸς τὸ θαυθῆναι, μετὰ τὸ ἐγερθῆναι, ἐκ τοῦ ἔχειν, ἕως τοῦ ἐλθεῖν, etc.—Peculiarly common are the combinations ἐν τῷ (λέγειν=λέγων), μετὰ τὸ (ἰδεῖν=ἰδών), and above all εἰς τὸ (ἐσθίειν, ἰδεῖν=ἐδόμος, ὀψόμενος or ἵνα φάγη, ἰδῇ). App. vi. 20-28.

**2076.** Rarely the substantival infinitive without a preposition stands independently to denote the *purpose* (App. vi. 23<sup>b</sup>): Th. 1, 4 τοῦ τὰς προσόδους μᾶλλον ἰέναι αὐτῷ. 2, 22, 2. Dem. 18, 107 τοῦ μὴ τὰ δίκαια ποιεῖν. Pl. Gorg. 457 E πρὸς τὸ πρᾶγμα φιλονικούντα λέγειν τοῦ καταφανέως γενέσθαι. See also App. vi. 23 ff.

**2077.** In the course of *P*, however, this usage met with a wider popularity, notably in *G-T* diction, and furthermore extended beyond its *A* scope (influence of Latin *ut*?). In fact, τοῦ with infinitive in *P-B* very often assumes the work not only of all final and other prospective infinitives or their corresponding final participles, but even that of finite clauses. (1337. App. vi. 23 ff.)

Polyb. 1, 12, 6 ἀναδραμόντες ἐτι τοῖς χρόνοις τοῦ μηδὲν ἀπὸρρημα καταλιπεῖν. 2, 55, 4 παρ' ὀλίγον ἦλθε τοῦ μὴ μόνον ἐκπεσεῖν ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς δλοῖς κινδυνεῦσαι. (cp. 1, 43, 7)—Sept. Gen. 18, 7 ἐτάχυνε τοῦ ποιῆσαι αὐτό. Ps. 39, 13 οὐκ ἠδυνάσθη τοῦ βλέπειν. 118, 57 εἶπα τοῦ φυλάσσειν τὸν νόμον σου. NT Matt. 2, 13 μάλλει γὰρ Ἡρώδης ζητεῖν τὸ παιδίον τοῦ ἀπολέσαι αὐτό. Diod. 17, 42, 4 παρ' ὀλίγον ἦλθον τοῦ πάντες ἀπολέσθαι. Gr. Urk. Berlin 164 (H-II-III<sup>rd</sup>), 24 παρακαλῶ ἥδη σὸτε πείσαι αὐτὸν τοῦ ἐλθεῖν. Acta Petri et Pauli 179, 4 αἰτησάμενος Καίσαρα τοῦ ἀπολέσαι ἡμᾶς. 183, 1 ἐφύλαττον τοῦ πιάσαι καὶ ἀποκτείνειν αὐτόν. Leont. Neap. V. I. 11, 20 σπεύδομεν τοῦ γενέσθαι. Mal. 440, 11 κελεύσας τοῦ δοθῆναι. Theoph. 43, 16 προετρέψατο αὐτὸν καὶ τοῦ

γενίσθαι σύνοδον. Porph. Adm. 132, 6 δέδοκα τοῦ μὴ παρ' ἡμῶν κατάδηλον γενέσθαι. 268, 14 παρεκάλουν αὐτὸν πολλὰ τοῦ ἡσυχάσαι καὶ παραχωρήσαι.

2077<sup>b</sup>. For further particulars see App. vi. 20-28.

## II. VERBAL OR ANARTHROUS INFINITIVE.

### *Historical Survey.*

2078. The *P-B* history of the verbal or anarthrous infinitive shows various stages and vicissitudes which can be best comprehended when we look into its relation to the governing verb or word. In so doing we find that all verbs and other words requiring an infinitival complement may be divided into two classes, one consisting of the small group leading the *indirect discourse* (2027 ff.), and the other comprising all the rest. Either class, instead of the infinitive, admits, under certain conditions, also its analysis to a dependent clause, but in the former class the analysis is a *declarative* clause introduced by *ὅτι* (*ὡς*), while in the latter the analysis is a *prospective* clause, that is a more or less *final* clause introduced by *ἵνα* (*ὅπως*). In other words, the infinitive is in the former case *declarative*, in the latter *prospective* (or *final*). This broad division, though chiefly deduced from the *P* history of the infinitive, holds good also for the classical period of the language (2079. 2089. App. vi. 2-6; cp. also the *A* construction of λέγω, εἶπον, φημί, νομίζω, ὑπολαμβάνω—ἀξιῶ, δέομαι, πειράομαι, etc. in the lexica; see further SBrief iii. 8-30).

2079. The start towards the analysis and subsequent retreat of the infinitive was made by *verba declarandi*, followed by *verba sentiendi*, that is by that class of verbs which in *A* could exchange their infinitive for a *declarative* clause with *ὅτι* or *ὡς* (1938 ff. 2027 ff.). A little later, if not at the same time, the other class forming the large majority followed, beginning with those cases where the infinitive could be resolved into a *final* clause with *ἵνα* or *ὅπως* (2094 ff.). Next in order came the loose infinitive (2098 f.), then the objective infinitive (2085 ff.), then that depending on nouns denoting an ability (2090 ff.), and lastly the infinitive depending on impersonal and sundry other incomplete verbs (2081 ff. 2088).

2080. The verbal infinitive may be the subject, the object, or some other complement of a verb or other word.

2081. I. As *subject*, the verbal infinitive of any tense excepting that of the perfect, is required by *impersonal* verbs and expressions: δεῖ, χρή, πρέπει, δοκεῖ, ἔξεστι, οἷον τέ ἐστι, προσήκει, συμβαίνει, διαφέρει, μέλει,—ἄξιον, δίκαιον, δυνατόν, καλόν ἐστι—ώρα, καιρός, νόμος, ἔθος ἐστίν, and the like.

Men. 96 γράμματα μαθεῖν δεῖ καὶ μαθόντα ροῦν ἔχειν. Pl. Apol. 42 A ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἤδη ὥρα ἀπιέναι. Xen. An. 3, 4, 39 ἐξεστὶ δρᾶν. 2, 1, 2 ἐδόξεν αὐτοῖς προΐεναι.

2082. So too in *P-B* Greek, both literary and colloquial. This usage of the infinitive seems to have proved the most popular and

so lasted the longest in the *P* history of the infinitive. (2079. App. vi. 15.) However, from *G* onwards the analysis of the infinitive by *ὡς* is also admissible. This is the case, for instance, after *δεῖ*, *ἀρκεῖ*, *ἀρέσκει*, *στοιχεῖται* 'it is stipulated,'—*δίκαιον, καλόν, κακόν, ἀρκετόν ἐστιν*—*ὥρα, καρὸς, δέον, συνήθειά ἐστιν, καλῶς ἔχει*, and the like. See App. vi. 16.

2082<sup>b</sup>. In *G-B* times when the infinitive began to retreat from the living language, we sometimes meet, even in Atticistic compositions, the perfect infinitive misused for the aorist or present infinitive after impersonal expressions, as: Ael. N. A. 80. 5 *ἐξὸν ἀπηλλάχθαι*. 114, 4 *ἀποχρῆ οἱ ταῦτα πεφροντικέναι*. Julian adv. Christ. 224, 6 (GJNeumann) *χρῆ πεπιστευκέναι* (cp. WSchmid iii. 74). Cp. 2073.

2083. The impersonal construction of the above verbs and expressions (2081) is frequently turned to a personal, especially in the case of *δοκεῖ*, *τοῖκε*, *δεῖ* 'it lacks' (1902), *συμβαίνει*, *δίκαιον, ἀναγκαῖον, ἐπιτήδειόν ἐστι*, and the like; also in that of *λέγεται* 'it is said,' and other passive verbs of *saying* and *thinking*: *δοκῶ* or (*δοκῶ* × *δοκεῖ μοι*) *δοκῶ μοι* [whence even *φαίνομαι μοι*, as Pl. Crat. 399 A] 'I seem,' *ἀξιος, δυνατός, δίκαιος, ἐπιτήδειος, ἱκανός, ἀμύχανός εἰμι*.

Xen. An. 1, 3, 12 *δοκοῦμεν καθῆσθαι*. Pl. Apol. 30 D πολλοῦ δέω ὑπὲρ ἔμμουτοῦ ἀπολογεῖσθαι. Prot. 339 E δίκαιος εἰ βοηθεῖν τῷ ἀνδρί. Xen. Cyr. 5, 3, 30 ὁ Ἀσσύριος εἰς τὴν χώραν ἐμβαλεῖν ἀγγέλλεται. Pl. Phaedr. 230 E ἐγὼ μοι δοκῶ κατακτεῖσθαι. Crat. 400 E, 399 A.

2084. This substantially applies also to *P-B* Atticizing compositions, but popular speech gives unqualified preference to the impersonal construction (2124). This is invariably the case in *N*, if we discard such solitary combinations as *ἀξιος (καλός) εἶνε νά το πιστεύῃ* 'I shouldn't be surprised if he believed it,' which belong to 2090.

2085. II. As *object*, the verbal infinitive stands—

1. With verbs of *saying* and *thinking* (*verba declarandi et sentiendi*), where the infinitive is *declarative* and can be resolved by *ὅτι* into a declarative clause (2078 f. App. vi. 6 f.). Such verbs are—

*λέγειν, εἰπεῖν, φάναι, ὑπισχνεῖσθαι, ὑποδέχεσθαι, ὑφίστασθαι, ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι, ὁμνῆναι, ἀπειλεῖν, προσποιεῖσθαι—οἶεσθαι, νομίζειν, ἡγείσθαι, δοκεῖν, ἐλπίζειν, πιστεύειν, ἀπιστεῖν—εἰκάσειν, συμβάλλεσθαι, ὑποπτεύειν, ὑπολαμβάνειν—φαίνεται, δοκεῖ. δῆλον, σαφές ἐστιν* 'it appears.'

Gnom. ὅ,τι ἂν ποιῇς νόμιζ' ὅρᾶν θεόν. Pl. Crat. 386 A Πρωταγόρας ἔλεγεν πάντων χρημάτων μέτρον εἶναι ἄνθρωπον. Xen. An. 5, 1, 8 οἶμαι βέλτιστον εἶναι. 1, 3, 18 φημι ταῦτα φλυαρίας εἶναι. Dem. 39, 40 ὁμωμόκατε δικάσειν. ISOCT. 3, 26 λέγεται καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ Διὸς βασιλεῖσθαι. Xen. An. 4, 6, 18 ἐλπίζω οὐδὲ τοὺς πολεμίους μενεῖν.

2086. Instead of this infinitive, *A* admitted also its analysis by *ὅτι* or *ὡς* (2079. 2136). In the course of *H-G* this alternative gained decided ascendancy, and before the close of *G* it had established itself in common discourse as the normal mode of expression, that is in the form of either the *oratio obliqua* or the *oratio recta* (2077 ff. App. vi. 7). With the opening of *T* this analysis by *ὅτι*—now also by *ὡς* (1754 f. App. vi. 13)—met with the widest popularity and soon led to the total disappearance of the declarative infinitive.



**2086<sup>b</sup>.** A class of verbs and nouns, which in themselves contain a prospective notion or border on futurity, take as complement the *future infinitive* in the form of either the effective future or of the *present* acting as a durative future (1896<sup>b</sup>. 1836. App. iv. 2 & 4). Such verbs and nouns are in particular those denoting a—

*Design*, as: μέλλω (1893), ἐθέλω, βούλομαι, ἐφίεμαι, διανοόμαι, παρασκενάζομαι, and the like;

*Expectation*, as: ἐλπίζω, προσδοκάω, ἐπιδόξος εἰμι, δι' ἐλπίδος ἔχω, ἐν ἐλπίδι εἰμί,—οἶμαι or οἴομαι, νομίζω, ὑπολαμβάνω,—ἐλπίς or προσδοκία ἐστίν, and the like;

*Promising*, as: ὑπισχνέομαι, ἐπαγγέλλομαι, φημί, λέγω, ὁμολογέω, συντίθημι, ἐγγυῶμαι, and the like;

*Swearing and Threatening*, as: ὅμνυμι, ὅρκον ποιῶμαι, etc.—ἀπειλέω.

Th. 4, 71 ἤλπιζον γὰρ μάχην ἔσεσθαι. 7, 46 ἐν ἐλπίδι ἂν τὰ τεῖχη αἰρήσειν. Pl. Rep. 573 c ἐλπίζει δυνατός εἶναι ἄρχειν. Xen. An. 3, 1, 14 τὸν στρατηγὸν προσδοκῶ ταῦτα πράξειν. Cyr. 6, 1, 21 ἐκ τούτου ὑπέσχετο μηχανὴν παρέξειν. Pl. Rep. 427 e. Symp. 174 A ὁμολόγησα εἰς τήμερον παρέσεσθαι. Phaedr. 254 b. Antiph. 6, 23. Andoc. 1, 62. Pl. Crit. 52 c ὁμολόγεις καθ' ἡμᾶς πολιτεύεσθαι. ib. d ἡμῖν ξυνέθου πολιτεύεσθαι. Xen. An. 7, 4, 13 ἰγγυῶτο μηδὲν αὐτοὺς κακὸν πείσεσθαι. Hell. 5, 3, 26 ὁμόσαντες ταύταις ἐμμένειν. 2, 4, 30. An. 2, 3, 27 ὁμόσαι ἢ μὴν πορεύεσθαι. 4, 5, 15.

**2086<sup>c</sup>.** The future infinitive with the above verbs and nouns is not rarely replaced by its cognate *aorist infinitive*, especially when the impending action is viewed with less confidence, as one that will merely take place. But while this seems to constitute a special case in A, in P-B diction it becomes the general rule owing to the gradual retreat of the future proper (App. iv).

Eur. H. F. ἤλπισεν παθεῖν. Th. 4, 24. Dem. 4, 2 οὐδ' ἂν ἐλπίς ᾖ αὐτὰ βελτίω γενέσθαι. Lys. 19, 8 ἐλπίς ᾖ ὑπὸ τοῦ πάππου ἐκτραφῆναι. Isae. 11, 22 προσδοκῶν ῥαδίως ἡμᾶς ἐξαπατῆσαι. Xen. An. 2, 3, 20 ὑπέσχετό μοι βογαλέυσθαι. 1, 2, 2. Hell. 5, 4, 7 ἠπειλῆσεν ἀποκτείνειν ἅπαντας τοὺς ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ. Polyb. 1, 23, 9 ἤλπισον ποιήσασθαι τὰς ἐμβολὰς. 2, 37, 2 ἐπηγγελάμεθα ποιήσασθαι τὴν ἀρχήν. 3, 15, 3. 3, 61, 5. 5, 29, 2. 2, 64, 5. 3, 17, 7. 4, 10, 8. 2, 65, 7, etc. 6, 22, 6 ὥμοσαν ἀθροισθῆναι. 3, 17, 5 τὴν ἐλπίδα τοῦ συστήσασθαι τὸν πόλεμον. Sept. Gen. 27, 42 ἀπειλεῖ σοι τοῦ ἀποκτείνειν. CIA iii. 1350, 4 ἤλπισα γενέσθαι. Clem. R. ad Cor. 55, 6 τὸ μέλλον ἀπολέσθαι. Polyc. ad Phil. 5, 2 ὑπέσχετο ἡμῖν εἰσεῖραι ἡμᾶς. Barn. 1, 3 ἐλπίζον σωθῆναι. 14. 1 ὥμοσεν δοῦναι. Hermas Sim. 8, 9, 4 μὴ ἐλπίζοντες σωθῆναι. Ignat. ad Eph. 1, 2 ἐλπίζοντα ἐπιτγχεῖν. Callin. 123, 14 ἐλπίζομεν ἔλεος εὔρειν. 81, 12 στρατηλάτης ἔμελλε γενέσθαι. 129, 9 ὑποσχόμενος ἀποτάξασθαι. [For 74. 32 σύ μοι λέγεις ὥς (eis ? 1552) ἔνα ἁμαρτωλὸν ἔσεσθαι, see App. iv. 10<sup>b</sup>.] CGL 234, 25 ἐλπίζω ἰδεῖν. Mart. Petri 98, 9 ὑπέσχου δοῦναι. Acta Pauli et Theclae 243, 11 ὑπισχνούμαι δοῦναι.

**2086<sup>d</sup>.** The infinitive depending on the above terms (2086<sup>b</sup>) is resolved in N by πῶς θά (= A ὅτι + fut.) or by νά (= A ἵνα), according as the emphasis of the clause lies on the infinitive or on the governing word. Only after verbs denoting a design (μέλλω, θέλω, βούλομαι), the infinitive in N is regularly resolved by νά.

**2087. 2.** With verbs denoting the *expression of will* (*verba voluntatis et studii*), i. e. *wish, intention, command, persuasion, compulsion, causing*, etc.—*heed, refusal, prohibition, hindrance*, etc.

βούλομαι εἴθελω, μέλλω. ἐπιθυμῶ, αἰροῦμαι, δέομαι, ἀξιώ, δικαίω.  
 πείθω, ἀναγκάζω. κελεύω, λέγω, εἶπον ('order'), παραγγέλλω,  
 ἐπιτάσσω, προστάσσω, ἐντέλλομαι—ἐποτρύνω, παροξύνω, ἐξορμῶ.  
 ὁμολογῶ, συγχωρῶ, ἐπιτρέπω—ποιῶ, διαπράττομαι ('cause to'), etc.  
 αἰσχύνομαι, αἰδοῦμαι ('hesitate,' 1961)—φεύγω, ἀπαρνοῦμαι—ἀπαγορεύω,  
 ἀπείπον, κωλύω, εἴρω, etc.

Men. 285 καλῶς ἀκοῖναι μᾶλλον ἢ πλουτεῖν θέλε. Xen. Mem. 1, 2, 23  
 αἱ ἡδοναὶ πείθοσιν τὴν ψυχὴν μὴ σωφρονεῖν. Pl. Crat. 407 D ἐγὼ δέδοικα  
 περὶ θεῶν διαλέγεσθαι. Men. 727 τὴν τῶν κρατούντων μάθε φέρειν  
 ἐξουσίαν.

2088. So too in *P-B* compositions, but in *G-B* popular speech the infinitive is either replaced by the imperative or subjunctive in paratactic construction (1702. 1930, 1939. 2031-2. 2086), or more commonly, it is resolved by *ἵνα* (ὅπως, ὡς, ὥστε)—later by *ὥ* (1766)—and these imperatival and subjunctival substitutes gradually succeeded in altogether dislodging the infinitive (App. vi. 15-19). On the whole, however, a few verbs of this class, such as βούλομαι, θέλω (μέλλω, ὀφείλω) seem to have retained their infinitival construction to the last (2079. App. vi. 15).

2089. The reason why the objective infinitive should be resolved in case of 2086 by *ὅτι*, and in case of 2088 by *ἵνα*, becomes obvious when it is borne in mind that, should it be replaced by an independent clause, it would become in the former case *indicative*, thus requiring chiefly *οὐ* for its negative, while in the latter case it would become *imperative* requiring *μή* for its negative.

2090. III. As a *complement*, the verbal infinitive (mostly in the active voice) stands with *verbs*, *adjectives*, and other expressions incomplete in themselves, and implying *power* or *ability*, *fitness*, *condition*, and their opposites. Such are, e.g.

a. *Verbs*: δύναμαι, ἐπίσταμαι, ἔχω, οἶος τ' εἰμὶ  
 πέφυκα, μανθάνω, etc.

b. *Adjectives, etc.*: δυνατός, ἱκανός, ἐπιτήδειος, δεινός  
 χαλεπός, ῥάδιος, ἡδύς—ἀξίος, καλός, etc.  
 οἶος, ὅσος—ἐφ' ᾧ, ἐφ' ᾧ ᾧτε 'on condition that.'

Pl. Symp. 201 C σοὶ οὐκ ἂν δυνάμην ἀντιλέγειν. Xen. An. 2, 2, 11 ἐκ  
 τῆς χώρας οὐδὲν εἶχονεν λαμβάνειν. Cyr. 1, 3, 18 δεινότερος διδάσκειν.  
 Th. 2, 60 οὐδενὸς ἡσσων γινώσκειν τε τὰ δέοντα καὶ ἐρμηνεύειν ταῦτα. Isocr.  
 16, 11 καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους διδάσκειν τέχνην ἔχουσιν. Th. 4, 61 πέφυκε τὸ  
 ἀνθρώπειον διὰ παντὸς ἀρχεῖν μὲν τοῦ εἰκοντος, φθλάσσεσθαι δὲ τὸ ἐπίον.  
 Eur. I. T. 1032 δεινὰ γὰρ αἱ γυναῖκες εἰρρίσκουσιν τέχνας. Pl. Rep. 415 B  
 τοιαύτας οἷός τις χειμῶνος τε στέγειν καὶ θέρους ἱκανός εἴναι. Xen. An. 2, 3, 13  
 οὐ γὰρ ἦν ὥρα οἷα ἀρδεῖν τὸ πεδίον. Hell. 2, 3, 11 αἰρεθέντες ἐφ' ᾧ ᾧτε  
 ἔγγραφον νόμους. An. 4, 4, 6 σπείσασθαι ἐφ' ᾧ ᾧτε αὐτὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας  
 ἀδικεῖν μῆτε ἐκείνους καλεῖν τὰς οἰκίας, λαμβάνειν τε τὰ ἐπιτήδεια.

2090<sup>b</sup>. So too: (1) Θαῦμα ὁρᾶν, ἰδεῖν, ἀκοῦσαι.—(2) For *πρίν* see  
 2002-9.—(3) For *ὥστε* 1949-50.

2091. Of the above terms (δύναμαι, since *H* δύνομαι), and δυνατός, ἱκανός,  
 etc. εἰμὶ, also ἐμποῶ 'am able,' preserved their infinitival construction to the  
 last (2088. App. vi. 15), but all the rest began since *H* first to place  
*eis* τὸ before the infinitive (NT Jas. 1, 19 ταχὺς εἰς τὸ ἀκοῦσαι, βραδὺς  
 εἰς τὸ λαλῆσαι), then to follow the then preponderating analysis by

ἵνα (ὅπως, ὡς, ὥστε), and this alternative gradually obliterated and finally (during *B*) ousted the infinitive. See App. vi. 15-17.

2092. On the other hand, the infinitival construction of ἔχω, owing to its substitution, since *G*, for the future and the potential indicative (1894. App. iv. 6-7), gains a wider popularity among all classes of *G-B* scribes: ἔχω εἰπεῖν for ἔρῳ, εἶχον (ἂν) εἰπεῖν for ἔλεγον ἂν, εἶπον ἂν. For further particulars on this point see App. iv. 6-7.

2093. Contrary to *A* usage, *G-B* diction conceives οὐκ ἔχω, ἀπορῶ, σκοπῶ and the like as negative terms of δύναμις, ἔχω, εὐπορῶ, etc., and thus constructs them with the *infinitive*, not with the subjunctive (2020 ff.), as: Josephi Narr. 2, 2 οὐκ εἶχον τὸ πῶς τὸ πάσχα ποιῆσαι. Apophth. 92 D μὴ ἔχων ὅθεν ἀγοράσαι. More examples in App. vi. 17, c.

2094. As an *indirect object* and in a purely *final* sense (in order to, with a view to) the verbal infinitive stands with verbs of *giving, receiving, leaving, permitting, choosing, appointing*, and the like. Such are, e.g.

δίδωμι, ἐπιτρέπω, παρέχω—λαμβάνω, δέχομαι—καταλείπω—αἰρούμαι, καθίστημι, etc.

Xen. Hell. 4, 4, 15 τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὴν ἄκραν φυλάττειν αὐτοῖς παρέδωκαν. Pl. Apol. 33 B ὁμοίως καὶ πλουσίῳ καὶ πέννι παρὲχω ἑμαυτὸν ἐρωτᾶν. Dem. 19, 71 ὅς γάρ ἂν ὑμᾶς λάβῃ, τοῦτον ἀφίετε τοῖς θεοῖς κολάζειν. Xen. Hell. 5, 1, 14 ἡ θύρα ἣ ἐμὴ ἀνέφκτο εἰσιέναι τῷ δεομένῳ τι ἐμοῦ. Pl. Apol. 28 E οἱ ἄρχοντες οὗς ὑμεῖς εἰλεσθε ἄρχειν μου. Th. 2, 12 τοὺς ἱππείας παρῆχοντο Πελοποννησίοις ἑστρατεύειν. Isocr. 7, 37 οἱ πρόγονοι τὴν ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου βουλὴν ἐπέστησαν ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τῆς εὐκοσμίας.

2095. Under this class fall verbs of *motion* (sending, going, coming), in that they sometimes (oftener in poetry than in prose) take the infinitive instead of the future participle (2157):

Soph. O. C. 12 μανθάνειν γὰρ ἥκομεν ξένου πρὸς ἀσπῶν. Th. 6, 50 (οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι) δέκα τῶν νεῶν προὔπεμψαν ἐς τὸν μέγαν λιμένα πλεῖσαι.

2095<sup>b</sup>. This construction is very popular with *G-B* scribes (2097. App. vi. 17, b).

2096. Besides the above infinitive of purpose (2094-5), *A* equally admits of a final clause with ἵνα (ὅπως). This alternative then, in the course of *P*, gained preponderance, and so contributed to the eventual extinction of the infinitive.

2097. On the other hand, since ἵνα with the primary subjunctive had established itself, during *G*, as the almost universal substitute for every infinitive excepting the declarative, and so had become a very commonplace expression, a reaction set in among scribes towards reviving the retreating infinitive. Now as the commonplace ἵνα-clause expressed chiefly *purpose*, its revived substitute or rather paraphrase, the infinitive, naturally took the place of purely final clauses and participles. On the whole, however, this reaction was artificial, and the revived infinitive was now used promiscuously sometimes even at random, that is to say sometimes simple, sometimes with ὥστε, and sometimes with the article; in the last case chiefly in the genitive or with the preposition εἰς (2075<sup>b</sup> ff. App. vi. 15. 21-24).

NT Matt. 25, 35 ἐδώκατέ μοι φαγεῖν. 27, 34 ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ πιεῖν. Mark 5, 43 εἶπεν δοῦναι αὐτῷ φαγεῖν. Mark 7, 4 ἄλλα πολλὰ αὐτῷ παρέλαβον κρατεῖν.

Rom. 11, 8 ἔδωκεν ὀφθαλμοὺς τοῦ μὴ βλέπειν καὶ ὅτα τοῦ μὴ ἀκοεῖν. Matt. 2, 2 ἤλθομεν προσκυνῆσαι. 11, 8 τί ἐξήλαθε ἰδεῖν; Luke 3, 12 ἦλθον δὲ καὶ τελῶνα βαπτισθῆναι. Mark 3, 14 ἵνα ἀποστείλῃ αὐτοὺς κηρύττειν. Matt. 13, 3 ἐξήλθεν ὁ σπείρων τοῦ σπείρειν (cp. Mark 4, 3). Hebr. 10, 7 ἤκω τοῦ ποιῆσαι τὸ θέλημά σου. Matt. 3, 13 παραγίνεται τοῦ βαπτισθῆναι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ. Matt. 20, 19 παραδώσουσιν αὐτὸν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν εἰς τὸ ἐμπαῖζαι (*ad includendum*). 26, 2 παραδίδοται εἰς τὸ σταυρωθῆναι (*ut crucifigatur*). 27, 1 συμβούλιον ἔλαβον οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς κατὰ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ὥστε θανατώσαι αὐτόν. Theod. ii. 620 Δ εἰσηγίσθαι αὐτῷ ὥστε δικάζειν.—Acta Tho. 9, 16 κατήλθεν εἰς τὴν πηγὴν ἀντλήσαι ὕδωρ. 15, 6 τὰς θύρας ἐστήκεν κατὰ τὴν ἀνατολὴν τοῦ ἡλίου βλέπειν πρὸς τὸ φῶς. 37, 23 ἄπελθε νῖψαι σου τὰς χεῖρας. 39, 11 οὐκ ἐγκάτελιπέ με παραμεῖναι εἰς ἐκεῖνον τὸν χώρον. 51, 34 ὥσπερ γὰρ σὺ ἤλθες εὐαγγελισθῆναι, οὕτως ἀφανίσαι ἦλθον ἐγώ. 22, 25 ἐξήλθεν ἀπόστολος τοῦ ἀπελθεῖν ὅπου αὐτὸν ὁ κύριος προστάζει. Protev. Jacobi 2, 4 κατέβη εἰς τὸν παράδεισον τοῦ περιπατῆσαι. Mal. 160, 14 ἀπελθεῖν τοῦ κτίσαι τὴν Ἱερουσαλὴμ. 408, 6 ἀνεχώρησαν τοῦ συναθροίζεσθαι. Theoph. 216, 23 παρέδωκεν Ἰουστινιανὸς τοῦ ψάλλεσθαι ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις.

**2098. IV.** In a loose or absolute sense, the infinitive stands, often with ὥς or with the article τό, thus forming an adverbial or parenthetical phrase.

ὀλίγου δεῖν, μικροῦ δεῖν ('but for a little') 'almost.'  
 ἐκὼν εἶναι 'willingly,' τὸ νῦν εἶναι 'for the present,' τὸ κατὰ τοῦτον εἶναι 'so far as he is concerned.'  
 ὥς (ἔπος) εἰπεῖν 'so to speak,' (ὥς) συνελόντι εἰπεῖν, 'to speak briefly.'  
 ὥς συντόμως εἰπεῖν 'to put it shortly,' ὥς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν 'as far as I can judge,' 'as it appears to me.'

Pl. Apol. 17 Δ ἀληθές γε ὥς ἔπος εἰπεῖν οὐδὲν εἰρήκασιν. Symp. 215 Α ἐκὼν εἶναι οὐδὲν ψεύσομαι. Xen. Hell. 3, 5, 9 τὸ ἐπὶ ἐκείνοισι εἶναι δπωλώλειτε.

**2099.** This loose or parenthetical usage of the infinitive figures also in *P-B* compositions, but whether it was familiar to popular speech as well, is another question. In the NT there is only one instance: Hebr. 7, 9 ὥς ἔπος εἰπεῖν.

### PARTICIPLE.

**2100.** The use of the participle in *A* is a twofold one, viz.

*A. Adjectival*, in which case it performs the work of an ordinary adjective, and that in the sense of either an *attribute*, when the participle is called *attributive* (as ἡ Μίδου καλοῦμένη κρήνη 'the so-called Midas' spring');—or in the sense of a *predicate* (*predicative* participle, as ἐτύχανον περιπατῶν 'I chanced to be walking'). (1159.)

**2101. B. Adverbial**, in which case it denotes an attendant circumstance and performs the work of an ordinary adverb, thus supplying the answer to an adverbial question *when?* *why?* *to what purpose?* *under what conditions?* *in what manner?* etc. (2141<sup>b</sup>). Since it expresses then the various circumstances attending an action, this participle is commonly called *circumstantial*.

**2102.** It follows that the adjectival participle is an inseparable part of the leading clause, while the adverbial participle is essential only in so far as it qualifies or specifies the conditions under which something is done or said.

2102<sup>b</sup>. For the use and history of the participle in *P-N* see 2164 ff.

## ADJECTIVAL PARTICIPLE.

### I. ATTRIBUTIVE PARTICIPLE.

**2103.** The attributive participle specifies a substantive as does any attribute: πόλις οἰκομένη 'an inhabited town.' It is preceded by the article (so far as it would not be the indefinite; cp. 1209) and stands for a relative clause, as:

Xen. Mem. 4, 1, 3 αἱ ἀρισταὶ δοκοῦσαι εἶναι φύσεις. Men. Mon. 422 οὐ μὴ δαρεῖς ἀνθρώπος οὐ παιδεύεται.

**2104.** For the attributive participle a relative clause is equally common in both *A* and *P* Greek (2010-26), as:

Lys. 24, 6 παῖδες μοι οὕτω εἰσὶν οἳ με θεραπεύουσιν (= οἱ θεραπεύοντές με). Xen. An. 1, 3, 15 τῷ ἀνδρὶ ὃν ἂν ἔλκεθε πείσομαι (= τῷ ὑφ' ἡμῶν αἰρεθισομένῳ). Lys. 12, 98 οἱ παῖδες ἡμῶν ὅσοι ἐνθάδε ἦσαν (= οἱ ὄντες) ὑπὸ τούτων ἂν ὑβρίζοντο.

**2105.** To judge from the literary productions dating prior to *M*, the attributive participle was just as common as its analysis by a relative clause. But whether both expedients were equally popular with the masses is doubtful considering that with the first appearance in *M* of popular compositions the participle had completely retreated before its analysis by *ὅστις* or *ὅπου* (now *ποῦ* or *ὅπου*), save in the case of the perfect in *-μένος* which still fully survives either as simple adjective or as a predicate (2110 f.).

### II. PREDICATIVE PARTICIPLE.

**2106.** The *predicative participle* serves, like a predicate (1159), to supplement the notion of certain incomplete or auxiliary verbs. Such verbs are the following two classes (*A* & *B* 2133, cp. 687).

*A.* Referring to the *subject* of the governing verb the *predicative participle* (*subjective participle*) stands with—

1. εἰμὶ 'am,' γίγνομαι 'become,' rarely ὑπάρχω (2127) 'am,' then διαγίγνομαι, διατελῶ, διάγω 'continue,' 'am constantly,' also ἔχω 'have,'—by means of which a compound or emphatic tense is frequently effected (RKühner ii<sup>2</sup>. 35 f. & 624 f.). This periphrasis was, from the outset, in many cases dictated by phonetic considerations (687. 886. 1844. 1848<sup>b</sup>. 1864 f. 1877 f. 1892 f. 1896. 1898):

Dem. 21, 104 ἐγὼ τὸ πρᾶγμ' εἰμὶ τοῦτο δεδρακώς (= δέδρακα). 28, 23 οὐ γὰρ ἦν πρῆσβεία πρὸς οὐδένᾳ ἀπεσταλμένη (= ἀπέσταλτο) τότε τῶν Ἑλλήνων. Soph. O. R. 701 οἶα μοι βεβοηλεκώς ἔχει. O. C. 817 ποίῃ σὺν ἔργῳ τούτ'

ἀπειλῆσας ἔχεις; Phil. 1362 θαυμάσας ἔχω (= τεθαύμακα). O. C. 1140. Αἰ. 22 ἔχει περάνας. Ant. 22 ἀτιμάσας ἔχει. 192 κηρύξας ἔχω. Phil. 412 ἦν ζῶν (= ἔζη). Αἰ. 588 μὴ προδοῖς ἡμᾶς γένῃ. O. T. 957 σιμῆνας γενοῦ. Xen. An. 1, 3, 14 πολλά χρήματα ἔχουσαν ἀνηρπακότες. Soph. Phil. 600 ὃν γ' ἔχον ἦδη ἐκβεβληκότες. Dem. 4, 50 τὰ δέοντα ἐσόμεθα ἐγνωκότες καὶ λόγων ματαίων ἀπηλλαγμένοι. Xen. An. 7, 7, 27 ἃ νῦν καταστρεψάμενος ἔχεις. Soph. O. T. 1146 οὐ σιωπήσας ἔσει; O. C. 816 ληπθεὶς ἔσει. Th. 1, 38 τοῖς πλείουσιν ἀρέσκοντες ἔσμεν. Dem. 3, 36. Xen. Mem. 4, 3, 8 ὅταν αὐτὸς πάλιν ἀπὼν γένῃται. Dem. 3, 7 ὑπῆρχον Ὀλύνθιοι δυνάμιν τινα κεκτῆμένοι.—Xen. Mem. 4, 8, 4 οὐδὲν ἄλλο ποίῳν διαγερένῃται ἢ διασκοπῶν τὰ τε δίκαια καὶ τὰ ἀδίκαια.

**2107.** So too in *P-T* Greek with this difference that the auxiliary εἰμί, though it had become far commoner, is now often replaced by the more regular verbs ὑπάρχω (937), χρηματίζω, εὐρίσκομαι 'am,' μένω 'remain,' ἔχω 'have been' (1834), ποιῶ (= *A* διῶγω) 'spend in'—while διαγι(γ)νομαι and δικάω, so far as they still survived, assumed a different meaning and construction (1845)<sup>[1]</sup>.

Polyb. 7, 9, 5 ἐφ' ᾧ τ' εἶναι σφωζόμενος ὑπὸ βασιλέως Φιλίππου. Diod. 14, 48 ἢ πόλις ἦν ἐπὶ τίνος νήσου κεκμένη.

NT 2 Cor. 9, 12 ἔστι προσαναπληροῦσα . . . καὶ περισσεύουσα. Mark 4, 38 ἦν καθεύδων. 10, 32 ἦν προάγων. 14, 54 ἦν συγκαθήμενος. 1, 22 ἦν διδάσκων. 1, 39 ἦν κηρύσσων. 2, 18 ἦσαν νηστεύοντες. 9, 4 ἦσαν συλλαλοῦντες. Luke 1, 22 ἦν διανεύων. 5, 17 ἦσαν καθήμενοι. 11, 14 ἦν ἐκβάλλων. 23, 8 ἦν θέλων. 1, 20 ἐστὶ σιωπῶν. Acts 2, 2 ἦσαν καθήμενοι. 8, 28 ἦν ὑποστρέφων. Phil. 2, 26 ἐπιποθῶν ἦν. Rev. 3, 2 γίνου γρηγορῶν. John 1, 28 ἦν βαπτίζων. Mark 13, 25 ἔσονται πίπτοντες καὶ . . . σαλευθήσονται. Matt. 10, 30 ὡμῶν δὲ καὶ αἱ τρίχες τῆς κεφαλῆς πάντα ἠριθμημένοι εἰσὶν. Luke 12, 6 καὶ ἐν ἑξ αὐτῶν οὐκ ἔστιν ἐπιλησμένος ἐνάπιον τοῦ θεοῦ. 23, 15. 24, 38. John 2, 17 ἔστιν γεγραμμένον. so 6, 31; 45. 10, 34. 12, 14. 20, 30. 3, 21 ἐν θεῷ ἔστιν εἰργασμένα. so ib. 28. Mark 15, 26 ἦν ἡ ἐπιγραφή ἐπιγεγραμμένη. 15, 43 ἦν προσδεχόμενος (cp. Luke 23, 51 προσεδέχετο). Luke 5, 1 ἦν ἔστως. 5, 17 ἦσαν ἐληλυθότες. 23, 55 ἦσαν συνελθούσαι. 4, 16 ἦν τεθραμμένος. Also 8, 2. 13, 5. Matt. 16, 19 ἔσται δεδεμένος, ἔσται λελυμένος. Acts 8, 16 ὑπῆρχον βαπτισμένοι. Matt. 1, 18 εὐρέθη ἐν γαστρὶ ἔχουσα. Luke 17, 18. Acts 21, 13 τί ποιεῖτε κλαίοντες; Mark 11, 5. So further Mark 6, 52. 14, 40. 15, 46. Luke 2, 26. 4, 17, et passim.

Polyb. 2, 5, 6 ἐν παραρείᾳ προσανέχων διήγε. So 16, 21, 1. 4, 46, 3 ὥρα διετέλουν διδόντες. Sept. 2 Macc. 5, 27 τὴν χορτάδι τροφὴν σιτοῦμενοι διετέλουν.

Acta Barn. 5 ἡμῖν ἐγὼ διακονῶν. Martyr. Polyc. 9 ὁδοήκοντα καὶ ἐξ ἑτῆ ἔχω δολεγῶν αὐτῷ. Cyril. A. x. 132 β' ἡμέρας ἔχω τράκοντα ὁδεύων. Pallad. 1044 ο' σήμερον ἔχει τρεῖς ἡμέρας μηδενὸς γεγασμένη. Ant. Mon. 1692 β' οὐκ ἔχει τρία ἑτῆ κακῶ θανάτῳ τὴν ψυχὴν ἀπορρήζας. Chal. († 451) 1613 δ' τρεῖς μῆνας ἐποίησε διαγινώσκων μεταξὺ αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν κληρικῶν. Test. xii. 1048 α' καὶ ἐποίησα μῆνας πέντε ἐργαζόμενος αὐτῷ. Vita Epiph. 60 β' ἐμείνεν δὲ ἀπὸ ὥρας ἑκτῆς ἕως ὥρας ἐνάτης οὕτως ἀποκράζων. Apophth. 141 β' ἐμείνα μῆσον βάμων στήκων.

**2108.** The participle construction of the above verbs 2106 f. receives in *P-B* this limitation, that when the participle should

[<sup>1</sup>] At least in the Sept. δικάω means διακομίζω, whereas in the NT it does not occur at all. On the other hand, διαγίνομαι in the NT means παρέρχομαι.

be ὦν, it is generally dropped, and its predicate, if any, then becomes predicate of the governing verb. This practice however is occasionally found even in *A* writers, at least in the case of διατελῶ (cp. 2116).

Th. 6, 89 διατελῶ πρόθυμος (sc. ὦν). Polyb. 16, 21, 1 κατὰ τὸ συνεχές ἐν στρατιωτικῷ βίῳ διεγέρονει. NT Acts 27, 33 ἄσιτοι διατελεῖτε. Matt. 20, 12 μίαν ὥραν ἐποίησαν. So Acts 15, 33, 18, 23. 20, 3. 2 Cor. 11, 25. Pallad. 1115 *A* τεσσαρῖκοντα ὀκτὼ ἔτη ἔχω ἐν τῇ κέλλῃ ταύτῃ. Apophth. 232 *A* πόσον χρόνον ἔχει μετὰ σοῦ; 393 *B* ἔχω ἑνδεκα μῆνας ἐν τῷ ὄρει τούτῳ. Vita Epiph. 168 *A* ἔχω ἐν τῇ ἐπισκοπῇ πεντήκοντα ἔτη παρὰ τρεῖς μῆνας. JMoschos 2992 *A* ἔχει δὲ ἡ χήρα περὶ τὰ ὀγδοήκοντα ἔτη. (Cp. 1834.)

2109. This omission of ὦν was evidently suggested by the precedent of dropping it even in *A* in causal and concessive participles introduced by ἄτε, οἷα, ὥς, καίπερ (2152; cp. 2143).

2110. When in the course of *G-B* times the reduplication dropped off and the simple form of the perfect and pluperfect could no longer be maintained (736-40), the periphrasis of these tenses, already fairly familiar even in *A* (687-90. 764), naturally received an impetus and eventually, being also influenced by a parallel usage in contemporary Latin (and subsequent Romanic), became the absolute means of forming the passive and neuter perfect, pluperfect, and future perfect (cp. 2139). Meanwhile the imparisyllabic participles having also become untenable (338. 2166), there remained only those ending in -μένος, and it is this class among them, notably that of the perfect passive -μένος, which still fully survive in *N* speech and has even received a considerable extension in the circumstance that a great number of formerly neuter and intransitive verbs have become transitive and thus admit of a perfect participle passive (1457-60. 2111. 2139 f.).

2111. Owing to its great frequency in *N* speech, the predicative participle has become so familiar as to assume in many cases the force of an adjective (chiefly of manner), as: λεγόμενος 'so-called,' χαίρόμενος (formerly = χαίρων, now) 'one whose wife or husband is living,' χαρούμενος = χαίρων 'cheerful,' (ζωή) χαρισάμενη<sup>1)</sup> 'delightful,' κοιτάμενος 'lying in bed,' τρεμάμενος 'trembling,' μπορείόμενος 'possible,' well-to-do, τρεχάμενος 'running,' 'flowing,' τρεχούμενος 'current,' ἀφτούμενος 'burning,' 'living,' χρειάζομενος & χρειαζόμενος 'needful,' γελαζόμενος 'smiling,' 'cheerful,' etc. (Cp. 2162.)

2112. A few specimens have even become substantives, as: τὰ ὑπάρχοντα (also in *A-P*) 'property,' τὸ βρισκόμενον 'pot-luck,' τὸ στάμενα (*M-N*) 'money,' now τὸ στεκάμενον 'estate,' μελλούμενα (like *A* μέλλοντα) 'future,' πετούμενα (= πτηνά) 'birds,' λαλούμενα 'musical instruments,' γινόμενα (= γιγνόμενα) 'occurrences,' εἰς τὰ καλὰ καθούμενα 'without any cause,' τὸ ποθούμενον desideratum.

2113. 2. Οἶχομαι 'am gone,' \*τυγχάνω 'chance,' \*λανθάνω 'escape notice,' \*φθάνω 'overtake,' which in English are usually rendered by an adverbial expression (as οἶχομαι by 'away,' 'off,' λανθάνω by 'unobserved,' φθάνω by 'previously'), while the participle is turned to a finite verb, as:

*B* 71 ὧχ' ἀποπτάμενος. *Ag. Pl.* 933 οἴχεται φέγγων δὲ εἶχες μάρτυρα.

<sup>1)</sup> From the Easter hymn Χριστὸς ἀνέστη ἐκ νεκρῶν θανάτῳ θάνατον πατήσας καὶ τοῖς ἐν τοῖς μυστήσιν ζωὴν χαρισάμενος (99δ<sub>309</sub>).

So frequently οἶχομαι ἀπίων, πλέων, ἐλαύνων, ἀποδράς.—Pl. Phaed. 72 E ἡ μάθησις οὐκ ἄλλο τι ἢ ἀνάμνησις τυγχάνει οὔσα. Th. 4, 113 ἐτῆχον ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ ὀπλῖται καθεδόντες ὡς πενήκοντα. 2, 2 ἐλαθον ἐσελθόντες. Pl. Crit. 49 B ἐλάθμεν ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς παίδων οὐδὲν διαφέροντες. Th. 3, 112 ἐφθασαν προκαταλαβόντες. Xen. Hell. 7, 2, 14 ὅπως φθάσειεν βοηθή-  
contes.

2114. So οὐκ ἂν φθάνω 'be quick in,' 'make haste to.' Hdt. 7, 162 οὔκ ἂν φθάνοιτε ἀπαλλασσόμενοι. Pl. Symp. 185 E οὔκ ἂν φθάνοις λέγων.

2115. Besides its participial construction, the phrase οὐ φθάνω is followed by καὶ or καὶ εὐθύς, in the sense of 'no sooner . . . than' (1714. 1793). Isocr. 4, 86 οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι οὐκ ἐφθασαν πηθόμενοι τὸν περὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν πόλεμον καὶ πάντων τῶν ἄλλων ἀμελήσαντες ἦκον ἡμῶν ἀμυνούντες. 8, 97 οὐκ ἐφθασαν τὴν ἀρχὴν κατασχόντες καὶ Θηβαίους ἐγθὺς ἐπεβούλευον. So 19, 22 οὔκ ἐφθμεν εἰς Τροίην' ἐλθόντες καὶ τοιαύτας νύσους ἐλήφθημεν.

2116. In the case of τυγχάνω, should its participial complement be ὦν (from εἰμί), it can be dropped (especially in P) and its predicate then, if any, becomes the predicate of τυγχάνω (cp. 2108), as: Pl. Prot. 313 E εἰ σὺ τυγχάνεις ἐπιστήμων τούτων (sc. ὦν). Xen. An. 2, 2, 17 ὡς ἕκαστος ἐτύγχανον (sc. ὄντες) ἠυλίζοντο.—Aprophth. 141 C ὅταν ἐν εἰρήνῃ τυγῆανης καὶ οὐ πολε-  
μήσαι. Cp. 2119.

2117. So far as they outlived H, the above verbs (2113) exchanged their participial construction for the prospective infinitive (or its analysis by ἵνα 2079). Thus—

2118. a. \*Οἶχομαι, though occurring 24 times in the Septuagint, is treated there as an equivalent of πορεύομαι or εἰμι, in two cases being followed by the final infinitive (Gen. 31, 17 ὥχεται κείρι τὰ πρόβατα. Jer. 48 (41) 12 ὥχοντο πολεμεῖν αὐτόν, cp. 2095 f.). On the other hand, it does not occur any longer in the NT, nor apparently in any other subsequent composition of unscholarly character.

2119. b. \*Τυγχάνω, though common in P-B (it occurs 14 times in the Sept., and 13 in the NT), seems to have lost its participial construction in early G. In the Septuagint at least, it occurs only once with the participle (2 Macc. 3, 9 ταῦτα οὕτως ἔχοντα τυγχάνει), while in other contemporary and subsequent compositions it is used also impersonally (i.e. chances that) and so is regularly constructed either with the (prospective) infinitive (2081) or with its analysis by ἵνα (N vá), as: Paus. 4, 20, 3 ἐτύχεν γεῖν τὸν θεόν. Galen. xii. 178 εἰ μαλακόσαρκοι τύχοιεν εἶναι. Clement. 32 A εἰ δὲ καὶ τύχοι με νοσήσαι. Acta Tho. 2, 10 ἐτύχεν ἐμπορὸν τινα εἶναι ἐκεῖ. 9, 17 ἐτύχε δὲ ἐκεῖ εἶναι λέοντα. Pallad. 1011 D ἐτύχε δὲ με ἀπελθόντα θεάσασθαι. So Theophyl. 61, 21; 71, 11. JJoJun. 1929 C εἰ τύχοι (τύχῃ; 1988) ὁ ἐξομολογούμενος ἵνα πρὸ τοῦ ἐξομολογήσασθαι ἀποκύψῃ τὸ διαρτάνειν.

2120. c. \*Λανθάνω preserves its A construction in P composition (as Polyb. 13, 1, 9, 35, 10; Plut. Educ. 16 [ii. 12 B]. Symp. 8, 9, 2, 12 [ii. 732 A]. Stoeic. 19, 4 [ii. 1043 A]. Comm. not. 41, 6 [ii. 1081 E]. Adv. Colot. 8, 1 [ii. 1110 E]. Lat. viv. 2, 1 [ii. 1128 C]. 4, 1 [ii. 1129 A]. Dio Chrys. 3, 64; etc.);—but in Biblical Greek, though not uncommon (8 times in the Sept., and 6 times in the NT), it is only once constructed with the participle in Sept. (Tob. 12, 13 οὐκ ἐλαθές με ἀγαθοποιῶν) and once in the NT (Hebr. 13, 2 ἐλαθὼν τινες ζενικάντες). Otherwise in G-B it governs also the infinitive: Plut. Arist. 17 λέληθε Θεόδωρον εἶναι. Paus. 9, 41, 1 καὶ σφας λέληθε Θεόδωρον καὶ Ῥοῖκον Χαμίους εἶναι. Aesop. 46 (ACoraeas) ἔλαθεν ἐμπεσεῖν. 23 ἔλαθε διαρρήξαι. (Cp. Pind. P. 5, 30.)



**2121.** *d. φθάνω* has remained in common use through all *P* antiquity, though chiefly in the sense of *arrive, reach* (hence also *pass. φθάνομαι* as *Mal.* 331, 7), in which it still survives in *N*. However, even when used in its *A* sense 'overtake,' in which case the form *προφθάνω* (also *προλαμβάνω*) is also common in *G-N*, it began as early as *G* to exchange its participial for the infinitive construction (cp. *Th.* 1, 34; 3, 82, 7), as: *Sept.* 3 *Reg.* 12, 18 *ὁ Ῥοβοὰμ ἐφθασεν ἀναβῆναι τοῦ φυγεῖν εἰς Ἱερουσαλὴμ.* *Sap.* 4, 7 *δικαίος δ' ἂν φθάσῃ τελεγεῖται.* *Plut. Apophth. Phil.* 21 (ii. 178 *π*) *ἔφθην τελεγεῖται.* *Glor. Athen.* 2 (ii. 346 *c*) *μικροῦ ἔφθην τὴν πόλιν ἔρμουν ἐξ ἐφόδου λαβεῖν καὶ κατασχέιν.* *Sol. Anim.* 14, 5 (ii. 970 *ε*) *τοὺς μὴ πρόσω ἵεσθαι μὴδ' ἀποφεύγειν φθασάντας.* *Popl.* 14, 1 (i. 104 *β*) *καθιερώσαι δὲ οὐκ ἔφθασαν.* *G. Mar.* 26, 2 (i. 420 *c*) *ἐπισχέιν οὐκ ἔφθσαν.* *Sylla* 9, 1 (i. 456 *π*) *φθασάντος διαφυγεῖν.* *Pomp.* 33, 3 (i. 637 *Δ*) *ἀλλ' ὁ Πομπήσιος ἔφθην τῆς δεξιᾶς αὐτοῦ λαβόμενος προσκαγεσθαι.* *Dem.* 32, 1 (i. 903 *π*). *Brut.* 15, 4 (i. 991 *Δ*). 41, 2 (i. 1003 *c*).—*Clement.* 18, 23 *ἐκβαίνειν ἐφθασας.* *NT Mark* 14, 8 *πρόελαβεν μύρικαι.* *Callin.* 87, 6 *φθασας γέγασθαι.* *Theoph.* 44, 8 *πρὶν ἢ φθασαί ἀπελθεῖν τὸν βασιλέα.* 402, 6 *δύγμα φθασαν ἀκουσθῆναι τοῖς πολλοῖς.*

**2122.** 3. *Φαίνομαι, φανερός εἰμι, δηλὸς εἰμί* 'am evidently.'

*Dem.* 27, 16 *εἰ φανήσεται ταῦθ' ὡμολογηκώς.* *Pl. Phaed.* 107 *c* *ἡ ψυχὴ ἀθάνατος φαίνεται ὄψα.* *Th.* 1, 140 *Λακεδαιμόνιοι δηλοὶ ἦσαν ἐπιβολεῖντες ἡμῖν.* *Dem.* 18, 19 *οἱ Θηβαῖοι φανεροὶ ἦσαν ἀναγκασθόμενοι καταφεύγειν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς.* See also 2137 *h*.

**2123.** In the case of these verbs and expressions, however, the participial construction may be replaced by a declarative clause introduced by *ὅτι* (2085):

*Xen.* 5, 2, 6 *οἱ πολέμοι δηλοὶ ἦσαν ὅτι ἐπικείσονται ἐν τῇ καταβάσει.*

**2124.** In *P-N* compositions, though the participle is current (so even in *NT*, as *Matt.* 6, 16; 18—but not in *Rom.* 7, 13), the alternative of its analysis decidedly preponderates, with this further peculiarity that the verbs in question are mostly used in an impersonal sense (2181 ff.): *φαίνεται* (*φανερὸν ἐστίν, δηλὸν ἐστίν*) *ὅτι*. In process of time *δηλὸν ἐστὶ* retreated and so *φαίνεται* and *φανερὸν ἐστὶ* with *ὅτι* (later *πῶς*, 1755) remained down to *M* times. The form now current in present speech is therefore *φαίνεται πῶς* 'it seems that,' or *εἶνε φανερόν πῶς* 'it is evident that.'

For *A φαίνομαι* with infinitive in the sense of *appear*, see 2085.

**2125.** Not rarely the construction of *φθάνω, τυγχάνω, λανθάνω*, is reversed by changing these verbs to participles,—or in the case of *τυγχάνω* and *λανθάνω* to adverbs (*τυχόν, λεληθότως, λανθανόντως*),—and their participial construction to finite moods, as:

*Soph. Ant.* 532. *Th.* 1, 65 *ἐκπλουν ποιεῖται λαθὼν τὴν φυλακὴν.* *Cp.* 2, 80. 3, 4. *ib.* 25 *διαλαθὼν ἐσέρχεται τὴν Μυτιλήνην.* 3, 51 *ὅπως μὴ πωῖονται ἐκπλους αὐτόθεν λανθάνοντες.* *Xen. Cyr.* 6, 4, 10. *Th.* 2, 52. *Xen. Cyr.* 1, 5, 3. 3, 3, 18. *Eur. I. A.* 958 *τίς δὲ μάντις ἐστ' ἀνὴρ δὲ ὀλίγ' ἀληθῆ, πολλὰ δὲ ψευδῆ λέγει τυχών.* *Plut. Sylla* 8, 6 (i. 456 *ε*) *αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ Πομπήσιος λαθὼν ἐξέφυγε.* *Clement.* 1, 3 *φθασας εἶπον.* *So* 3, 15. 20, 4. 3, 40 *φθασας συνωμολόγησα.* *Callin.* 130, 27 *φθασας εἶπεν.* 131, 5 *φθασας ἐρμήνευσεν.*

**2125<sup>b</sup>.** For *τυχόν* as adv. 'perchance' cp. *Polyb.* 12, 11, 2. 2, 58, 9. *τυχόν ἴσως εἶποι τις ἄν.* *NT.* 1 *Cor.* 16, 6. *Clement.* 20, 11 & 13. *Epiet.* 1, 11, 28. 3, 21, 18. *Sext.* 615, 20. *Basil.* i. 260 *c* (cp. 996<sub>282</sub>).—*Λανθανόντως* *Clement.* 1, 3 & 11. 3, 25 & 73. 4, 6. *Poll.* 6, 209. *Dio C.* 66, 5, 3. *Λεληθότως* *even* in *A*.

**2126.** 4. Ὑπάρχω, κατάρχω (also ἄρχομαι), 'start first'; παύομαι, λήγω 'cease'; ἀνέχομαι, καρτερῶ, ὑπομένω, ἐπιμένω, 'persevere,' 'endure'; οὐ διαλείπω 'cease not'; κάμνω, ἀπαγορεύω 'get tired'—and their synonyms.

Xen. An. 5, 9 ἡμεῖς ὑμᾶς οὐδὲν πώποτε ὑπὴρξάμεν κακῶς ποιοῦντες. Eur. Hipp. 706 παῖσαι λέγουσα. Xen. An. 3, 1, 19 οὐποτε ἐπαγόμεν ὑμᾶς οἰκτιρῶν. Cyr. 5, 1, 16 ἀνεξιόμεθα καὶ καρτερήσομεν ὑπὸ σοῦ εὐεργετούμενοι. Mem. 2, 6, 35 οὐκ ἀποκάμνεις μηχανώμενος. An. 5, 12 ἀπείρηκα τρέχων. —NT Acts 5, 42 οὐκ ἐπαύσαντο διδάσκοντες. 21, 32 ἐπαύσαντο τύπτοντες. Hermas Vis. 3, 8, 1 ἐπαύσαμην ἐρωτῶν. 12, 16 ὁ δὲ Πέτρος ἐπέμενε κροῶν. John 8, 7 ἐπέμενον ἐρωτῶντες. So Luke 5, 4. Acts 6, 13. 12, 16. 13, 10. 20, 31. 1 Cor. 13, 8. Eph. 1, 16. Col. 1, 9. Hebr. 10, 2. Babr. 9, 5 φγῶν ἔκαμε. 19, 9 ἔκαμε πηδῶσα.

**2127.** In *P-B* unconventional compositions the above verbs, so far as they still survived, either became transitive (with the probable exception of παύομαι), and thus lost the special meaning requiring the participle, or exchanged the participial for the infinitival construction. In this way, ὑπάρχω became equivalent to εἶμι (985<sup>c</sup>, 2106) and κάμνω to ποιῶ (cp. Hesych. κινῶ, ἐργάσομαι), while *P-B* ἄρχομαι exchanged the participle first for the infinitive, and then for its analysis by ἴνα, *B-N* νά.

Sept. 2 Reg. 15, 14 ἐπαύσατο πᾶς ὁ λαὸς παρελθεῖν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως. Jer. 38, 36 (31, 35) τὸ γένος Ἰσραὴλ παύσεται γενέσθαι ἔθνος. Plut. Apophth. Ag. 15 (ii. 216 A) οὐ μὲν μόλις ἐπαύσω λέγειν (beside ὡς ἐπαύσατο λέγων ib.). Ag. ult. (ii. 216 D) παῖσαι ἐπ' ἐμοὶ κλαίειν. Longos 2, 3 ἐξ οὗ νέμειν διὰ γῆρας ἐπαύσαμην. A. P. 6, 21. Babr. 122, 15 ἡρξάμην ἰατρεῖν.—Jos. Ant. 17, 9, 2 οὐδενὸς ἠνείχοντο εἰπεῖν. Hermas Sim. 9, 11, 5 ἡρξάμην καὶ αὐτὸς παίζειν μετ' αὐτῶν. Acta Tho. 14, 28 f. ἄρξαι κτίειν, οὐ δύναμαι ἄρξασθαι κτίειν. JMoschos 2820 B μὴ ἀνεχόμενος ἵνα ἰατρὸς ἴδῃ αὐτόν. 3036 B οὐκ ἠνέσχeto ποτε ἵνα ἄλλος αὐτῷ γέμῃ ὕδαρ.

**2128.** 5. Verbs denoting a *frame of mind* or *emotion* (*verba affectuum*), to express the *cause* or *attendant circumstance* of the emotion (1582, d. 1387 ff.):

χαίρω, ἡδομαι, ἀγαπῶ 'am glad';  
ἀχθομαι, ἀγανακτῶ, χαλεπῶς or βαρέως φέρω, λυπούμαι 'am vexed,' 'grieve';  
αἰσχύνομαι 'am ashamed to' (cp. 2137, b), μεταμέλομαι 'regret';  
χαρὶν οἶδα or ἔχω 'am thankful.'

Xen. An. 2, 5, 16 ἡδομαι ἀκοῶν σου φρονίμους λόγους. Mem. 1, 2, 47 ὑπὲρ ὧν ἡμάρτανον ἐλεγχομένοι ἤχθοντο. Th. 1, 77 οὐ τοῦ πλείονος μὴ στερισκόμενοι χάριν ἔχουσιν. Xen. Hell. 3, 13 Φαρνάβαζος τῆς Αἰολίδος χαλεπῶς ἔφερον ἀπεστηρμένους. Pl. Phil. 47 C ἐλπίζων μὲν χαίρει, κenoύμενος δὲ ἀλγεῖ. Th. 4, 27 οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι μετεμέλοντο τὰς σπονδὰς οὐ δεξάμενοι. Pl. Rep. 328 E χαίρω διαλεγόμενος τοῖς σφόδρα πρὸςβύταις. Th. 1, 77 ἀδικοῦμενοι οἱ ἄνθρωποι μᾶλλον ὀργίζονται ἢ βιαζόμενοι. 2, 16. Xen. Cyr. 5, 1, 21 καὶ τοῦτο μὲν οὐκ αἰσχύνομαι λέγων.

**2128<sup>b</sup>.** For *Gr* ἀγαλλιάομαι with the analysis of the infinitive, John 8, 56. so too χαίρω id. 11, 15. Ael. N. A. 14, 14 χαίρει δὲ καὶ ἐν λίμνῃ νῆσθαι. (Cp. 2151.)

**2129.** The cause or attendant circumstance of emotion may be expressed also by a finite clause, led by *ὅτι* and *εἰ* respectively (1945. 1947. 1807<sup>b</sup>).

**2130.** In *G-M* unconventional compositions and *N* speech the cause after *verba affectuum* is generally expressed by a finite clause introduced either by *ὅτι* (διότι etc. 1737), or by *G-M* *ἵνα*, *N* *νῦν* (1741).

**2131.** In the preceding class of verbs (2130), as well as in the one following (2132), the supplementing participle virtually denotes an attendant circumstance (2101), and so may be assigned to the circumstantial (causal) participles as well (2150).

**2132.** 6. Verbs denoting an *acting well* or *wrongly*, a *superiority* or *inferiority*. Such are e.g.

καλῶς ποιῶ, εὖ ποιῶ, καλῶς πράττω 'do right';  
ἀδικῶ, ἁμαρτάνω, κακῶς ποιῶ 'do wrong';  
νικῶ, κρατῶ, 'succeed'—ἡττῶμαι, λείπομαι 'am behind.'

Th. 1, 53 ἀδικεῖτε πολέμου ἄρχοντες καὶ σπονδὰς λύοντες. 2, 71 οὐ δίκαια ποιεῖτε ἐς γῆν τὴν Πιλαταίων στρατεύοντες. Xen. An. 3, 3, 56 ὁ Κυζάρης ἔλεγεν ὅτι (ὁ Κύρος) ἔσκαρτάνοι διατρίβων καὶ οὐκ ἄγων ὡς τάχιστα ἐπὶ τοὺς πολέμους. Pl. Phaed. 60 C εἴ γ' ἐποίησας ἀνανησας με. Xen. Mem. 2, 4, 6 ἐγέργετῶν οὐδενὸς λείπεται. An. 2, 3, 36 οὐχ ἡττησόμεθα εὖ ποιοῦντες.—NT Phil. 4, 14 καλῶς ἐποίησατε συγκοινωνήσαντές μου τῇ θλίψει. Acts 10, 33 καλῶς ἐποίησας παραγενόμενος. Ignat. ad Smyrn. 10, 1 καλῶς ἐποίησατε ὑποδεξάμενοι ὡς διακόνους Θεοῦ.

**2132<sup>b</sup>.** As intimated above (2131), also this class of participles strictly denotes an attendant circumstance (2141), and as such virtually belongs to the head of circumstantial participles. (Cp. NT Rom. 12, 21 νικᾷ ἐν τῷ ἀγαθῷ τὸ κακόν. Rev. 5, 5 ἐνίκησεν ὁ λέων ἀνοῖσαι τὸ βιβλίον. Gr. Urk. Berlin 335, 3 καλῶς οὖν ποιήσεις πέμψε μοι αὐτά [for -σεις, πέμψαι].) Hence *N* speech treats them according to their proper function (2150. 2153. 2160).

καλὰ (κακὰ) ἔκαμες καὶ μ' ἐθύμισες 'you did well (wrong) in reminding me.' καλὰ (κακὰ) θὰ κάμης νό του γράψης 'you will do well (wrong) to write him.' καλὰ θὰ ἔκανες καὶ του γράψης 'you had better write to him.' ἐνίκησες (ἐνίκηθηκες) εἰς τὸ περπάτημα. σ' ἐπέρασε 'c τῇ φρονιμάδα'.

**2133.** B. Referring to the *object* of the governing verb, the predicative participle (*objective participle*) stands with—

I. Verbs denoting a *perception* or *notion* (*verba sentiendi*), as: ὁράω 'see,' περιοράω 'overlook,' ἀκούω 'hear,' αἰσθάνομαι 'feel,' συνιῆμι 'understand,' πυνθάνομαι 'am informed,' μανθάνω 'learn,' γινώσκω, οἶδα, ἐπίσταμαι 'know'—μémνημαι 'remember,' ἐπιλανθάνομαι 'forget'—εὐρίσκω 'find,' φωράω, καταλαμβάνω 'seize,' 'catch,' ἀλίσκομαι 'am seized, caught.'

Xen. An. 5, 24 ὁρῶ πάντα ἀληθῆ ὄντα ἃ λέγετε. Mem. 2, 6, 33 οὐδὲνα οἶδα μισοῦντα τοὺς ἐπαινοῦντας. 4, 3, 13 ὁ θεὸς τὰ μέγιστα μὲν πράττων ὁράται, τάδε δὲ οἰκονομῶν ἀόρατος ἡμῖν ἔστιν. Th. 4, 6 ὡς ἐπύθοντο τῆς Πύλου κατειλημμένης. Pl. Charm. 156 A μέμνημαι Κριτίε τῷδε ἔγνοντά σε. Th. 2, 6 ὁ κῆρυξ ἀφικόμενος εἶρε τοὺς ἀνδρας διεφθαρμένους. Xen. Mem. 2, 4, 1 ἥκοις ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ καὶ περὶ φίλων διαλεγόμενος. An. 1, 4, 5 ἥκοις Κύρον ἐν Κιλικίᾳ ὄντα. Pl. Rep. 389 D ἂν τινα λαμβάνη ψευδόμενον. Apol. 22 D εἰμαυτῷ σὺν ἡδὴ οὐδὲν ἐπισταμένῳ.

**2134.** Should the object of these verbs act as subject as well, it is

omitted, and the participle exchanges its oblique case for the nominative, as:

οἶδα ἄνθρωπος ὢν (for οἶδα ἐμαυτὸν ἄνθρωπον ὄντα). μέμνησθαι θνητὸς ὢν. Xen. An. 2, 1, 13 ἰδοὶ ἀνόητος ὢν.

2134<sup>b</sup>. For the *P-N* construction of the above verbs 2133, see 2136 & 2138.

2135. II. Verbs denoting to *prove*, *declare* and the like (*verba declarandi*), as:

δείκνυμι, (ἀπο)φαίνω, (ἐξ)ελέγχω 'prove';  
δηλώω 'declare,' ἀγγέλλω 'announce,' ὁμολογέω 'confess.'

Xen. An. 2, 3, 19 Κύρον ἐπιστρατεύοντα πρῶτος ἤρπειλα. Dem. 19, 177 ἐπέδειξα Αἰσχίνην οὐδέν ἀληθεῖς ἐπιηγεακότα ἀλλὰ φενακίανθ' ὑμᾶς. 2, 8 πάνθ' ἕνεκα ἐαυτοῦ ποιῶν Φίλιππος ἐξελέληγκται.

2136. Both this class and the one preceding 2133 (*verba declarandi et sentiendi*) may be also followed by a finite declarative clause with ὅτι or ὡς (1940 ff. 2086).

Xen. An. 1, 2, 21 ἤσθετο ὅτι τὸ Μένανος στράτευμα ἦδη ἐν Κιλικίᾳ ἦν. Pl. Apol. 22 D τούτους (τοὺς χειροτέχνους) ἤδη ὅτι εὐρήσοιμι πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ ἐπισταμένους. Dem. 43, 23 ῥαδίως αἰσθῆσθε τοίτους ὅτι εἰσι βίαιοι καὶ ἀσελεγεῖς ἄνθρωποι. (Both constructions are blended in Th. 4, 37 γνοὺς δὲ ὁ Κλέων καὶ ὁ Δημοσθένης ὅτι, εἰ καὶ ὁποσονοῦν μᾶλλον ἐνδύσασιν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, διαφθαρησόμενοι αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ τῆς σφετέρης στρατίας, ἔπασσαν τὴν μάχην.)

2137. With the following verbs, a difference in construction involves a difference of meaning:

- a. ἀκούω with gen. + part. means: 'hear with my own ears,' 'listen';  
" " acc. + part. " 'hear as a fact' (ὅτι);  
" " acc. + inf. " 'hear indirectly,' 'understand.'

Xen. Mem. 2, 4, 1 ἤκογχα δὲ ποτε αὐτοῦ καὶ περὶ φίλων διαλεγόμενος. So Pl. Rep. 493 D. Xen. An. 1, 4, 5 ἤκογχε Κύρον ἐν Κιλικίᾳ ὄντα. 5, 5, 7 περὶ τῆς χώρας ὅτι ἤκογον δημομένην. Cyr. 1, 3, 1 ἰδεὶν ἐπεθύμει δ' Ἀστυάγης τὸν Κύρον ὅτι ἤκογε καλὸν κάγαθόν αὐτὸν εἶναι.

b. αἰσχύνομαι with part. means: 'am ashamed to' (2128);

" " inf. " 'hesitate to.'

c. γινώσκω " part. " 'know' (ὅτι);

" " inf. " 'decide to.'

d. ἐπίσταμαι & οἶδα with part. means: 'know that';

" " inf. " 'know to.'

e. μαθάνω with part. means: 'learn that';

" " inf. " 'learn to.'

f. ἐπιλανθάνομαι with part. means: 'forget that';

" " inf. " 'forget to.'

g. μέμνημαι with part. means: 'recollect that';

" " inf. " 'remember to.'

h. φαίνομαι " part. " 'am evidently' (2122);

" " inf. " 'appear to' (2085).

2138. As declarative participles, like declarative infinitives, were, even in *A*, interchangeable with their corresponding (declarative) finite clauses (2086. 2136), it was inevitable that the participial construction should, in the course of *P-N* times, be confounded with, and merged into, that of the other two cognate classes. Accordingly *N* speech supplements *verba declarandi et sentiendi* either by *πῶς* chiefly for the *A* finite declarative

## 2138-2141<sup>b</sup>.] PARTICIPLE, CIRCUMSTANTIAL.

clause, or by *καί* chiefly for the *Α* declarative participle and infinitive (2085 f.):

τὸν ἡῖρα νὰ κοιμᾶται (for *Α* εἶρον αὐτὸν κοιμώμενον), but also τὸν ἡῖρα κοιμισμένο\* (where the part. = adj.). σὲ εἶδα νὰ τρέχῃς (for *Α* εἶδον σε τρέχοντα) beside εἶδα πὼς ἔτρεχες. θυμοῦμαι πὼς ἐγέλας (for *Α* μέμνημαι σου γελῶντος). ἀκούσαμέ σε νὰ φωνάζῃς or πὼς ἐφώναζες. ἐμήνυγέ μου (*Α* ἡγγεῖλέ μοι) πὼς ἔρχεται. θά σε δείξω πὼς εἶσαι ψεύτης (for *Α* δείξω σε ψευδόμενον).

**2139.** III. The verb *ἔχω* with the participle perfect passive in the sense first of *keep* then *have*, forming a periphrastic substitute for the simple perfect and pluperfect (2106). This expedient made its appearance in *G* times and being furthered by the parallel use in Latin of *habeo* with perf. part. pass., gradually became popular and resulted in the *N* (and Romanic) practice of regularly forming the compound tenses of the active voice (1865. 2110) by means of *ἔχω* with the participle perfect passive.

Diod. 2, 32, 4 ἐν αἷς (διφθέραις) οἱ Πέρσαι τὰς παλαιὰς πράξεις κατὰ τινὰ νόμον εἶχον συντεταγμέναις. 2, 53, 7 τὰ μὲν γὰρ πάντα τοὺς ῥάδικας ἔχει περικεχμένους . . . τὰ δὲ ἐφ' ἐν μέρος ἔχοντα κεκλιμέναις τὰς ἐπὶ τῆς κορυφῆς κόμας. 3, 36, 5 ἔχοντες ἐξηρημένα πάντα τὰ πρὸς τὴν χρεῖαν. Jos. Ant. 7, 9, 7 οἱ δὲ ἀρχιερεῖς ἐξεπίτηδες τοὺς υἱοὺς ἔξω τῆς πόλεως κεκρυμμένους εἶχον. 7, 13, 2 ὅτι πολλὸν αὐτὸς ἐγκεκλεισμένον ἔχοι σίτον. 8, 13, 4. 12, 2, 1 πόσας ἤδη μυριάδας ἔχοι συνειλεγμέναις βιβλίαν. 20, 11, 65 πρὸ γὰρ εἴκοσιν ἔτασαν εἶχες γεγραμμένην (τὴν ἱστορίαν). Plut. Cam. 34, 5 (i. 147 A) οὐδὲν ἄκος οὐδὲ σβεστήριον ἔχοντες οἱ Λατῖνοι παρεσκευασμένον. ib. 38, 3 τὰς δὲ πόλεις εἶχον ἀνεωγμέναις. Pelop. 35, 6 (i. 297 E) τοὺς μὲν ἀδελφοὺς εἶχε πλησίον ἐν οἴκῳ τινὶ κεκρυμμένους. Tit. Flam. 20, 4 (i. 380 D) τὴν οἰκίαν ἔτι πρότερον ἐξόδοις ἑπτά καταγείους συντετρημένην ἐκ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ διαίτης εἶχεν. Schol. Apoll. Rhod. 1, 970 μεμύρητο . . . μεμοιραμένος εἶχε· ἐνθα ὀρθότερον μεμοιραμένον γραπτέον. Eupar. 45, 11 ἕως οὗ ἀποδῶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους οὐς ἐκ τῆς καταδρομῆς εἶχε συνηρπασμένους. (Cp. ΔΜαυροφρύδης 328 f.)

**2140.** From these remarks on *ἔχω*, as well as those on *εἰμί* (2107. 2110), it is clear that since *B*, if not earlier, Greek speech formed the compound tenses (perfect, pluperfect, future perfect) by means of *ἔχω* and *εἰμαι* (*B-N* form for *εἰμί*), sometimes also *ὑπάρχω*, with the participle perfect passive, and that, as in modern languages, *ἔχω* serves for the active, and *εἰμαι* (*ὑπάρχω*) for the passive and neuter voice. Cp. 2110.

**2140<sup>b</sup>.** For the periphrasis at present of the compound tenses by means of *ἔχω* and the alleged infinitive (*ἔχω φάγει*, *ἔχω κοιμηθῇ*), see App. vi. 18 f.

### III. CIRCUMSTANTIAL PARTICIPLE.

**2141.** The circumstantial or adverbial participle either refers directly to some member of the governing clause, or stands loose as an apparently independent member. In the former case, it may be called *participle in construction*, in the latter it is called *participle absolute* (*participium absolutum*). This participle absolute generally stands in the *genitive* (*genitivus absolutus*), but under certain conditions (2143 ff) also in the *accusative* (*acc. absolutus*).

**2141<sup>b</sup>.** As already stated (2101), the circumstantial participle qualifies the leading clause in an adverbial sense, that is in regard to *time*, *cause*, *purpose*, *condition*, *manner*, *means*, etc.



into Greek of the Latin ablative absolute: *senatore Severo* (cp. 1394). Cp. CIG 2562 Νουκίῳ Ἐπιδίῳ, Τιτίῳ Ἀκυλείῳ, γπάτοιο = *consulibus*. So ib. 2943. 5898 (146†) Σέξτω Ἐρουκίῳ, Κλάρῳ Β, Γναίῳ Κλαυδίῳ Σεβήρῳ, κῶς (! for *cos.* i. e. *consulibus*). Jos. Ant. 14, 10, 13 Λευκίῳ Δέντλῳ, Γαίῳ Μαρκέλλῳ, γπάτοιο = *consulibus*.

2145. As was to be expected, in the course of *P-B* times the specific function and use of each of the above absolute cases (2142-4) was lost sight of, and a confusion ensued which increased as time went on, and in proportion as the circumstantial participle retreated from the living language and became an unfamiliar instrument.

NT Acts 19, 34 ἐπιγινόντες δὲ . . . φωνὴ ἐγένετο μία ἐκ πάντων. Jude 16 τὸ στόμα αὐτῶν λαλεῖ ὑπέρογκα θαυμάζοντες. Col. 2, 2. 9, 11 & 13. Mark 9, 20 ἰδὼν αὐτὸν (ὁ Ἰησοῦς), τὸ πνεῦμα εὐθὺς ἐσπράξεν αὐτόν. Eph. 4, 2 παρακαλῶ ὑμᾶς περιπατῆσαι ἀνεχόμενοι. Mark 5, 18 καὶ ἐμβαίνοντος αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸ πλοῖον, παρεκάλει αὐτὸν ὁ δαιμονισθεὶς. 5, 2. 2 Pet. 3, 3. Acts 20, 3 ποιήσας μῆνας τρεῖς. ἐγένετο γνώμης τοῦ ὑποστρέφειν. Col. 3, 16. Acts 15, 22 ἔδοξεν τοῖς ἀποστόλοις γράψαντες. 22, 17. 2 Cor. 4, 17-8. John 7, 38. Rev. 2, 26 καὶ ὁ νικῶν κατ' ὁ τῶν ὀντων δὲ ἔργα μου, δώσω αὐτῷ ἔξουσίαν. 3, 12 & 21. Acta Petri et Pauli 179, 6 f. συμβούλιον ποιήσαντες πάντες οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι, ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς. Acta Tho. 46, 5 f. ἡλίου δὲ δύνοντος καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν γάμων ἡμῶν ἐπανιόντων μετὰ τῶν συνόντων νεανίσκων ἡμῶν, καὶ ἐγγιστα τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ γενόμενοι, ἡ θυγάτηρ ἡμῶν πρότερον εἶδεν αὐτούς. 77, 33 εὐξαμένου δὲ αὐτοῦ κατ' ὀλίγον τὸ ὕδωρ ἀνηλώθη, ξηρὸς πάλιν ὁ τόπος γενόμενος. So too 31, 38. 32, 31. 37, 39. 61, 31. 65, 5. 87, 31. 18, 2, 6 ταῦτα αὐτοῦ διαλογιζομένου καὶ λέγοντος ὥσπερ αὐτῷ ὁ σωτήρ. 14, 13 εἰσελθόντος οὖν αὐτοῦ εἶπεν αὐτῷ ὁ βασιλεὺς. 18, 2 τοῦ δὲ ἀμνησθέντος λέγει αὐτῷ πάλιν. 20, 1 καὶ προθύμῳ ἡμῶν ὄντων περὶ τὸν θεὸν ὁδὸς ἡμῖν τὴν σφραγίδα, et passim. Callin. 90, 24 ὅς κ' ἦν ἔξων. 73, 21 λειτουργόντος δὲ αὐτοῦ . . . στενάζων ἀνεβύα. 66, 26 πολλῶν δὲ ἐπιχειρῶντων μείναι οὐκ ἴσχυον. 73, 28 ἐκκλειομένου αὐτοῦ ἀπεκαλύπτετο αὐτῷ, et passim. Leont. Neap. V. J. 70, 19 ὁ ὅσιος Βιτάλιος βογλόμενος . . . ἔλεγεν αὐτῷ (ἡ γυνή). 7, 18 προχειρισθέντος αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐνθρονιασθέντος ἐπεδείξατο. 24, 18 ἐπιδοθέντος αὐτῷ τοῦ πιττακίου καὶ ἀποβογλεψάντων ἐκείνων εὐθέως καὶ κενωσάντων ἐπὶ ὅλων τὸ χρῆμα. ἐγνώρισαν αὐτόν. 44, 4 τοῦ νοταρίου παραιτομένου λέγει αὐτῷ. So 25, 10. 31, 7, et passim. 10, 9 ὡς ἀξιωματικὸν οὖν καὶ τούτου αὐτοῦ (read αὐτοῦ) δημοσίου προστάγματος ἐνταῦθα ἐνθεῖναι (ἐκθεῖναι;) αὐτὸ ἐσπουδάσαμεν. (Cp. 2152.) Men. Hist. 290, 20 Τιμόθεος, τοῦτο ἐπιτετραμμένον αὐτῷ, παρεγένετο ἐν τοῖς ὀρίοις. 326, 6. 374, 14 Ἰωάννης οὖν, τοῦτο προειρημένον αὐτῷ ἐκ βασιλείας, ἀφίκετο εἰς τὸ Δάρας. 417, 16. Theophyl. 100, 1. 122, 3. 237, 20. (Cp. 2143.)

2146. A noteworthy reminiscence of the absolute participle seems to underlie the *B-N* participial adverbs in *-οντα*, now *-οντας* (822 f.), which are more common in northern than southern speech, and denote a *synchronous* action, besides manner and cause. These adverbs therefore correspond to the English gerund in *-ing*, or rather to the Italian *-ando*, *-endo*, as :

ἀνεβαίνοντα-s 'going up,' περιπατώντα-s 'walking,' περνώντα-s 'passing,' γελώντα-s 'laughing'; βλέποντα καὶ κάνοντα-s 'we'll see and act accordingly'; θέλοντα καὶ μὴ θέλοντα (= ἐκὼν ἀέκοντι γε θυμῷ) 'willy nilly' (cp. 2142\*, 2163).

#### A. TEMPORAL PARTICIPLE.

2147. The *temporal participle* is often strengthened by ἅμα 'at the same time,' μεταξύ 'while,' εὐθύς, αὐτίκα, 'as soon as.'

a. In construction : Xen. Cyr. 3, 1, 37 νῦν μὲν δειπνεῖτε· δειπνῆσαντες δὲ ἀπελαύνετε. 5, 2, 22 ἅμα προίων ἐπεσκοπεῖτο εἴ τι δυνατόν εἴη τοῖς πολέ-

μίους ἀσθενεστέρους ποιεῖν. Pl. Apol. 40 B πολλοῦ δὴ με ἐπίσχε λέγοντα μεταξὺ. Th. 2, 39 ἐπιπόνῳ ἀσκήσει εἰθὺς νέοι ὄντες τὸ ἀνδρείον μετέρχονται.

b. *Absolute*: Men. 123 δρυὸς πεσοῦχος πᾶς ἀνὴρ ξυλεύεται. Pl. Euthyd. 275 E καὶ αὐτοῦ μεταξὺ ταῦτα λέγοντος ὁ Κλεινίας ἐτυχεν ἀποκρινόμενος.

2148. Under this group may be classed a few other participles which in English are rendered by an adverbial expression, as: ἀρχόμενος (ἀρχάμενος) 'in the beginning,' τελευτῶν 'at the end,' διαλιπὼν (also ἐπισχῶν) χρόνον 'after a little while.'

Th. 4, 64 ἄπερ καὶ ἀρχόμενος εἶπον. Pl. Apol. 22 O τελεγιῶν οὖν ἐπὶ τοὺς χειροτέχνους ἦα. Phaed. 117 E οὗτος ὁ δοὺς τὸ φάρμακον διαλιπὼν χρόνον ἐπισκόπει τοὺς πόδας.

2149. The temporal participle occurs also in *P-B* compositions, though usually without any strengthening particle. At the same time the indefiniteness attending this class of participles not only in regard to their true nature, but also in regard to the division of time implied, could not appeal to the plain and direct popular speech. Hence even in *A* it was often resolved either into a finite temporal clause (1995 ff.), or turned to a prepositional infinitive (2068. 2075<sup>b</sup>). In particular, participles denoting a synchronous action were replaced by a finite clause opening with ὅτε, ὁπότε, ἕως, ἐν ᾧ 'while'; ὅταν, ὁπότεν, 'when'; or (this especially in *G-B*) by the articular infinitive preceded by ἐν 'in' (2068);—whereas participles implying priority of time gradually made room for a finite clause introduced by ἐπεὶ, ἀφ' οὗ, ὅταν, 'when,' 'after' (1790. 1999); or, during *G-B*, for the articular infinitive in the combination μετὰ τό (2068).

2149<sup>b</sup>. Macaronisms like Apoc. Mar. 115, 7 & 122, 21 ἅμα τῇ λόγῳ εἰποῦσα naturally prove nothing except that the (temporal) participle had become extinct in the living language (2168, a).

2149<sup>c</sup>. For a *N* reminiscence of the synchronous participle see 2146.

## B. CAUSAL PARTICIPLE.

2150. The *causal participle* is often strengthened by ἄτε (οἶον, οἷα δὴ) 'because,' or ὡς 'on the plea' (1737).—Negation οὐ (1814. 1803).

a. *In construction*: Pl. Hipp. 1, 285 B παρανομοῦσιν ἄρα Λακεδαιμόνιοι οὐ διδόντες σοι χρυσίον καὶ ἐπιτρέποντες τοὺς αὐτῶν υἱεῖς. Xen. An. 6, 3, 3 ἄτε ἐξαίφνης ἐπιπεσόντες πολλὰ ἀνδράποδα ἔλαβον.

b. *Absolute*: Xen. An. 5, 6, 3 οὐχ ὡς τοῖς Ἕλλησιν πολεμῆσόντων ἡμῶν εἶπον ἃ εἶπον. 6, 1, 3 ἀνεθορύβησαν ὡς εὖ εἰπόντος τοῦ Ἀγασίου.

2150<sup>b</sup>. So further the set phrase τί παθὼν (τί μαθὼν) 'why on earth,' for which see 2044 f.

2151. The causal particle is fairly common also in *P-B* unscholarly compositions, though without ἄτε, οἶον, or οἷα δὴ (cp. 2149). At the same time the above remarks on the *P-N* history of the temporal participle (2149; cp. also 2154) fully apply to the causal participle as well, in that it was replaced either by a finite clause introduced by one of the prepositive particles ἐπεὶ (ἐπειδὴ) 'as,' 'since,' ὅτι 'because,' 'for' (1737. 1945); or, during *G-B*, by the articular infinitive in the combination διὰ τὸ 'for,' 'on account of' (2068. 2075<sup>b</sup>); or finally by ὥα (*N* ᾧ) with the primary subjunctive (1741). (Cp. 2128<sup>b</sup>, 2164.)



**2152.** Should the causal participle be ὦν and at the same time be introduced by ἄτε, οἷα δὴ, ὥς, it is often omitted and its predicate then, if any, stands by itself. (Cp. 2143.)

Xen. An. 6, 6, 9 ἔφη κηρύξειν μηδεμίαν πόλιν δέχεσθαι αὐτοὺς ὡς πολεμίους (sc. δντας). Pl. Rep. 358 C αὐτὸ ἐπιτηδεύουσιν ὡς ἀναγκαῖον ἀλλ' οὐχ ὡς ἀγαθόν. So Xen. An. 7, 8, 11 ὡς ἐτοίμων δὴ χρημάτων (sc. δντων). Soph. O. C. 83. Th. 2, 35 ὡς καλόν (sc. δν). Xen. Cyr. 5, 1, 13. Pl. Rep. 449 C. 568 B αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν πολιτείαν οὐ παραδεξόμεθα ἄτε τυραννίδος ὕμνητάς (sc. δντας). Xen. Cyr. 1, 3, 2.—Leont. Neap. V. J. 10, 9, cited above (2145).

**2152<sup>b</sup>.** In *N* the analysis of the suppressed participle is regularly expressed, as: αὐτὸ σου ἔφερα ὅχι γιὰτὶ 'νε καλὸ παρα γιὰτὶ 'νε φτηνὸ 'I have brought you this not because it is good, but because it is cheap.'

#### C. CONDITIONAL PARTICIPLE.

**2153.** The conditional participle is not accompanied by any strengthening particle.—Negation μὴ (1807. 1814).

*a. In construction:* Xen. Cyr. 8, 7, 28 τοὺς φίλους ἐγερgetoγντες καὶ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς δυνήσασθε κολάζειν. Pl. Symp. 196 C κρατῶν ἡδονῶν καὶ ἐπιθυμῶν ὁ ἔρως διαφερόντως ἂν σωφρονοῖ.

*b. Absolute:* Gnom. θεοῦ διδόντος οὐδὲν ἰσχύει φθόνος, καὶ μὴ διδόντος οὐδὲν ἰσχύει πόνος. Th. 1, 10 Ἀθηναίων δὲ τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο παθόντων, διπλάσιον ἂν τὴν δύναμιν ἐκάζεσθαι (οἶμαι).

**2154.** The process which brought about the retreat of the temporal and causal participle during *P-B* (2149. 2151) has been still more efficient in the case of the conditional participle. Accordingly in *P* the latter began to retreat before its analysis by *ei*, or rather by *ἐάν* or *ἂν* (cp. Luke 9, 25, Matt. 16, 26). Here moreover we have to note that, as in the absence of a conditional preposition no prepositional infinitive could be substituted for the participle in question (cp. 2149-2151), recourse was had to the paratactic expedient resorted to even in *A* of turning the participle into a finite verb (now always antecedent) in the form of either an imperative followed by καὶ (1977, *b*. 1928, *b*), or of a direct sentence question, the leading clause then serving as an answer to it (1977, *a*).

#### D. CONCESSIVE PARTICIPLE.

**2155.** The concessive or restrictive participle is often strengthened by καί, καίπερ (also καίτοι), 'although.'—Negation οὐ.

*a. In construction:* Eur. El. 551 πολλοὶ γὰρ ὄντες εὐγενεῖς εἰσιν κακοί. Pl. Lach. 197 C οὐδὲν ἔρω πρὸς ταῦτα ἔχων εἰπεῖν. Th. 4, 39 τοῦ Κλέωνος καίπερ μανιώδης οὔσα ἡ ὑπόσχεσις ἀπέβη. Isocr. 15, 272 καίπερ οὕτω διακειμένος ἐπιχειρήσω διαλεχθῆναι περὶ αὐτῶν. Soph. O. T. 1325 ἀλλὰ γινώσκω σαφῶς, καίπερ σκοτεινός (sc. δν, see 2109), τὴν γε σὴν αὐδὴν ὁμως.

*b. Absolute:* Dem. 44, 65 εἰ μὲν ὁ τετελευτηκὼς ἐποίησάτ' οὐα καίπερ οὐ διδόντος τοῦ νόμου, συνεχωροῦμεν ἂν αὐτῷ.

**2156.** As early as *A*, the concessive participle was sometimes resolved into a finite clause introduced by *ei* καί, ἐάν or ἂν καὶ 'although,' or καὶ *ei*, καὶ ἐάν, καὶ ἂν—*κάν* (1993). In the course of *P-B* the tendency for analysis became more manifest and gradually led to the extinction of the participle in *N* speech, its place being now supplied by ἂν καί, ἂν καλὰ (ἀγκαλὰ) καὶ 'although,' καὶ νά 'even if' (1993 f.).

E. FINAL PARTICIPLE.

**2157.** The *final participle* is often strengthened by *ὥς* 'for the purpose of,' 'with a view to.' The leading verb of the principal clause usually denotes *motion* and the participle commonly stands in the future, not rarely also in the present tense acting as a durative future (2095).—Negation *μή* (1806).

Th. 1, 29 *προπέμψαντες κήρυκα πρότερον πόλεμον προεροῦντα Κερκυραίοις* ... *ἔπλεον ἐπὶ τὴν Ἐπίδαμνον Κερκυραίοις ἐναντία πολεμήσαντες*. Xen. Mem. 3, 7, 5 *σέ γε διδάξων ὄρμημαι*. 3, 1, 2 *κατασκευασμένους ἔπμπε*. 1, 1, 3 *Ἀρταξέρξης συλλαμβάνει Κύρον ὥς ἀποκτενῶν*.

**2158.** The final participle alternates with a finite clause introduced by *ἵνα*, also *ὅπως* (1952-63), or *ὅς* (2020 ff.), and since *H* also with the infinitive either simple (App. vi. 17, *δ*) or preceded by *ὥστε*, *τοῦ*, *χάριν τοῦ*, *εἰς τό*, *πρός τό*, *ἐπὶ τό* (2075-7. App. vi. 21-24). In *G-B* it is also often replaced by an imperative co-ordinated to the leading verb by means of *καί* (1710 f.).

**2159.** The final participle occurs, it is true, also in *G-T* (in the NT rarely and only in the Acts 8, 27. 22, 5. 24, 11 & 17. 25, 13; and with *ὥς* Heb. 13, 17; otherwise it is generally avoided, as Matt. 2, 8. 9, 2. 1 Cor. 4, 17. 26, 3. Acts 10, 5. Luke 7, 19. Cp. Sept. 1 Reg. 16, 2 & 11. 4 Reg. 14, 8-9), and even in *B* compositions, but as it is frequently misapplied—it often stands in the *aorist* in the sense of the effective future—we are warranted in holding that it had lost touch with popular speech during *G* and only lingered in the conventional language of the scribes as a fossilized relic.

Cp. Gr. Urk. Berlin 300 (†148), 3 ff. *συνέστησά σοι (for σε) φροντιοῦντα καὶ ἀπαιτῶντα, μισθῶντα, ἐπιτελείαντα, ποιησάμενον*. Men. Hist. 308, 9 *στεῖλε σὺν τοῖς βεβαιώσαντας* (ed. -*σοντας*). 345, 21 *ἐκπέμψει πρεσβεγασμένω* (ed. -*σوم*-) *ἄμφω ὥς Ἀμμιγον*. Eupar. 67, 22 *ὁ Ἡράκλειος ἐκάλεε ἀκροασάμενον τὸν Ἰουλιανόν*. Ptole. 141, 13 *πρέσβεις τοὺς διαλεξαμένους ἀφικνεῖσθαι*. 147, 17 *αὐτὸν δεξιόμενον σφᾶς εἰς τὴν Σαρδικὴν διαβήσεσθαι*. 147, 19 *ὑπεξῆλθεν ὁ Ἐδῆκων σὺν τῷ Βιγίλᾳ ἐρμηνεύσαντι*. 149, 11 *πέμπεσθαι Βιγίλαν τὴν ἀπόκρισιν δεξιόμενον*. 159, 10 *φορηγῶντα ἀφικνεῖσθαι*. 179, 3 *συμπέμψειν λέξαντα*.

F. PARTICIPLE OF MANNER AND MEANS.

**2160.** The *participle of manner* and *means* represents the manner in which, or the means by which, something is done, and has no corresponding finite clause owing to the want of appropriate conjunctions.

a. Xen. Hell. 1, 7, 26 *τί δειότες σφόδρα οὕτως ἐπέγεσθε*; Pl. Gorg. 486 *ὁ τὸν τοιοῦτον ἐξεστὶν ἐπὶ κήρυς γίγτοντα μὴ διδόναι δίκην*. Symp. 202 *B καὶ ἡ γελᾶσα* ... *ἔφη*. Xen. Cyr. 3, 3, 25 *ληιζόμενοι ζῶσιν*. Isocr. 12, 44 *τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐδίδαξαν ὃν τρόπον διοικοῦντες τὰς αὐτῶν πατρίδας καὶ πρὸς οὓς πολεμοῦντες μεγάλην ἀν τὴν Ἑλλάδα ποιήσεις*.

**2161.** Under this head fall the standing expressions *ἔχων*, *ἄγων*, *φῶρων*, *λαβών*, which in English are commonly rendered by a simple *with* (1175<sup>b</sup>), as:

Xen. Cyr. 1, 3, 1 ἔρχεται ἡ Μανδάνη πρὸς τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὸν Κύρον τὸν υἱὸν ἔχουσα. 1, 6, 10 οὐ δὲ περὶ δύναμιν ἐνθένδε ἔχων ἔρχη. An. 1, 2, 4 Τισσαφέρης πορεύεται ὡς βασιλέα ἱππέας ἔχων ὡς πεντακοσίους. 7, 7, 53 ταῦτα λαβὼν καὶ τοὺς . . . δμήτρους προσλαβὼν ἀπῆθι. Th. 1, 111, 2, 84, 7, 25. Xen. 1, 2, 1. Hell. 1, 1, 1.

2162. Participles of manner and means admitting as they did of no analysis to a finite clause for want of suitable conjunctions (2160), *G-N* speech had recourse either to some preposition (as *μετά, σύν, ἀμα*, 1175<sup>b</sup>) or to post-verbal adjectives of manner, especially those in *-τος* (1052), which naturally increase in proportion as the participle in question retreats, so that they have become very common in *N* speech, as: Mal. 44, 4 *μετά δλίγων ἀνδρῶν ἦλθεν*. 31, 15. 42, 13. 102, 3. 101, 3 *ἄμα τοῖς μετ' αὐτοῦ*.—*N* *γελαστός = γελῶν, τρεχάτος = τρέχων, πετακτός = πετόμενος*. See also 2111.

2163. Another still more common substitute for the participle of manner is afforded in the *M-N* participial adverb in *-οντα*, as: *τρέχοντας* 'running,' *περιπατώντας* 'walking,' *στεκῶντας* 'standing,' etc. See 823 & 2146.

2163<sup>b</sup>. During *G-B* times the office of the participle of manner was frequently performed also by the articular infinitive preceded by *ἐν* (1561. cp. 2068. 2141<sup>a</sup>).

## HISTORICAL SURVEY OF THE PARTICIPLE.

2164. The history of the participle since *A* affords a parallel to that of the infinitive (2062 f., App. vi.). As the latter was foredoomed to extinction in consequence of its indefiniteness and want of inflection, in like manner the participle, in particular the class termed adverbial or circumstantial (2101), did not appeal to the taste and needs of popular speech because of its ambiguity and inconvenient inflection (2166). For apart from its vagueness in regard to person, it did not even specify its own nature and meaning, but subordinated it to the context. Thus, to take an example, *λέγων* could mean *saying, who says* or *said, when he says* or *said, if he says* or *said, by saying, in order to say*, etc.; so further *εἰπών, εἰρηκώς, λεγόμενος, ῥηθεῖς, εἰρημένος*. (App. iii. 13).

Compare for instance the classical passages in: Dem. 20, 5 *ἐπιδείξω τούτων οὐ μόνον ὡμολογηκῶτα εἶναι τὸν Μιλύαν ἐλεύθερον, ἀλλὰ καὶ φανερόν τούτ' ἔργῳ πεποικηκῶτα, καὶ πρὸς τοῦτοις ἐκ βασάνου περὶ αὐτῶν πεφευγῶτα τούτων τοὺς ἀκρεβεστάτους ἐλέγχους καὶ οὐκ ἐθέλησαντ' ἐκ τούτων ἐπιδείξαι τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἀλλ' δεῖ πανοργυῶντα καὶ μάρτυρας ψευθεῖς παρεχόμενον καὶ διακλέπτοντα τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ λόγοις τὴν ἀλήθειαν τῶν πεπραγμένων*. Pl. Symp. 181 D *παρεσκευασμένοι γάρ, οἶμαι, εἰσὶν οἱ ἐντεῦθεν ἀρχόμενοι ἔραν ὡς τὸν βίον πάντα ζυνεσόμενοι καὶ κοινῇ συμβιωσόμενοι, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐξαπατήσαντες ἐν ἀφροσύνῃ λαβόντες ὡς νέον καταγελάσαντες οἰχίσσεσθαι ἐπ' ἄλλον ἀποτρέποντες*.—Pl. Gorg. 471 A-B *νῦν δὲ θαυμασίως [ὡς] ἀθλιος γέγονεν' ὅς γε πρῶτον μὲν τούτων αὐτὸν τὸν δεσπότην καὶ θεῖον μεταπεμφθέντα ὡς ἀποδώων τὴν ἀρχὴν ἣν Περδίκκας αὐτὸν ἀπέλειπε, ζηνικός καὶ καταμεθόγας αὐτὸν τε καὶ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ Ἀλέξανδρον, ἀνιψιὸν αὐτοῦ σχεδὸν ἡλικιώτην, ἐμβαλὼν εἰς ἑμάζαν, νύκτωρ ἐξαγαγὼν ἀπίσφαξέ τε καὶ ἠφάνισεν ἀφορτέρους' καὶ ταῦτα ἀδικήσας ἔλαθεν αὐτὸν δολιχάτοιο γενόμενος, καὶ οὐ μετεμέλησεν αὐτῷ, ἀλλ' ὀλίγον ὕστερον τὸν ἀδελφὸν τὸν γνήσιον τοῦ Περδίκκου υἱόν, παῖδα ὡς ἑπταετῆ, οὗ ἡ ἀρχὴ ἐγίγνετο κατὰ τὸ δίκαιον οὐκ ἐβουλήθη εὐδαίμων γενέσθαι δικαίως ἐκθρέψας καὶ ἀποδοῦς τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐκείνην ἀλλ' εἰς φρίκα ἐμβαλὼν ἀποπνίξας πρὸς τὴν μητέρα Κλεοπάτραν χεῖρα ἐφ' ἐκείνην διώκοντα ἐμπέσειν καὶ ἀποθανεῖν*. Th. 1, 2.

**2165.** To avoid such ambiguities as well as the mental strain involved by the frequent use of participles, even *A* writers, though fond of participial construction (φιλομέτοχοι), very often resorted to the expedient of a lengthy but clearer and easier analysis into a subordinate clause, thus resolving e.g. βουλόμενος into εἰ βούλεται or ἐβούλετο, ἐπεὶ βούλεται or ἐβούλετο, ὃς βούλεται or ἐβούλετο, ὅτι (ὡς) βούλεται or ἐβούλετο, etc. In *P* literature this tendency for analysis naturally became more popular, and so we find that in *G* compositions, especially those of unconventional or unscholarly character, the accumulation of circumstantial participles is shunned, their place being taken by finite verbs with either the appropriate subordinating particles or the co-ordinating conjunction καί (1703. 1711 ff.).

Cp. Matt. 7, 27 καὶ κατέβη ἡ βροχὴ καὶ ἦλθον οἱ ποταμοὶ καὶ ἔπνευσαν οἱ ἄνεμοι καὶ προσέκοψαν τῇ οἰκίᾳ ἐκείνῃ καὶ ἔπεσεν, καὶ ἦν ἡ πτώσις αὐτῆς μεγάλη. 17, 18 καὶ ἐπετίμησεν αὐτῷ ὁ Ἰησοῦς καὶ ἐξῆλθεν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τὸ δαιμόνιον καὶ ἔθεραπεύθη ὁ παῖς. So 26, 40. 8, 14-16. Mark 1, 12-13. Luke 28, 32-34. 19, 2-3. Mark 14, 16 καὶ ἐξῆλθον οἱ μαθηταὶ καὶ ἦλθον εἰς τὴν πόλιν καὶ εὔρον παθῶς εἶπεν αὐτοῖς καὶ ἡτοίμασαν τὸ πᾶσχα. John 3, 2-3 (for ἐλθὼν—εἶπεν and ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν). 4, 47-50. Protev. Jac. 24, 4 καὶ ἤκουσαν πᾶσαι αἱ φυλαὶ τοῦ λαοῦ καὶ ἐπένθησαν αὐτὸν καὶ ἐκόψαντο τρεῖς ἡμέρας.—On the other hand for several participles cp. Matt. 14, 19, 27, 48. Eph. 1, 15-21. Col. 1, 3-12. Acts 22, 26. 16, 27. 24, 5.

**2166.** The other cause which has considerably told on the *P-N* history of the participle—at all events since *G*—was the cumbersome inflection of its imparisyllabic class (-ων, -ον, -ουσα; -ῶς, -ός, -ῖα; -ας, -αν, -ασα; -εῖς, -έν, -είσα; -ῦς, -ύν, -ῦσα; -οῦς, -οῖν, -οῦσα), that is the same morphological inconvenience which caused the retreat and disappearance of the 3rd declension (338. App. iii. 13).

**2167.** It may be objected that the literary productions of *P-N* times show a great frequency of the participle in well-nigh all its *A* varieties. However, a closer examination leads to the conviction that the phenomenon had become a scholastic practice, while popular speech being governed by the spirit of analysis and aiming at perspicuity and emphasis, was, as before, altogether unfit for such compressed and artificial forms of structure. Hence even writers of systematic training could not but occasionally blunder in the use of the circumstantial participle.

**2168.** That the circumstantial participle, especially that of imparisyllabic inflection, has been foreign to the living or popular language since *T*, if not earlier, may be inferred—

a. From its frequent misapplication and misconstruction, notably in the genitive and nominative absolute (2145. 2149<sup>b</sup>).

b. From its identification with the finite verb or the infinitive, and its consequent misuse as an independent finite verb or even its co-ordination to them by means of καί (1720):

Alchem. 37, 19 καὶ τριῖς ἀμφοῦτερα εἰς τὴν θυσίαν ἡμέραν μίαν καὶ ἔμβαλε αὐτὰ εἰς βίκον ὑέλινον. Evang. Tho. B. 7, 1 γράψας δὲ ὁ Ζακχαῖος τὴν ἀλάβητον Ἐβραϊστὶ καὶ λέγει πρὸς αὐτὸν ἄλφα. Vita Epirh. 100 B δεξάμενος οὖν ὁ βασιλεὺς τὰ γράμματα παρὰ Ἐπιφανίου καὶ ἐποίησεν τύπον τοιοῦτον. Mal. 120, 16 φυσικὸν γὰρ τοὺς ἀντεραστὰς ὄραν ἀλλήλους ὡς θηρία καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐπερχομένους ἄχρι φόνου. 124, 5 ἑωρακὼς δὲ αὐτοὺς ὁ Πρίαμος, ἑαυτὸν εἰς τὸ ἔδαφος ῥίψας, κόνιν ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ φέρων καὶ δεόμενος αὐτῶν

συνικέτας (sic) γενέσθαι πρὸς τὸν Ἀχιλλέα ὑπὲρ τοῦ σώματος τοῦ Ἑκτορος. ib. 14 ἡ δὲ Πολυξένη περιπλακεῖσα τοῖς ποσὶ τοῦ σοῦ γενέτου περὶ τοῦ αὐτῆς ἀδελφοῦ Ἑκτορος δουλεύειν ἐπαγγελαμένη καὶ μένειν σὺν αὐτῷ εἰ ἀποδῇ τὸν νεκρόν. 313, 11-15. 387, 1 ἡ δὲ βασίλισσα Ἀριάδνη δεξαμένη παρὰ τῆς ἰδίας αὐτῆς μητρὸς γράμματα λάθρα καὶ παρεκάλεσε τὸν βασιλέα Ζήρωνα ἵνα ἀπολυθῇ ἀπὸ καστελλίου οὗου ᾗν ἀποκεκλεισμένη ἡ δέσποινα Βηρήνα. 389, 5 καὶ ἀκούσας Δεόντιος καὶ Ἰλλοῦς καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀνήλθαν μετὰ Βηρήνης εἰς τὸ Παπῦριν καστελλίον. 407, 22. 435, 5-8. 446, 16-7. 468, 12-3. 473, 9-11. 495, 10 προσετίθη δὲ τῷ τροῦλλφ κατὰ τὸ παλαιὸν σχῆμα πόδες λ', καὶ τὰς δύο καμάρας ἐκ προσθήκης ποιήσαντες, τὴν τε ἀρκύραν καὶ τὴν μεσημβρινήν.

c. From the confusion of its gender, chiefly in the imparisyllabic declension, on which see 1181<sup>b</sup>.

d. From its adverbial function, especially in the accusative singular neuter, on which see 822 f.

e. From the express testimony of *M* grammarians, as Pachom. (ed. J. Migne) 1352 B οἱ μὲν Κυθῆριοι τὰς μετοχὰς ἔχουσιν ἐν συνηθείᾳ, ἄλλοι δὲ σπανίως καὶ οὐχ ὥς δεῖ.

f. From its absence in *N* speech.

**2169.** Vagueness then and inconvenience of inflection, coupled with the analytical spirit of the time, were the chief factors which have operated on the *P-N* history of the circumstantial participle. On the other hand it will be remembered that in cases where the nature and function of the participle were sufficiently clear, or where its form followed a familiar type of inflection (as in the passive ending -μενος: λεγόμενος, εἰρημένος) there were fairer chances of its longer preservation and partial survival to the present day (2110 ff.).

**2170.** To recapitulate, the *A* participle survives in *N* speech only in the form -μενος, and that chiefly as a predicative participle (perfect passive) (2110 f.), or as a mere adjective (2111), rarely substantive (2112). In all other cases, it has been replaced either—

(A) by an independent finite mood, co-ordinated to the leading verb by means of καί (1710 ff. 2165); or—

(B) by a subordinate finite mood introduced by the appropriate particle. In particular, in this case it has been replaced—

a. If *attributive*, by a finite relative clause (2010-26. 2103 ff.);

b. If *predicative* (so far as it does not survive [2110 f.]), first (that is during *G-B*) by the infinitive (2117-21. 2127), then (during *M-N*) by the analysis of this infinitive.

c. If *objective* (2133-5), partly by a declarative clause, partly by the prospective infinitive, later replaced by its analysis (2138).

d. If *temporal*, by a finite temporal clause, in *G-B* also by ἐν τῷ or μετὰ τῷ with the infinitive (2149), later by its analysis (2072).

e. If *causal*, by a finite causal clause and sometimes (especially during *G-B*) by διὰ τὸ with the infinitive (2151), in *M-N* by its analysis (2072).

f. If *conditional*, by a finite conditional clause, in *G-N* also partly by the imperative co-ordinated to the leading verb by means of καί (2154), partly by a direct interrogative finite clause the apodosis then serving as an answer to it (1928<sup>b</sup>. 1977, d. 2154).

g. If *concessive*, by a finite concessive clause (2156).

h. If *final*, by a final clause (2158 f.), or a final relative clause (2020); during *H-B* also by the infinitive often preceded by ὥστε, or by εἰς τό, πρὸς τό, χάριν τοῦ, ἐπὶ τό, and the infinitive (2158); rarely by the indicative preceded by καί (1710 f.).

i. If denoting *manner* or *means*, by an appropriate (adverbial or prepositional) expression or clause; sometimes also by an adjective in -τος or by a prepositional infinitive (2162 ff.).

# APPENDIX I.

## ACCENT.

### A. ORIGIN AND HISTORY OF ACCENT.

1. Just as the twenty-four letters of the Greek alphabet were invented or adopted to express pre-existing sounds, so accentual marks were devised to express accents already pre-existing in the language (76). For the accent or stress of the voice in a language is coeval with the language itself. There is only this difference between letters and accentual marks, that the former indispensably precede, while the latter, serving as they do less urgent needs, can either be altogether dispensed with, as it has happened in Latin and most modern languages, or they follow long after the alphabet proper has been generally received. Accordingly the Greek language, though it unquestionably indicated the accent at all times, shows on the whole no accentual marks either in the inscriptions or in the earlier papyri. Such accents seem to have been current as early as the V<sup>th</sup> B.C.—though as *scanning marks*—if we are to place faith in Varro (iv. 530, HKeil), who, while enumerating the various names of the circumflex, asserts that Epicharmos (V<sup>th</sup> B.C.) called it *προσφῶδια κεκλασμένη* (infra 5). A similar practice is attributed to Glaukos of Samos who lived in the same century. This last theorist is represented as speaking of no less than six different accents or *προσφῶδια*, namely the *ἀνειμένη*, *μέση*, *ἐπιτεταμένη*, *κεκλασμένη*, *ἀντανακλασμένη* (*ωμένη*?), and a sixth of which the name has not been preserved. See 76 [2]; infra 5; and App. ii. 16.

2. It is only during the IV<sup>th</sup> that we get some explicit information in the accounts given of a number of theorists and professed grammarians, such as Dionysios of Olympos, Ephoros of Cumæ, Hermocrates of Iasos, and others ([Sergius] in HKeil iv. 530 f.), and above all in Plato and Aristotle.

Pl. Crat. 399 A-B: *πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ τὸ τοιόνδε δεῖ ἐννοῆσαι περὶ ἰσχυμάτων ὅτι πολλάκις ἐπεμβάλλοντες γράμματα, τὰ (ἄττα?) δ' ἐξαιρούμεν παρ' ὃ βουλόμεθα ὀνομάζοντες καὶ τὰς ὀξύτητας μεταβάλλοντες, ὅσων Διὶ φίλος. τοῦτο ἵνα ἀντὶ βήματος (i.e. complex) ὄνομα (i.e. word) ἡμῖν γένηται, τό τε ἕτερον αὐτόθεν ἰῶτα ἐξείλομεν καὶ ἀντὶ ὀξείας τῆς μέσης συλλαβῆς βαρεῖαν ἐφθεγγόμεθα. ἄλλων δὲ (read ἄλλοτε, which will also correspond to the preceding *πολλάκις*) τοῦ- ναντίον ἐμβάλλοντες γράμματα, τὰ δὲ βαρύτερα φθεγγόμενα* [1].

[1] So too Pseudo-Plutarch records in Demosthenes' Vita 845 B (= 283 A Westermann) that the latter was frequently hooted for pronouncing 'Ἀσκληπίος in order to represent that god as ἡπίος: ὤμνυε δὲ καὶ τὸν 'Ἀσκληπιὸν προσαρφύσαν 'Ἀσκληπίον, καὶ παρεδείκνυν αὐτὸν ὀρθῶς λέγοντα· εἶναι γὰρ τὸν θεὸν ἡπίον, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ πολλάκις ἐθουρηθῆναι.



## B. NATURE AND FUNCTION OF ACCENT.

[6. Before entering into the discussion of the nature of accent in Greek, it will be well at the outset to clear up a point the overlooking of which has very often tended to obscure and complicate matters. I refer to the fact that just as the phonetic value of each alphabetic symbol has been, from our natural preference for concrete notions, identified with its external symbol, so too the acoustic accent represented by each accentual mark has been identified with its graphic and conventional symbol. In progress of time, when grammar rose to a theoretic science (25<sup>b</sup>), it was inevitable that the converse practice should also have been resorted to. Accordingly the description proper to the graphic symbols or accentual marks was applied to the acoustic qualities of the accent. Hence when we read the grammatical treatises of the *G-B* theorists we are faced with the phenomenon that the terminology and language proper to the acoustic qualities of the Greek accent are transferred to its graphic symbols, and conversely, the terminology and language characteristic of the accentual marks are frequently or rather indiscriminately applied also to the acoustic qualities of the accent symbolized by them<sup>[1]</sup>. It is therefore essential that in our study of the ancient grammarians, we should keep in mind the above association and interchange between accent and its graphic symbols (25<sup>c</sup>).]

7. In view of the absence of accentual marks in all inscriptions and in the earlier papyri, we are necessarily thrown upon the incidental and scanty information of classical authors (*supra* 1-2) and the theoretical but often irreconcilable precepts of the Alexandrian grammarians, or rather of their Byzantine excerptors and commentators (25 ff.). The value of such incidental and second, often even third, hand and mostly speculative information is obviously not absolute, but as there are other allied fields which can serve as tests, we can, by a judicious combination of the two sources, arrive at unmistakable results<sup>[2]</sup>.

8. Regarding the nature and function of accent in ancient Greek, there are two opposite theories. One maintains that it was essentially what it still is in modern Greek and in all living languages: *dynamic* or *expiratory*, that is *stress-accent* moving between low and high *stress*; the other asserts that it was essentially *musical* or *chromatic* moving between low and high *pitch*, in other words it was *pitch-accent*.

8<sup>b</sup>. It will be seen that in theory the two doctrines seem to stand in direct contrast to each other. Virtually, however, they have much common ground, seeing that no language is built upon either dynamic or musical accent exclusively, for the real distinction is due to the fact that one of the two modes of accentuation always appears as dominant and typical<sup>[3]</sup>. Hence followers of

[1] Choer. in Bekk. An. ii. 703 : ἰστέον ὅτι τριχῶς λέγεται ἡ προσφθία. καὶ ἡ παρὰ τοῖς μουσικοῖς, τοῦτέστι τὸ στόμα καὶ ἡ ἐκφωνήσις τῶν αὐτῶν, λέγεται προσφθία· καὶ ἡ ἐν τῇ ἐκφωνήσει γινομένη, τοῦτέστι ἐν τῷ παροξύνεσθαι λέξιν ἢ ὀξύνεσθαι ἢ περισπᾶσθαι· καὶ αὗτος ὁ χαρακτήρ τῶν τόνων καὶ τῶν χρόνων καὶ τῶν πνευμάτων, οἷον ὀξεῖα, βαρεῖα, περισπωμένη. (25<sup>b</sup>.)

[2] 'Our means of determining the accentuation in the older periods of the Indogermanic languages are the works of the native grammarians, metre, the accent marks of the texts handed down to us, the modifying influences exercised by the accent on the sounds, and the accentuation in the living languages which form the continuation of these older stages of development.' KBrugmann, *Comp. Gram.* i. 530.

[3] 'None of the Indo-Germanic languages had and has exclusively expiratory, and none exclusively musical accent. But one of the two kinds of accent



the stress-accent theory in accenting (*stressing*) a syllable, inevitably raise also their voice to a higher pitch, and conversely professors of the pitch-accent theory inevitably fall back upon stress. (Cp. App. ii. 1.)

8°. 'It is correct to say that accent consists in the intensification or elevation of the tone, but it is wrong to seek to distinguish a word-accent effected by the elevation of the tone from a word-accent effected by intensification of the tone. In the course of speech the tone of the voice moves up and down corresponding to the alternation of the periods and their content. But what we call the high tone or the low tone of a word are virtually accents of a various degree, so however that the high tone is the stronger and the low tone the weaker. That in the case of the stronger accent the tone of the voice is raised more or less perceptibly to the higher, is a secondary phenomenon.' EBrücke 3.

9. The arguments advanced by the followers of the *stress-accent* theory are first all those physiological factors which give language an organic life, since they contend that classical Greek was not a mummy, as represented in the surviving lifeless texts, but, like all modern languages, a *living* and *spoken* tongue; then the peculiar nature of trisyllabic accentuation which physiologically can be explained only as the result of expiratory effort<sup>[1]</sup>, and at the same time as the chief factor in the preservation, to the present day, of the eminently inflectional character of Greek (81). Such considerations, as well as other criteria and historical data, will be specified in dealing with the counter-arguments adduced by professors of the *pitch-accent* theory. These are three:—

(1) A number of passages in ancient grammarians, rhetoricians, and musicians testify to the 'musical' character of Greek accent<sup>[2]</sup>;

(2) The very terminology used in accentuation points to a musical origin (*προσῳδία*, *τόνος*, *ῥέξυς*, *βαρύς*, *ῥέξυνειν*, *βαρύνειν*); and—

(3) Accent has absolutely no influence on the rhythm of the Greek verse; or to put it another way, quantity on which the whole system of

always appears, in the stages of development accessible to our observation, as dominant and typical for the history of sounds. Essentially expiratory accent appears in Old Armenian, in the Old Italic dialects, in Keltic, Germanic, and Lithuanian, essentially musical (?) in Sanskrit and Ancient Greek. We have no satisfactory information concerning the accent in the Old Iranian dialects and of the Old Bulgarian.' KBrugmann, *Comp. Gram.* i. 529. Cp. HHirt 24 f.

[1] The phenomenon was correctly accounted for by the ancients themselves. Bekk. An. ii. 686. 12 ἀπορήσειε δ' ἂν τις διατί μὴ ἐστὶ τῶσις (accent) πρὸ τριῶν συλλαβῶν, λέγομεν οὖν πρῶτον ὅτι ἀδύνατόν ἐστι ἐκταθῆναι τὴν φωνὴν πέραν τοῦ τοιοῦτου μέτρου, ἦτοι πρὸ τριῶν συλλαβῶν ῥέξυνθῆναι, etc.—and 802, 12 καὶ περαιτέρω τούτων οὐ δίδωκεν ἡμῖν ἡ φύσις, οὐδὲ ἔαν ἐθελήσωμεν ἐπαρκεῖ τὸ πνεῦμα. ὥστε πρὸ τριῶν συλλαβῶν, τούτῳσι τετάρτην ἀπὸ τέλους ῥέξιναι ἐπὶ τῶν ἔξω ποιῆσαι ἡμᾶς ἀδύνατον.—Also iii. 1211 = Arg. 139, 18 οὐδέποτε πρὸ τεσσάρων χρόνων τόνος πίπτει. Arg. 150, 14 πόρρω τοῦδε (τοῦ τρίτου ἀπὸ τοῦ πέρατος δ' τόνος) οὐ πρόεισιν οὐδ' ἂν ἐπιμήκιστον εἴη τὸ ὄνομα. Bekk. An. ii. 685 ἀδύνατόν ἐστιν ἐκταθῆναι τὴν φωνὴν πέραν τοῦ τοιοῦτου μέτρου, ἦτοι πρὸ τριῶν συλλαβῶν ῥέξυνθῆναι. Cic. Orat. 18, 58 ipsa enim natura, quasi modularetur hominum orationem, in omni verbo posuit acutam vocem, nec una prius nec a postrema syllaba citra tertiam.

[2] As a matter of course testimonies to the contrary are not wanting, as: Schol. in Dion. Th. 754 f. πᾶσα φωνὴ ἐκπεπομένη, μετὰ δυνάμεως ἐκπέμπεται. αὕτη οὖν ἡ δύναμις κατὰ τὸν τεχνικὸν τόνον λέγεται. ἀνάγκη οὖν πᾶσαν συλλαβὴν ἥτις συντείνει εἰς τὴν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου φωνὴν τόνον ἴδιον ἔχειν. 755, 15 ἀμέχανον γὰρ ἐστὶ φωνὴν δίχα τάσεως ἀποτελεσθῆναι. εἰ γὰρ φωνὴ ἐστὶ ἀήρ πεπληγμένος, δεῖ δὲ τὴν πληγὴν μετὰ τάσεως γίνεσθαι, οὐκ ἂν εἴη φωνὴ δίχα τόνου πᾶσα τούτων συλλαβὴ τόνον κέχρηται.—Cp. also preceding and following notes.

ancient Greek verse rests, cannot possibly be reconciled with stress-accent.

10. It must be stated here at once that, in taking our stand on this pitch-accent theory, we are faced by many and almost insuperable difficulties. In the first place Greek is a language which, owing to its singular aptitude for forming compounds and its wealth in prefixes and suffixes, consists essentially of *polysyllabic* words, words which very frequently are of unusual length. Cp. ἀγορευόμεναι (ν 327), κατακομήσθηθε (χ 440), ποντοπορευόμεναι (ε 277), ἐπικρατίουσιν (Κ 214. α 245. π 122. τ 120), δολοφρονέουσα (κ 339), πολυκοιρανίη (Β 204), συγκαθελκυσθήσεται (Aesch. Theb. 614), διαλεπτολογόμαι (Ar. Nub. 1496), καταπεπυρπολημένος (Thesm. 243), παρακεκινδυνευμένον (Ran. 99);—Λακεδαιμονίων, ἐπιτετηδευμένος, προφδοιπορηκότες, ἐβεβουλεύεσαν, πεντακιχλίστοδες, ἐπτακοσιοπλασιάκις, κυμνοπριστοκαρδαμογλύφος, στρεψοδικοπανουργία, etc., not to speak of ἐννεακαιεκοσικαιεπτακοσιοπλασιάκις (Pl. Rep. 9, 587 E) nor of Ar. Vesp. 505 and Eccl. 1168 ff.

11. We must further remember that in Greek no word, however lengthy, can have more than *one* accented syllable<sup>[1]</sup>; that short words and particles (tonoclitics 94<sup>b</sup>. 97ff.) have no accentual individuality of their own, but attach themselves to preceding or succeeding words (94-108<sup>b</sup>), and that not only in ordinary speech and in written composition, but also in verse. Now as in each word, especially polysyllabic, or in each complex of words like the above, *stress* or *dynamic accent* is virtually the *point d'appui* and, as without such hold the constituent parts cannot form an organic whole but remain loose and lifeless elements, in denying the existence in Greek of such coherent dynamic accent, we virtually deny the existence in it of fixed words, and ignore the very significant principle of trisyllabotony and tonoclis. In point of fact, those who contend that Greek—and classical Greek only—was founded on *musical* accent, believe in a physiological impossibility, or at least in a unique phenomenon, since it is now established that all other languages, including Latin<sup>[2]</sup>, have been and are based on stress-accent<sup>[3]</sup>.

[1] Dion H. Comp. 11 (p. 134 Sch.) ἀμυγλάνον ὄντος ἐν ὀνόμα δύο λαβεῖν ὀφέλας. —and p. 130 ταῖς δὲ πολυσυλλάβοις, οἷαι ποτ' ἂν ᾤσιν, ἢ τὸν ὀρὶν τόνον ἔχουσα μία ἐν πολλαῖς βαρεῖαις ἔνεστιν. Cp. Theod. Can. 362 (ed. AHilgard).

[2] FStolz, Lat. Gram.<sup>2</sup> (JMüller, Handbuch ii.) 317 f.: 'Since the publication of Weil and Benloev's Théorie générale de l'accentuation Latine (Paris 1856), with which Corssen (ii. 797) substantially agrees, scholars used to conceive Latin accent as purely musical. Langen alone (Phil. xxxi. 98 f. and recently in N. J. cxliii. 620) saw in it "a transition period of the accentuation." Schoel (Acta Soc. Phil. Lips. vi.) was more correct in considering it as *substantially identical with our modern accent*. To speak strictly scientifically, we must denote, with Seelmann (p. ii), Latin accent as *expiratory (dynamic)*. The syllable, therefore, which bears the principal ictus, receives not only an elevation of tone (the characteristic of musical accent, "*une note musicale plus élevée*" Weil and Benloev), but also an *intensity* of tone (*intensio* according to Cleodnius *plus sonat*, Servius comm. in Don.). It is only the expiratory character of the Latin accent that can account for its tendency to recede as far as possible from the final syllable.' So further id. in his Hist. Gram. Lat. Sprache 95 ff. and 101 ff. Cp. RWestphal, Allg. Metrik 228 f.; HGleditsch, Metrik 690.—It is only such a stress-accent that can account for the phenomenon of trisyllabotony also in Latin. Now as trisyllabotony in Latin is traced back to Greek influence (PKretschmer Eini. 156 ff.), it cannot be argued that in adopting the Greek 'musical' trisyllabotony, the Romans adapted to their 'dynamic' accent.

[3] The reputed musical character of Sanskrit accent rests on essentially the same improbable and feeble theory: the absence of any connexion between accent

12. But this is not all. If we accept the theory that Greek accent was musical, no one can perceive how it could be *musical* when it was tied down on *one* of the three closing syllables, all the rest thus being destitute of music<sup>[1]</sup>. It is also inconceivable how *musical* accent can hold together the constituent parts of a lengthy word, like the above (10 f.), or even a complex of words as in the very significant phenomenon of tonoclis (as *ὅν τινα, δὴ ποτε, εἴπερ τις, εἰς τὴν χάραν*), and how the seat of *musical* accent should be influenced by the quantity of the ultima. Again, the very frequent phenomenon of 'contraction,' whether it coincides with the accent or not, cannot possibly be the effect of pitch, but only the effect of stress. Finally, if Greek accent were musical, it would have resulted in a very remarkable phenomenon: the palatal sonants *e* and *i* being relatively more convenient for high pitch than are the guttural sonants *a o u*: (1) the higher tone—the acute and circumflex—would of necessity be found to rest commonly on the sonants *e* and *i* (*ε, αι, [η]*; *ι, ει*, etc.), not on *a o(ω) ου*; and (2) in cases of vowel contraction or crasis, the front sonants *e* and *i*, as the higher or stronger in point of pitch, would probably have prevailed over the back sonants *a o u*, whereas the Greek language betrays absolutely no sign of such a tendency.

13. On the other hand, if we recognize the dynamic nature of accent also for Greek, all the above difficulties are removed, and, furthermore, a whole series of grammatical phenomena, otherwise utterly irreconcilable with pitch-accent, find a satisfactory explanation. I mean the anomalies classed under the heads of *contraction*, *synizesis*, *vowel-reduction*, and *syncope*, which are commonly explained

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and rhythm in verse, the accentual marks of the MSS, and the precepts of the Indian grammarians (though see MHang, *Wedischer Accent*, München 1874, p. 106 f.). The arguments therefore as to the nature of accent in Sanskrit are identical with those for Greek, and the explanation of the phenomenon in Greek will substantially hold also for Sanskrit, the more so as it curiously happens that systematical grammar with all its theories reached its full development among the Greeks of Asia Minor and Egypt, that is in the East, and that the Indian grammarians crop up after Alexander's invasion which certainly influenced the Indian language (cp. 34<sup>b</sup> & 77 & [2]). It is a strange coincidence, indeed, that Pāṇini, the father and most eminent of Indian grammarians extant, was a native of the 'extreme north-west' (IWackernagel, p. lix); lived in Ptolemaic times (after 300 B.C.); was familiar with the Greek writing (called *yavanānī*), and seems to apply Stoic principles (25) to Indian grammar.—'As is well known, in consequence of Alexander's expeditions, the Greeks came to, and remained for a long time in direct contact with India. Greek princes ruled for over two centuries in the north-western districts of India, nay, as far as the very heart of West India. Greek ambassadors were sent to the courts of Indian kings, Greek merchants, Greek art and science found their way, either through Penjab or through Alexandria, into the centre of Indian life. The influence exerted thereby has been unquestionably very great, presumably far greater than is commonly assumed. And this refers not only to the domain of practical life, as to coinage (even the silver coins of Gupta show Greek characters), to architecture, to dramatic performances, to astronomy and astrology; but also to matters of purely intellectual culture, as particularly to the importation of occidental tales, fables, sagas, myths, and other legendary and religious subjects. . . . It was inevitable therefore that a great number of Greek words and names should have found their way into India, and *vice versa*.' Alb. Weber, p. 613 f.; cp. BVHead, p. 701 ff. and IWackernagel, p. lvi.

[1] Nor is it easy to reconcile 'musical' accent, that is inherent music, with the external or principal music (vocal or instrumental) which accompanied poetry, since accent, whatever its nature may have been, has no regard to metre and moreover we know that Greek poetry was sung in unison. Cp. *infra* 24.

away by artificial and forced methods. For these phenomena too are nothing but the natural result of stress-accent affecting those unstressed syllables which precede or succeed the accented syllable; that is to say the accented syllable affects the unstressed pre-tonic and post-tonic syllables<sup>[1]</sup>.

13<sup>b</sup>. *Contraction*. For the nature and effect of this phonetic principle see 156 ff. and App. ii. 9. 14.

14. *Synizesis*. In the case of synizesis, whether pre-tonic or post-tonic, it is obvious that its occurrence in prose compositions escapes our observation owing to the absence of any marks for it. On the other hand, its frequent presence in verse is too familiar to be exemplified here (cp. 155). It must only be remembered that in 'quantitative' versification the accent in the form of ictus operates from a different seat as a new dynamic factor (85 ff. infra 16<sup>b</sup> & [1]).

15. *Vowel-reduction*.—*a*. In cases of a vowel sequence, *pre-tonic* reduction naturally results in pre-tonic synizesis, and thus escapes our observation for the reason just given above. But in cases where a vowel is followed by a consonant, reduction is noticeable in many instances, as: *πνιγῆναι*, *βλεβῆναι*, *ταφῆναι*, *ἀλλαγῆναι*, *τραφῆναι*, *κρηγῆναι*, *σφελῆναι*, *κριτής*, *πυρός* (*pūr*), *συός* (*sūs*), *συβότης*, etc.

*b*. *Post-tonic* reduction: *ἔω* = *ἔδ*, as: *Ξέρξω*, *πόλεως*, *πόλεων*, *ὄψεως*, *ὄψεων*, *πήχεως*, *πήχεων*, *ἀστεως*, *ἰλεως*, *ἀξιοχρεως* (cp. *πόλεος*, *φύσεος*, *ὑβρεος* in the dramatists); *ἐκήρυξεν*, *τέτριφα*, *τέσσερα*, etc.—So too *proparoxytones* with a long penultima, as: *ἄττιμος*, *κατάρττος*, *ἔρριμος*, *ἀνθρώπος*, *ἄσπις*, *βαρύτης*, *σώτεις*, *ἡπειρος*, *δέσποινα*, *εὐρυάγεια*, *κάθημαι*, *τίπτωμαι*, *δεδήλωται*, *ἐλύθημεν*, *ἐφάνησαν*, *ἤκουσα*. (App. ii. 5. Kühner-Blass i. 318 f.)

16. *Syncope*.—*a*. *Pre-tonic*: *δῶδεκα*, *τετράκισ* (*τετράκοισι*), *ἐπὶτόμην*, *πῆτιςμαι*, *ἐκράθη*, *ἡγρόμην*, *περι-*, *ἐπι-πλόμενος*, *ἐσπόμην*, *γῆνσιος*, *πῆτις*, *πῆτις*, *ἀγρόμενοι*, *ἀγρόπυον*, *ζωγράφος*, *μονόφθαλμος*, *φέρσας*, *ρήξηνωρ*, *μελαγχρῆς* (from *-χροῖης*), *δορυξός* (148 f.), *στ'λεγγίς*, *πατρός*, *μητρός*, *θυγατρός*, *γαστρός*, *ἀνδρός*, *ἀρῆς* [*πατέρος*, *μητέρος*, etc. are later and regressive formations from *πατέρα*, *μητέρα*], (*ἀνπότιδος*) *ἀμπότιδος*, *κεκμήκειμεν*, *κεκλήκαμεν*, *τετμήκαμεν*, *βεβλήκαμεν*, *τεβήκαμεν*, *βεβώκαμεν*, etc.—Cp. also: *καμῦν*, *ἀμβολάδην*, *ἀμβολάς*, *ἀμβάτης*, *ἀμφέρειν*, *ἀντρέψην*, *ἀντολή*, *καλ'λείψω*, *κυρρέουσα*, *κατ'θάνη*, *παρβαίνουσι*, *ἀγξήραν*, *ἀμ'βωμοῖσι*, *ἀμ'μέσον*, *ἀμ'πέλαγος*, *παρτόν* (142) [also *κα'ταδε*, *κα'τούς* for *κατά ταδε*, *κατά τοὺς* in Attic inscriptions, 1608; though cp. 126]; further: *τράπεζα* (from *\*τετράπεζα*, *τ'τράπεζα*), etc.

For further *A-N* examples see 136 f.

*b*. *Post-tonic*: *ἔσται*, *ἡλ'θον*, *ἔσ'χον*, *ὥφ'λον*, *φέρ'τε*, *τίπ'τε*, *σκόρδον*, *τάρ'χος*, *διφ'ρος*, *ἀλ'φα* (*aleph*), *δέλ'τα* (*daleth*), *ἄλ'το*, (*\*δεξ'σθαι*) *δεχ'θαι*, *ἐπ'λεν*. (Also *ἀμ'πέλαγος*, *παρτόν*.) See also 136.

16<sup>b</sup>. This dynamic nature of accent naturally accounts also for the frequent phenomenon in verse that a syllable can be lengthened under the ictus and reduced or 'shortened' after it, since ictus is only a different application of the same accent (85 ff.; cp. 89, supra 14).

[1] 'From sound-changes we may often gather what the accent was. Reduction and total loss of syllables point to a more strongly-developed expiratory accent. If the accent-force of several syllables is concentrated upon one, those left without force lessen their duration and firmness. Thus the position of the principal tone is at once recognisable.' KBrugmann, *Comp. Gram.* i. 531.

17. It may be pleaded here that the cases of vowel reduction and syncope are much less frequent in *A* Greek than in *N* speech or in such modern languages as English and German, and that this serves as an indirect proof that accent in *A* was different from ours, hence not dynamic. Such an argument however is of no avail, seeing that we have no direct specimens of *A* Greek as it was *actually spoken* by the masses (05 ff. 25 f. & [1]), and then it is a notorious fact that in Teutonic tongues the accent has become, within the last few centuries, so strong that it has reduced or absorbed all unstressed vowels—though this is mostly concealed in the script—and thus rendered these languages almost monosyllabic and uninflectional<sup>[1]</sup>, whereas in the Romanic and modern Greek languages it is, as was the case in classical Greek and Latin, much weaker, and therefore has not succeeded in reducing the unaccented syllables and thus deeply affecting general phonology (77<sup>b</sup>. 137).

18. After these general considerations which, though conclusive in themselves, are ignored by professors of the pitch-accent doctrine, let us proceed to the particular examination of the three arguments brought forward in support of their pitch-accent theory.

19. The first two rest on the testimony of ancient grammarians or theorists and on the meaning of the accentual terminology. But first the very same theory is held and still more fully worked out, with an identical terminology, by the Roman grammarians in regard to their own accent which, as we well know, was purely *dynamic* (supra 11 [2]); no one of them having ever alluded to a difference between Latin and Greek accent. Then if we collect all ancient information and terminology, and peruse it carefully and intelligently, we find that it sometimes refers not to the ear, that is to the acoustic qualities of the accent, but to the *eye*, that is to the concrete or graphic symbols of the accent (25<sup>c</sup>; supra 6 & [1]), and thus virtually describes the form of the accentual marks ( / , \ , ^ ); in other cases, again, the above information applies partly to rhetorical accent, that is to the syntactical or sentence accent, in so far as it refers to the *modulation* of the voice, and thus deserves the term *musical*. Here then it is simply the inflection produced by the periodic or rhythmical movement of the voice between the lower and higher pitch which goes hand in hand with stress, and naturally varies with each individual case and person. But then this occurs in *every language*, whether ancient or modern—*φυσικὸν γὰρ τὸ ἐντείνειν καὶ ἀνίαναι ἐν τῷ διαλέγεσθαι* (Aristox. 24 PMarquard)—and the accent thus described, though unwritten, is manifested in every sentence and word of speech, from the ordinary conversation or personal talk up to the highest rhetoric and the unaccompanied recitative tone. Here in *every language* the voice rises and falls periodically (rhythmically) and produces a rhythmical or 'musical' effect. For while there is no singing without speech, the converse is also substantially true: there is no real speaking without some singing. *Est etiam in dicendo quidam cantus obscurior*, as Cicero aptly puts it (Orat. 57, 18). See infra *g* and 20.

[1] Judging from the analogy of such oligosyllabic languages, we may reasonably assume that in its primitive and oligosyllabic stage, Greek also possessed a considerably stronger stress-accent (32<sup>d</sup>). Hence even leading Erasmusians find themselves now compelled to recognize a stress-accent for the early stage of Greek at least. (KBrugmann 82; IWackernagel § 244.)

a. Dion. H. p. 126 (GSchoaefex) Μουσική τις ἦν καὶ ἡ τῶν πολιτικῶν λόγων ἐπιστήμη, τῇ ποσῶ διαλλάττουσα τῆς ἐν φθαῖς καὶ ὀργάνοις οὐχὶ τῇ ποιῶ. καὶ γὰρ ἐν ταύτῃ καὶ μέλος ἔχουσιν αἱ λέξεις καὶ ῥυθμὸν καὶ μεταβολὴν καὶ πρέπον. ὥστε καὶ ἐπὶ ταύτης ἡ ἀκοὴ τέρεται μὲν τοῖς μέλεσιν, ἀγεται δὲ τοῖς ῥυθμοῖς, ἀσπάζεται δὲ τὰς μεταβολάς, ποθεῖ δ' ἐπὶ πάντων τὸ οἰκεῖον. ἡ δὲ διαλλαγή κατὰ τὸ μᾶλλον καὶ ἥττον.

b. Ib. Διαλέκτου μὲν οὖν μέλος ἐνὶ μετρεῖται διαστήματι τῷ λεγομένῳ διὰ πέντε ὡς ἔγγιστα. καὶ οὕτε ἐπιτείνεται πέρα τῶν τριῶν τόνων καὶ ἡμυτονίου ἐπὶ τὸ δέξ, [p. 128] οὕτε ἀνίεται τοῦ χωρίου τούτου πλεον ἐπὶ τὸ βαρὺ. οὐ μὴν ἀπασά γε ἡ λέξις ἢ καθ' ἐν μύριον λόγου ταττομένη ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς λέγεται τάσεως, ἀλλ' ἡ μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς ὀξείας ἢ δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς βαρείας ἢ δὲ ἐπ' ἀμφοῖν. τῶν δὲ ἀμφοτέρων τὰς τάσεις ἔχουσιν αἱ μὲν κατὰ μίαν συλλαβὴν συνεφθαρμένον ἔχουσι τῷ ὀξεῖ τὸ βαρὺ [p. 130], ἃς δὲ περισπωμένας καλοῦμεν, αἱ δὲ ἐν ἑτέρῳ τε καὶ ἑτέρῳ χωρίῳ, ἑκάτερον τὴν οἰκίαν φυλάττον φύσιν. καὶ ταῖς μὲν δισυλλάβοις οὐδὲν τὸ διὰ μέσου χωρίον βαρύτητος τε καὶ ὀξύτητος· ταῖς δὲ πολυσυλλάβοις, οἱ ποτ' ἂν ὦσιν, ἡ τὸν ὀξὺν τόνον ἔχουσα μία ἐν πολλαῖς βαρείαις ἐνεστίν. ἡ δὲ ὀργανική τε καὶ φθικὴ μοῦσα διαστήμασι τε χρῆται πλείοσιν οὐ τῇ διὰ πέντε μόνον, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τοῦ διὰ πασῶν ἀρξαμένη καὶ τὸ διὰ πέντε μελωδεῖ καὶ τὸ διὰ τεσσάρων καὶ τὸ διάττονον καὶ τὸ ἡμυτονίον, ὡς δὲ τινες οἰοῦνται, καὶ τὴν διέσιν αἰσθητῶς, τὰς τε λέξεις τοῖς μέλεσιν ὑποτάττειν ὀξεῖ καὶ οὐ τὰ μέλη ταῖς λέξεσιν, ὡς ἐξ ἄλλων τε πολλῶν δῆλον καὶ [p. 132] μάλιστα τῶν Εὐριπίδου μελῶν, ἃ πεποίηκε τὴν Ἠλέκτραν λέγουσαν ἐν Ὁρέστῃ πρὸς τὸν χορὸν (follows an obscure or rather corrupt passage commenting on Eur. Or. 140 ff.).

c. [p. 134] Τὸ δ' αὐτὸ γίνεται καὶ περὶ τοὺς ῥυθμούς. ἡ μὲν γὰρ περὶ λέξις (prose composition) οὐδενὸς οὔτε ὀνόματος οὔτε ῥήματος βιάζεται τοὺς χρόνους, οὐδὲ μετατίθεισιν, ἀλλ' οἷας παρίειλε τῇ φύσει τὰς συλλαβάς, τὰς τε μακράς καὶ τὰς βραχείας, τοιαύτας φυλάττει. ἡ δὲ ῥυθμικὴ καὶ ἡ μουσικὴ μεταβάλλουσιν αὐτὰς μειοῦσαι καὶ αἰξοῦσαι, ὥστε πολλάκις εἰς τάναντία μεταχωρεῖν. οὐ γὰρ ταῖς συλλαβαῖς ἀπειθύνουσι τοὺς χρόνους ἀλλὰ τοῖς χρόνοις τὰς συλλαβάς.

d. Δεδειγμένης δὲ τῆς διαφορᾶς ἣ διαφέρει μουσικὴ λογικῆς, λοιπὸν ἂν εἴη κἀκεῖνα λέγειν, ὅτι τὸ μὲν [p. 136] τῆς φωνῆς μέλος (λέγω δὲ οὐ τῆς φθικῆς ἀλλὰ τῆς ψυχῆς) κἂν ἥδῶς διατιθῇ τὴν ἀκοὴν εὐμελὲς λέγοιτ' ἂν ἀλλ' οὐκ εὐμελές· ἡ δ' ἐν τοῖς χρόνοις τῶν μορίων συμμετράζουσα (I read CΥΜΜΕΤΡΙΑ ὀΡΙΖΟΥΣΑ, JBeiske συμμετρία σφίζουσα) τὸ μελικὸν σχῆμα εὐρυθμὸς ἀλλ' οὐκ ἑτερυθμὸς.

e. Aristox. 24 (PMarquard) λέγεται γὰρ δὴ καὶ λογῶδες τὸ μέλος τὸ συγκεκριμένον ἐκ τῶν προσωδίων τῶν ἐν τοῖς ὀνόμασιν. φυσικὸν γὰρ τὸ ἐπιτείνειν καὶ ἀνίειν ἐν τῇ διαλέγεσθαι.

f. Cic. Orat. 17, 57: Mira est enim quaedam natura vocis cuius quidem e tribus omnino sonis, inflexo acuto gravi, tanta sit et tam suavis varietas perfecta in cantibus. Est autem in dicendo etiam quidam cantus obscurior, non hic e Phrygia et Caria rhetorum epilogus paene canticum, sed ille quem significat Demosthenes et Aeschines, cum alter alteri obicit vocis flexiones. Dicit plura etiam Demosthenes, illumque saepe dicit voce dulci et clara fuisse. In quo illud etiam notandum mihi videtur ad studium persequendae suavitatis in vocibus: ipsa enim natura quasi modularetur hominum orationem in omni verbo posuit acutam vocem, nec una plus nec a postrema syllaba citra tertiam; quo magis naturam ducem ad aurium voluptatem sequatur industria.—ib. de Orat. iii. 216: nam voces ut chordae sunt intentae, quae ad quemque tactum respondeant: acuta gravis, cita tarda, magna parva, quae tamen inter omnes est suo quoque in genere medioioris.

g. Arcad. 1. 186 ff. Οἱ χρόνοι καὶ οἱ τόνοι καὶ τὰ πνεύματα Ἀριστοφάνους ἐκτυπώσαντος γέγονε πρὸς τε διάκρισιν (v. l. διαστολὴν) τῆς ἀμφιβόλου λέξεως καὶ πρὸς τὸ μέλος τῆς φωνῆς συμπίσης καὶ τὴν ἁρμονίαν, ὡς ἐάν ἐπ' ἀδόκιμον φθγγόμενοι. τίςφαι δ' ὡς ἑκαστον αὐτῶν φυσικῶς ἅμα καὶ οἰκείως, καθάπερ τὰ ὄργανα, ἐσχηματιστά καὶ ἄνομαστα· ἐπειδὴ καὶ ταῦτα ἐμελλε τῷ λόγῳ ὥσπερ ὄργανα ἐσεσθαι. ἐώρακε γὰρ καὶ τὴν μουσικὴν οὕτω τὸ μέλος καὶ τοὺς ῥυθμοὺς σηματομένην, καὶ πῇ μὲν ἀνείεσαν, πῇ δ' ἐπιτείνουσιν, καὶ τὸ μὲν βαρὺ τὸ δὲ ὀξύ ὀνομάζουσιν. εἰ δὲ ποτε ἐπ' ἀδοκιμὴν ἡ τέλειον ἐπιτείνοντες ἢ πάλιν ἀνείντες, τούτο σκληρὸν καὶ μαλακὸν

ἐκάλει. κατὰ τοῦτο καὶ ὁ Ἀριστοφάνης σημεῖα ἔθετο τῷ λόγῳ πρῶτα ταῦτα ἵν' ἅμα συλλαβῆς καὶ λέξεως γενομένης κανὼν τις ἔποιτο καὶ σημείον ὁρθότητος; ἔπειτα τρίχα τεμὼν τὴν κίνησιν τῆς φωνῆς τὸ μὲν εἰς [p. 187] χρόνους, τὸ δὲ εἰς τόνους τὸ δὲ εἰς αὐτὸ τὸ πνεῦμα. καὶ τοὺς μὲν χρόνους τοῖς ρυθμοῖς ἤκασε τοὺς δὲ τόνους τοῖς τόνοις τῆς μουσικῆς. καὶ σημεῖα ἔθετο ἐφ' ἑκάστῳ καὶ ὀνόματα, τοῖς μὲν χρόνοις τὸ βραχὺ καὶ τὸ μακρὸν ἔκονομάσας καὶ σχήματα οἰκεία ποιησάμενος, τῷ μὲν μακρῷ τὴν εὐθείαν γραμμὴν καὶ ἀποτεταμένην —, τῷ δὲ βραχεῖ τὴν συνεστραμμένην καὶ συνεχύσαν ὥσπερ ἐκατέρωθεν τὴν φωνήν. τῶν δὲ τόνων τὴν μὲν ἀνω τείνουσαν καὶ εὐθείαν καὶ εἰς ὀξὺ ἀπολήγουσαν οἰκυῖαν τοῖς βέλεσι τοῖς ἐφειμένοις (read ἀφ-) ὀξείαν ἐπωνόμασε ἰ, τὴν δὲ ἐναντίαν ταύτῃ βαρείαν λ. ἐπεὶ δ' ἔωρα τὴν ἔξω τοῦ μέλους λέξιν οὐ κατὰ τὸ βαρὺ μόνον οὐδ' ἐν τῷ (read οὐδὲ τὸ) ὀξὺ καταμένουσαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρῶτον τινὸς δεομένην τόνου, τούτου δὴ τοῦ περισπωμένου, πρῶτερον αὐτῆς τῆς φωνῆς τὴν δύναμιν ἔσκοπεῖτο. καὶ ἐπεὶ συνέβαινε ταῖς περισπωμέναις λέξεσιν εὐθὺς ὑπαρχομένην (read ἀφ-) τὴν φωνὴν ὀξὺ τι ὑπῆρχειν, κατατρέπειν δὲ ὥς εἰς τὸ βαρὺ, οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ μῆξιν καὶ κράσιν ἐξ ἀμφοῖν, τοὺ τε ὀξίους καὶ τοὺ βαρείους, ἡγησάμενος εἶναι τὸ περισπώμενον, οὕτως αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ σχῆμα ἐποίησατο. [p. 188] ἐφαρμυσάμενος γὰρ ἀλλήλαις τὰς εὐθείας ἐκατέρας, ἣν τε τοῦ ὀξέος καὶ τοῦ βαρείου, ταύτην εἶναι τὴν περισπωμένην ἔλεγεν ὥδε πως ἐξ ἀμφοῖν τῶν τόνων ἐξ ὧν ἐγένετο (λ) ὀξυβάρεϊαν ὀνομάζων. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁμοιότητα αὐτὸ τὸ σχῆμα τοῦ τόνου πρὸς ἐν τῶν γραμμάτων ἐμελλεν ἔξειν, τὸ λ, δεδοικὼς μὴ τι ἄρα ἐν τῇ παραθέσει τῶν γραμμάτων παραμυγνύηται τὴν ἀνάγνωσιν, βραχὺ τι τὴν εὐθείαν τῶν γωνιῶν κλάσας καὶ περιτείνας αὐτὰς εἰς ἡμικύκλιον ἅμα τῷ σχήματι τῆς περισπωμένης καὶ τὸ ὄνομα ἐπὶ τὸ οἰκειότερον τε καὶ εὐφρονότερον μετέβαλεν (-) . . . [p. 190] ὥρισε καὶ τοῖς τόνοις καὶ τοῖς πνεύμασι τεταγμένους περιπολεῖν τὴν λέξιν, τὸν μὲν ὀξὺν τόνον ἐν ἅπαντι μέρει καθαρῷ τόνου ἅπας ἐμφαίνεισθαι δοκιμάσας καὶ μεμετρημένους ἐπὶ τοῦ πέρατος τῆς λέξεως ὅποτε καὶ κυριεῖται τοῦ ὀνόματος, ἣ (read ἦ) παρὰ τὸ πέρας (penult), ἣ πρῶτον ἀπὸ τοῦ πέρατος. πύρρῳ γὰρ τοῦδε οὐ πρόεισιν οὐδ' ἂν ἐπιμήκιστον εἴη τὸ ὄνομα. ὅποτε δὲ αὐτὸς ἐνσταίη τὴν λέξιν ὁ τόνος, τηλικαῦτα περισπώμενος γίνεται. ἀμφω γὰρ ἀδύνατον, ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ ὀξέος καὶ τοῦ βαρείου ὁ περισπώμενος, ὥσπερ εἴρηται, γέγονεν. φαίνεται δὲ καὶ οὗτος τὰ πολλὰ ἐπὶ τοῦ πέρατος (ἢ πρὸ μῖας τοῦ τέλους), ἐπιπύρρῳ (write ἐπεὶ πύρρῳ) εὐρεῖν ἀδύνατον. ὁ δὲ βαρὺς τόνος ἅτε καὶ ἀπλοῦς τις καὶ μικροτέραν ἔχων δύναμιν, ἀτάκτως καὶ ἀμέτρως περίεσι τὴν λέξιν ἀπανταχῇ καὶ πολλάκις καὶ ὅπῃ τύχοι φαίνόμενος.

19<sup>b</sup>. It needs only a little attention to see that, in tracing the origin and development of the accentual system back to Aristophanes of Byzantium, Arcadius, or his authority Herodian, draws a parallel between music and speech. But this very fact of comparison decides the question, proving as it does that ancient speech was not music but resembled music, a characteristic of every language.

20. 'In speech the voice glides up and down what, by an allowable figure, may be called an inclined plane: in song it makes steps the proportions of which to one another are ascertained. Speech is for the most part only during the passage of the voice from one sound to another; it is the result of intervals: in song intervals are traversed silently and the voice is heard only on sounds—the terms or boundaries of intervals. The variations of pitch in speech may be compared to the effect produced by sliding the finger up and down a vibrating string; those in song to that produced by "stopping" such a string at certain points and at no others. In brief, speech consists almost exclusively of concrete sounds; song almost exclusively of discrete sounds.' (JHullah, *The Speaking Voice*, p. 19.)—These phenomena, which lie within common observation and apply to all languages and all times, are the very subject discussed by the ancient grammarians and theorists or rhetoricians.

21. Regarding the derivation of the accentual terminology, we shall see in App. ii. 8 & 16, that it originated in connexion with the scanning or by-singing of metrical texts. Moreover we must remember that as accent virtually consists of stress plus pitch, the accentual

terminology, even if it had originated in ordinary speech, could equally have been suggested by the one as by the other constituent element. The Greeks founded their accentual system on the 'musical' element (pitch), simply because this element only is perceptible or audible, representing a scale of concrete sounds, whereas stress or intensity is inaudible, that is a merely *mute* effort which escapes observation.

[22. How unsafe it is, moreover, to draw inferences from the 'original' meaning of names of things as to their nature, is a matter of common experience, and even Plato expressly warns us against such a theory. *Crat.* 436 A-B *φέρει δὲ ἐνοήσωμεν, ὃ Κρατύλει, εἴ τις ζητῶν ἀκολουθεῖ τοῖς ὀνόμασι σκοπῶν οἷον ἕκαστον βούλεται εἶναι, ἀρ' ἐννοεῖς ὅτι οὐ μικρὸς κίνδυνός ἐστιν ἑξαπατηθῆναι*; Cp. also 414 C-D, and 421 D. In point of fact, if we were to assume that *προσφῶδία*, or its Latin literal translation *accentus*, indicates a real 'singing,' because it points to *προσφῶδειν*, *accinere*, we might with more reason form totally different views as to the nature of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, seeing that the latter begins with *Ἄνδρα μοι ἔννεπε Μοῦσα*, and the former with *Μῆνιν ἄειδε θεά*. What can be inferred from the 'original' meaning of terms like *ἔπος* (word), *δράμα* (deed), *ποίησις* (making), *συλλαβή* (holding together), etc. as to the nature of their subsequent technical application? Or is the *spiritus asper* also musical, seeing that it is one of the *προσφῶδια*?]

23. The last argument for the pitch-accent theory, that classical verse rests absolutely on quantity, or rather that rhythm (since quantity is very often arbitrary, App. ii. 5 [1]) makes no account whatever of accent, appears at first sight not only conclusive against the stress-accent doctrine, but almost unanswerable. However, by a closer examination this argument also loses much of its force. For granting that Greek accent was essentially musical, does verse make any account of it? Can scanning of classical verse be possibly reconciled with accent, by assuming the latter to have been musical? The force of the pitch-accent theory then lies not in the explanation of accent, but in the utter disregard of accent, be it musical or dynamic, since we are still faced with the same great problem: Was there any connexion, in classical Greek, between quantity and accent? If not, what was the use of accent?

24. The answer hitherto generally given to these questions is that archaic and classical poetry was never meant to be *read*. It was entirely different from modern poetry, which is calculated for a reading public. As a matter of course, it cannot well be argued that the classical poetry of the Greeks was subservient to music, in the sense of our modern librettos, with the exception of its lyric part. On the other hand, we must remember that ancient prosody was virtually rhythmic and follows rhythm, a case quite unmistakable in all the non-lyric parts of tragedy. But a far more forcible criterion we have in the total absence of any connexion or relation between metrical structure and grammatical sense, for a metrical period or colon in Greek makes no account whatever of the underlying sense of the syntactical period or colon, and in a metrical foot a coincidence of its end with the end of the word scanned is not only disregarded, but almost avoided. This phenomenon is both irrational and unique in language. (See App. ii. 5 & [1].) As to the external testimony, we know from the unanimous statements of the ancients that a poet was also a composer<sup>[1]</sup>, very frequently even the performer of his com-

[<sup>1</sup>] [Plat.] *de Mus.* 3 οἱ ποιῶντες ἐπὶ τούτοις μέλη περιετίθεσαν.



position. In other words, poetry was regularly accompanied by music, either vocal or instrumental. In particular we know that epic poetry was sung by the bards (*οἰδοὶ*) to the accompaniment of the flute and phorminx (Σ 495; Pind. Ol. 3, 8; N. 10, 93); that all classical poets (as Pindar, Archilochos, Alkaios, Phrynichos, Pratinas, Lasos, Aeschylus, Sophocles, Cratinos, Aristophanes, etc.) were also famous composers, a fact further emphasized by the story told of Euripides that he was indebted for the music of his plays to Cephisophon (Ar. Ran. 944, also Schol. and Frg. 231, b), sometimes also to Callias (Clearchos quoted by Athen. vii. 276 A & x. 453). Accordingly, when we study ancient Greek verse, we must not forget that metre and music were inseparable from each other. This intimate connexion, which in our modern notions of polyphonus harmony would lead to the subordination of the text to the music, had no such overpowering effect in ancient poetry, because stage singers then sang all in *unison*, so that singing did not interfere much with the parallel individuality and independence of the words. The classical poetry of the Greeks was therefore of a different character from that of modern languages, inasmuch as Greek poetry had reference to *music* (vocal or instrumental, or both<sup>(1)</sup>), whereas modern poetry is calculated almost exclusively for *reading*.

25. Now this line of argument, much as it tends to invalidate the theory that *A* accent was musical, cannot, on the other hand, claim to afford a *positive* solution of the problem, since the question still remains unanswered: Why should metre be founded on quantity and not on stress-accent, as happened in all other European languages? As one of the reasons it might be pleaded that Greek being an essentially polysyllabic language with only one (dominant) accent, and that too weak and shifting, was from the outset ill-suited for a dactylic or anapaestic metre, and still more so for an iambic or trochaic rhythm. But the whole problem will be better understood when we have discussed the nature and history of quantity, for which I must refer to the next appendix.

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<sup>(1)</sup> Dion. H. de comp. ii (p. 130 Sch.) (ἡ δὲ ὀργανικὴ τε καὶ φῶνικὴ μουσα) τὰς τε λέξεις τοῖς μέλεσιν ὑποτάττειν ἀξιοῖ καὶ οὐ τὰ μέλη ταῖς λέξεσιν, ὡς ἐξ ἄλλων τε πολλῶν δῆλον καὶ μάλιστα τῶν Εὐριπίδου μελῶν.—and p. 134 ἡ μὲν περὶ λέξεως (prose composition) οὐδενὸς οὔτε ὀνόματος οὔτε ῥήματος βιάζεται τοὺς χρόνους, οὐδὲ μετατίθηναι, ἀλλ' οἷας παρείληφε τῇ φύσει τὰς συλλαβάς, τὰς τε μακρὰς καὶ τὰς βραχείας, τοιαύτας φυλάττει. ἡ δὲ ῥυθμικὴ καὶ μουσικὴ μεταβάλλουσιν αὐτὰς μειοῦσαι καὶ αὐξάνσαι, ὥστε πολλάκις εἰς τὰναντία μεταχωρεῖν· οὐ γὰρ ταῖς συλλαβαῖς ἀπευθύνουσι τοὺς χρόνους, ἀλλὰ τοῖς χρόνοις τὰς συλλαβάς.

## APPENDIX II.

### QUANTITY IN GREEK.

1. On the nature of *quantity* in modern languages it is agreed that it consists in a relatively longer or shorter duration of sound. But that the two extreme limits of this duration cannot be fixed is evident from the fact that no two speakers in one and the same language observe the same tempo (*ῥυθμός*), and that even one and the same speaker varies his tempo according to the occasion or emotion. Still less fixed is the relation of *short* and *long* sounds in two different languages. Thus long *e* in English 'mean' is longer than in French 'mine,' and *o* in English 'Rome' is longer than in Italian 'Roma,' though the respective sounds are conceived as simply long in each of these three languages. Generally speaking, in the Teutonic tongues, particularly in modern English, the long vowels are drawn considerably longer than in the Romanic, Slav, and modern Greek languages. The cause of this phenomenon among the Teutonic languages seems to lie in their prevailing monosyllabism (consequent on the tendency for abbreviation). This monosyllabism seems to have developed, as a compensation, a rich gradation of accent and its concomitant quantity. For it will be remembered that stress-accent and quantity go hand in hand (App. i. 8 f. 19), so that a stressed syllable is of necessity drawn longer than an unstressed syllable. In other words, quantity (prosodic length) appears as the *result* of stress-accent. Languages therefore with a strong or diversified scale of accent have also a strong or diversified scale of quantity, and conversely languages with little difference of accent show also a small variety of quantity. To the former class belong, as just stated, the Teutonic languages; to the latter, the Romanic, Slav, and modern Greek group. And the contrast between the two groups is very marked. For whereas the Romanic languages, as well as modern Greek, practically ignore degrees of quantity, unless we consider the slight prolongation attending an accented syllable<sup>[1]</sup>, English and German distinguish a whole scale of quantity, that is to say—

a. *Very long* or *overlong*, as in *see*, *seed*, *piece*, *broad*, *good*—*ja*, *bat*, *kam*, *tot*, *Sohn*.

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[1] 'It is a well-known fact that in all Romance languages, from the outset, nay even in prehistoric times, the quantity (length or shortness) of a vowel has played and still plays a very subordinate part.' EStengel, *Romanische Verlehnre* in GGröber's *Grundriss* ii. 1 (1893), p. 6.—At the same time, it must be noted that in all these languages as well as in present Greek, there is a perceptible difference of quantity when the vowels stand in *position*, since here a vowel, which otherwise would be half long (according to Teutonic standard), becomes rather longer when followed by two or more consonants or by certain simple consonants (as *p*, *l*, *μ*, *ν*, *σ*), which all seem to act as bars, as: *mōnte*, *pādre*, *adōre*, *prētre*, *ile* (though *hōtel* = *hōtel*), *πατήρ* (—), *πατρός* (—), *ἱέω* (—), *ἄσπρα* (—).

b. *Long*, as in arm, far, father, fern, her, place, brogue, note, rude, fool.

c. *Medium* or *half long*, as in ask, dance, event, depend.

d. *Short*, as in am. fat, add, end, met, it, pity, not, book.

e. *Very short* or *overshort*, as in seven, London.

2. As a matter of course, the above varieties of quantity have nothing in common with the *a posteriori* speculations of ancient theorists as to the nature and variety of quantity in Greek, seeing that these speculations rest not on the nature (*φύσις*) of the elements of a syllable, but first on the very terms *μακρὸν βραχὺ* and *δύχρονον*, next on the *concrete* number of the letters constituting a syllable, and finally on the *grammatical* function of the vowels. Even the best 'professional musicians' had not emancipated themselves from this theory.

a. Aristox. 7, 17 (W.) διαιρείται δὲ ὁ χρόνος ὑπὸ (read ἐπὶ) τῶν ῥυθμιζόμενων τοῖς ἐκάστον αὐτῶν μέρεσιν. ἔστι δὲ τὰ ῥυθμιζόμενα τρία, λέξις, μέλος, κίνησις σωματικῇ. ὥστε διαίρηται τὸν χρόνον ἢ μὲν λέξις τοῖς αὐτῆς (read αὐτοῖς i. e. τρισὶ) μέρεσιν, ὅλον γράμμασι καὶ συλλαβαῖς καὶ ῥήμασι (words) καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς τοιοῦτοις.

b. Dion. H. comp. c. 15, p. 178 (Sch.) μήκου δὲ καὶ βραχύτητος συλλαβῶν οὐ μία φύσις, ἀλλὰ καὶ μακρότεραί τινες εἰσι τῶν μακρῶν καὶ βραχύτεραι τῶν βραχειῶν. ἔσται δὲ τοῦτο φανερόν ἐπὶ τῶν παραδειγμάτων. ὁμολογεῖται δὴ βραχεῖαν εἶναι συλλαβὴν ἣν ποιεῖ φωνὴν βραχύ, τὸ ο φῶ λέγεται ὁδός. ταύτῃ πιστεσθῆτω ἐν γράμμα, τῶν ἡμιφώνων τὸ ρ, καὶ γενήσεται Ῥόδος. μένει μὲν ἐτι βραχεῖα ἢ συλλαβή, πλὴν οὐχ ὁμοίως, ἀλλ' ἔξει τινὰ παραλλαγὴν ἀκαρῇ παρὰ τὴν προτέραν. ἐτι προστεσθῆτω ταύτῃ τῶν ἀφώνων γραμμάτων τὸ τ καὶ γενέσθω Τρόπος. μέζων αὐτῇ τῶν προτέρων ἔσται συλλαβῶν καὶ ἐτι (καίτοι?) βραχεῖα μένει (read μενεῖ). [p. 180] τρίτον γ' ἐτι γράμμα τῇ αὐτῇ συλλαβῇ προστεσθῆτω, τὸ σ, καὶ γενέσθω Στρόφος. τρισὶν αὐτῇ προσθήκαις ἀκουσταῖς μακροτέρων τὸ τ καὶ γενέσθω τῇ βραχυτάτῃ (βραχεῖας αὐτῆς?), μένουσα ἐτι βραχεῖα. οὐκοῦν τέσσαρες αὐταὶ βραχεῖας συλλαβῆς διαφοραὶ, τὴν ἀνάλογον ἐχουσαι αἰσθησιν τῆς παραλλαγῆς μέτρον (-ραν?). ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς λόγος καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς μακρᾶς. ἡ γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ η γινόμενη συλλαβὴ μακρὰ τὴν φύσιν οὕσα τεττάρων γραμμάτων προσ[p. 182]θήκαις παραυξηθεῖσα, τριῶν προτακτομένων ἐνὸς δὲ ὑποτακτομένου καθ' ἣν λέγεται Σπλήν, μέζων ἂν δῆπου λέγοιτο εἶναι τῆς προτέρας ἐκείνης τῆς μονογραμμάτου. μειομένη δ' αὖ πάλιν καθ' ἣν ἐκαστον τῶν προστεθέντων γραμμάτων τὰς ἐπὶ τοῦλαττον παραλλαγὰς αἰσθητὰς ἂν ἔχοι. αἰτία δὲ ἥτις ἐστὶ τοῦ μήτε τὰς μακρὰς ἐκβαίνειν τὴν αὐτῶν φύσιν, μέχρι γραμμάτων ἐπτά μηχανομένης, μήτε τὰς βραχεῖας εἰς ἐν ἀπὸ πολλῶν γραμμάτων συστέλλομένης ἐκπίπτειν τῆς βραχύτητος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκείνας ἐν διπασίφω λύφῃ θεωρεῖσθαι τῶν βραχειῶν, καὶ ταύτας ἐν ἡμίσει τῶν μακρῶν, οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον ἐν τῷ παρόντι σκοπεῖν. ἀρκεῖ γὰρ ὅσον εἰς τὴν παροῦσαν ὑπόθεσιν ἤρμωσεν εἰρησθαι ὅτι διαλλάττει καὶ βραχεῖα συλλαβῇ βραχεῖας καὶ μακρὰ μακρᾶς, καὶ οὔτε τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχει δύναμιν (οὔτε ἐν λόγοις ψιλοῖς οὐτ' ἐν ποτήμασιν ἢ μέλεσι διὰ ῥυθμῶν ἢ μέτρων κατασκευαζόμενοις) πᾶσα βραχεῖα καὶ πᾶσα μακρὰ.

c. Schol. in Hephæst. WStademann p. 34 f. οἱ δὲ ῥυθμικοὶ λέγουσι τόδε εἶναι μακρότερον τοῦδε, φάσκοντες τὴν μὲν τῶν συλλαβῶν εἶναι δύο ἡμίσεις χρόνων, τὴν δὲ τριῶν, τὴν δὲ πλείονων· ὅλον τὴν ὡς οἱ γραμματικοὶ λέγουσι δύο χρόνων εἶναι, οἱ δὲ ῥυθμικοὶ δύο ἡμίσεις, δύο μὲν τοῦ α μακροῦ, ἡμίχρονον δὲ τοῦ σ. πᾶν γὰρ σύμφωνον λέγεται ἔχειν ἡμιχρόνιον.—So Pompeius v. 112, 25 ff. (HKeil): ut puta si dicas 'et', unum semis habet. e vocalis est brevis, unam habet tempus. i consonans est, et omnis consonans dimidium habet tempus: ecce 'et' unum semis habet tempus. adhuc non est nec longa nec brevis; plus tamen habet a brevi, minus quidem habet a longa. adde ad 'et', etiam fit longa. quæ res? e brevis unum tempus habet, i dimidium tempus habet, s dimidium tempus habet: ecce duo tempora sunt; fecerunt duo tempora longam syllabam.

d. Theodos. can. in Bekk. An. iii. 1187 ὅτι δὲ τὸ ἰ ἀσθενέστερόν ἐστι πάντων τῶν φωνηέντων ὄηλον ἐντεῦθεν. τῶν φωνηέντων τὰ μὲν εἰσι προτακτιὰ δὲ τὰ ἐν υποτακτιὰ. καὶ προτακτιὰ μὲν εἰσι ταῦτα Α Ε Η Ο Ω, ὑποτακτιὰ δὲ δύο, ἰ καὶ γ.

καὶ τὸ γ δὲ τὸ ὑποτακτικὸν πολλάκις εὐρίσκεται τοῦ ἰ προτακτικόν, ὡς ἐν τῇ μῆνι καὶ ἀρπυγία καὶ γίος καὶ ἐν τοῖς ὁμοίοις. εἰ ἄρα οὖν τὸ ἰ καὶ τοῦ ὑποτακτικοῦ ὑποτακτικόν ἐστὶ, δῆλον ὅτι ἀσθενέστερόν ἐστι πάντων τῶν φωνηέντων. (19.)

e. Schol. Dion. Th. in Bekk. An. ii. 797 ff. 'μακρὰ εἰσι δύο, ἡ καὶ ὦ.' μακρὰ δὲ λέγεται ταῦτα ὡς παρὰ τοῖς παλαιοῖς ἐν διπλάσιον χρόνῳ τῶν βραχέων ἐκφαννόμενα.—Δεῖ δὲ τὸ ἡ μὲν ἐκφαννόμενα μακύνειν τὸ στόμα ὡς ἐπὶ τὰ ὦτα ἐκατέρωθεν, τὸ δὲ ὦ ἐκφαννόμενα μακύνειν τὰ χεῖλη ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν βίνα καὶ τὸν πάγονα. διὸ καὶ ἐνομοθετήθη μακρὰ εἶναι ὡς μακύνοντα τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν τῶν φωνητικῶν ὀργάνων ὑπὲρ τὰ ἄλλα φωνήεντα. καὶ τὰ δύο μὲν παρὰ πᾶσιν ἐν ἰσότητι δοκεῖ εἶναι ἐνεκεν τῆς μακρᾶς. ζητησάντων δὲ τινῶν ποῖον ἐστὶ τῶν δύο μακρότερον εὐρέθη τὸ ἡ. ἐπὶ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ ὦ προπαροξύνονται λέξεις τινές, ὡς ἐπὶ τοῦ ΜΑΝΤΕΜΩΝ καὶ ΦΥΓΕΩΝ καὶ τῶν ὁμοίων, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ ἡ οὐδέποτε. ἀλλ' ἔρει τις ὅτι οἱ Ἀττικοὶ τοῦτο ἐτόλμησαν. ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡμεῖς φαμεν πρὸς αὐτὸν ὅτι οἱ Ἀττικοὶ οἱ τολμήσαντες ἐπὶ τοῦ ὦ, εἰ εὖρον τὸ ἡ ἴσον τοῦ ἡ ἑλάσσον, εἶχον καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοῦ τολμᾶσαι προπαροξύνειν· μὴ τολμήσαντες δὲ ἀνεδέξαντο εὐρηκεῖναι τὸ ἡ τοῦ ὦ μείζον.

f. Id. p. 798 Τῶν δύο μακρῶν ποῖον ἐστὶ μακρότερον; τὸ ἡ. ποῖο λόγῳ; ὅτι ἐν τέλει λέξεως εὐρασκόμενον οὐ δίδωσι τρίτην ἀπὸ τέλους ἀναπεμθῆναι τὴν ὕψειαν, ὅτι κατὰ φύσιν ἐστὶ μακρόν. τὸ δὲ ὦ ἐστὶν ὅτε (προ)παροξύνεται· οὐκ ἄρα ἐστὶ κατὰ φύσιν μακρόν ὥσπερ τὸ ἡ. λέγουσι δὲ πρὸς ταῦτα ὅτι Ἀττικῷ λόγῳ (προ)παροξύνεται τὸ ὦ. ἡμεῖς δὲ φαμεν ὅτι οἱ Ἀττικοί, ἅτε δὴ ὄντες σοφοί, αἰτίαν τινὰ τὸ (read τοῦ) ὠ ἀκριβῶς ἐπιστάμενοι διὰ τὸ μὴ εἶναι αὐτὸ φύσει μακρόν, τοῦτου χάριν (προ)παροξύνουσιν· ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸ ἡ, εἴγε εὖρον ἀξίολογον αἰτίαν (insert τοῦ) μὴ εἶναι κατὰ φύσιν μακρόν, ὡσαύτως τοῦτο συνέστελλον.

g. 'Βραχέα δύο, ε καὶ ο.' δηλονύτι οἱ πάλοι ταῦτα παρατρέχοντες ἐφθέγγοντα καὶ οὐ τοσαύτην ὥραν ὄσῃ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἡ καὶ τοῦ ὠ ἐποιοῦν ἐν τῇ ἐκφανεῖ, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἥμισυ μέρος. καὶ ἐπὶ τούτων δὲ τῶν βραχέων φημὶ ὅτε (read ὅτι) Ἡρωδιανὸς καὶ ὁ τούτου πατήρ Ἀπολλάνιος ἐζήτησαν τί τίνος ἐστὶ βραχύτερον. καὶ ὁ μὲν Ἀπολλάνιος φησὶ τὸ ο εἶναι βραχύτερον τοῦ ε ἀποδείξει τοιαύτην χρώμενος. λέγει γὰρ ὅτι τὸ ἰ ἐκατέρω αὐτῶν προσθεῖς ποιήσεις δηλονύτι δύο διερθόγγους· καὶ ἡ μὲν ἐστὶ μείζων ἢ τὸ ε ἔχουσα, ἡ δὲ ἐλάσσων ἢ τὸ ο ἔχουσα, ὡς εἴναι αὐτὴν καὶ βραχεῖαν ἐν τοῖς τόνοις, ὡς ἐν τῇ Ὀμηροὶ Πρίαμοι καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα. ὁ δὲ Ἡρωδιανὸς τὸ ε μάλλον λέγει βραχύτερον ἀποδεικνύς οὕτως. φησὶ γὰρ πρὸς τὸν πατέρα τὸ οὐ δεῖ τὴν παραθέσει τοῦ ἰ ἐξετάζειν ἐκείνων τὴν δύναμιν ἀλλὰ κατ' ἰδίαν ἀνευ τινὸς παραθέσεως, καὶ μάλιστα τῆς τοῦ ἰ. τοῦτο γὰρ συγγενείαν τινα ἔχει πρὸς τὸ ε. καὶ δείκνυσιν ἐκ τοῦ τὴν ἐκφάνησιν τοῦ ἰ [that is ἰ] εἶναι ὄνομα τοῦ ε [that is ε = ἰ] γράμματος. τῷ συγγενεῖ οὖν προστεθὲν μεγάλην τινὰ καὶ δυναμικωτάτην διφθογγὸν ἀπετέλεσεν. τὸ δὲ ο, προσελθὼν τοῦ ὠ (ubi male ψ), οὐκ ἔχει συγ[ρ. 799]γένειαν οὐκ (read οὐδ') ἐνεδείξατο ὅλην τὴν αὐτοῦ δύναμιν. ὡς ἐπὶ παραδείγματος ἀνθρωπεῖον, ἵνα μάλλον καὶ σαφῶς αὐτὸ νοήσωμεν, εἰ τις ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ θάσσαιτο χρεῖαν ἔχοντα βοηθείας ὅλη τῇ ψυχῇ ὑπερασπίζει αὐτοῦ καὶ συμπράττει καὶ ὑπερμαχεῖ. ἀλλ' οὖν οὐχ ὅλη ψυχῇ ὑπὲρ ξένου τοῦτο ποιήσει, εἴ οὐ καὶ ἀδρανέστερα ἢ τῶν ἀμφοτέρων δύναμιν πρὸς τοὺς ἐξ ἐναντίας ὄψθη. οὕτως καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἰ νόησον ὅτι οὐχ ὁμοίως ἐπεδείξατο τὴν αὐτοῦ δύναμιν ὡς ἐπὶ τοῦ ε τοῦ συγγενούς. διὰ τοιούτων λόγων ὁ Ἡρωδιανὸς ἀποστρέψας τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς δόξαν ἐπιφέρει τοιαύτην δικαιολογίαν δεικνύς τὸ ε βραχύτερον ἐλεγχόμενον ὑπὸ τῆς κλίσεως τῶν ὀνομάτων. φησὶ δὲ ἀληθέστατον κανόνα τοιούτων, ὅτι πᾶσα κλητικὴ τῆς ἰδίας εὐθείας ἢ ἴση ἐστὶν ἢ ἐλάσσων, μείζων δὲ οὐδέποτε. ἡ γὰρ φυλάσσει τὸ τῆς τελευταίας συλλαβῆς φωνήεν καὶ δηλονύτι ἴση ἐστίν, ὡς ἀπὸ τοῦ (ὁ) Ξενοφῶν-ῶ Ξενοφῶν, ἡ καλῆ-ῶ καλῆ, τὸ παιδῶν-ῶ παιδιῶν· ἡ ἔαν μὲν τρέπη, οὔτε εἰς ἴσον οὔτε εἰς μείζον τρέπει αὐτὸ ἀλλὰ πάντως εἰς ἑλαττον· ὁ Ὀρέστης-ῶ Ὀρέστα (τὸ α τοῦ ἡ βραχύτερον), ὁ Μέμνων-ῶ Μέμνων (ἐπὶ μὲν τῆς εὐθείας τὸ α, ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς κλητικῆς τὸ ο), ὁ Ἀπόλλων-ῶ Ἀπόλλον, ὁ Ἀριστοφάνης-ῶ Ἀριστοφάνες. ἐπὶ τοῦ Ὀμηρος οὖν καὶ ἐπὶ πάντων τῶν εἰς -ος (ῆ) φυλάττει τὸ ο ἢ κλητικῇ ἢ ἔαν τρέπη αὐτό, ὥσπερ καὶ πρέπει, πάντως εἰς βραχύτερον τοῦ ο. ἐπειδὴ οὖν εἰς ε τρέπει δῆλον ὅτι βραχύτερόν ἐστι (τὸ ε?) τοῦ ο, ὅσον ὁ Ὀμηρος-ῶ Ὀμηρε.

h. Id. p. 800 Πάλιν τῶν δύο βραχέων βραχύτερον μὲν κατὰ Ἀπολλώνιον τὸ ο. φησὶ γὰρ ὅτι τὸ ε καὶ τὸ ο, εἰ προσθήσεις ἐν ἑκατέρῃ αὐτῶν τὸ ι, ποιήσεις δηλονότι δύο δ φθόγγους, καὶ ἡ μὲν ἐστὶ μακροτέρα ἢ τὸ ε ἔχουσα, . . . ἐν τέλει γὰρ λέξεσσι εὐρισκομένη ἢ οἱ διφθογγος διηλεκτικῶς συστήλλεται, ἡ δὲ εἰ οὐδέποτε. πρὸς δὲ φησιν Ἡρωδιανὸς ὅτι ὡσπερ (ἐφην ?) οὐ δεῖ τῇ παραθέσει τοῦ ι τὴν τοῦ ε καὶ ο δύναμιν ἐξετάζεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἰδίᾳ ἕκαστον αὐτῶν. ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος πρὸς αὐτῶν ὡ τέκνον, τίνι λόγῳ; καὶ φησιν ὅτι πᾶν στοιχεῖον ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ ἀρχεται, τὸ δὲ ι οὐκ ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ ἀλλὰ (ἀπὸ ?) τοῦ ε ὥστε συγγενὲς αὐτῷ ἐστὶ. τὸ δὲ συγγενὲς τὸ ἴδιον προσλαμβάνον μεγαλικοτάτην τινὰ διφθογγὸν ἀποτελεῖ. πρὸς δ' οὐκ ἔχει συγγένειαν προσλαμβάνον τὸ ο οὐχ οὕτως ἐπιβοηθεῖ ὥστε μεγάλην ἀποτελέσαι διφθογγον. διὰ τοῦτο οὐ δεῖ τῇ παραθέσει τοῦ ι ταῦτα ἐξετάζεσθαι. καὶ λοιπὸν ἀποδείκνυσιν Ἡρωδιανὸς τὸ ο βραχύτερον οὕτωςι λέγων, ὅτι πᾶσα κλητικὴ ἢ τὸν ἴσον χρόνον θέλει ἔχειν τῆς ἰδίας εὐθείας ἢ ἐλάττονα, οὐδέποτε δὲ μείζονα. ἐπεὶ δὲ εὐρίσκεται τὸ τῆς εὐθείας τελικὸν φωνῆν ὡς ἐν τῇ κύριος τρεπόμενον ἐπὶ τῆς κλητικῆς εἰς ε. βραχύτερον ἄρα ἐστὶ τὸ ε τοῦ ο. καὶ πότε ἰσοχρονεῖ ἡ κλητικὴ τῇ εὐθείᾳ, καὶ πότε βραχύτερον ἔχει χρόνον; ἡνίκα μὲν ἡ εὐθεῖα οὐ μεταβάλλει τὸ φωνῆν αὐτῆς ἰσοχρονεῖ τῇ κλητικῇ, ἡνίκα δὲ μεταβάλλει ἐλάττονα ἔχει χρόνον.

3. The actual existence as well as gradation of quantity in a living language can be easily perceived by any attentive observer. But with ancient and dead languages the case is very different. Here we have no means at our command of direct observation, except the indirect test of verse or *prosody*. Now comparative prosody (metrics) has established that the versification or rhythmical (metrical) speech in all languages, whether living or dead, must rest on one of the following three principles:

(a) The principle of treating language or uttered speech as mere matter and counting syllables as metrical units without regard to accent or quantity. In such a system, it is immaterial which syllables assume the accent or *ictus* for the expression of rhythm. We may call it the syllabic or, to translate the German term 'silbenzählend,' the *syllabometric* principle. It is represented in the Arian—old Indian or Vedic and Iranian—poetry (Vedas and [Zend-]Avesta).

(b) The *accentual* principle which rests the ictus on the accented syllable regardless of quantity. This system forms the basis of all versification in all Indo-European languages—excepting the few mentioned in the following (c) class.

(c) The *quantitative* principle in which versification rests on the natural quantity (shortness and length) of the syllables without regard to accent. This system underlies on the one hand the poetry of Sanskrit, and on the other the poetry of the ancient Greeks and their imitators, the Romans and Arabs (RWestphal, *Theorie*<sup>3</sup> iii. 36–38).

3b. Now this classification plainly shows that, if we leave aside Roman and Arabic verse as an imitation of Greek metre, the quantitative system of versification is virtually restricted to two solitary representatives: classical Greek and Sanskrit. It is the metrical prosody of these two languages that we have to consider.

4. In the very earliest specimens of Greek verse known to history, the Homeric poems, as they have come down to us, the practice of quantitative versification appears as a fully developed system, though by no means rigidly attended to<sup>[1]</sup>. And this system, too, is

[1] Even Martial remarks ironically that no licence was forbidden to the Greek poets: Epigr. 9, 13 'Dicunt "Eiarinon" tamen poetae, Sed Graeci quibus est nihil negatum et quos 'Apes "Apes decet sonare."—'The Homeric language shows an almost unlimited freedom in the use of long and short as occasion arises, and

relegated to subsequent classical antiquity and thence passes to the post-classical and Byzantine versifiers. The strict observation of such principle through all antiquity then would seem to settle the question. But here we must draw a line of qualification. We know, and the fact is incontrovertible, that post-classical speech, at least since Greco-Roman times, had lost all feeling of quantity (cp. *supra* 2 a ff.), and that quantitative versification ever since has been a purely artificial fabric. That is to say, all post-classical and Byzantine poets, such as Apollonios of Rhodes, Aratos, Callimachos, Lycophron, Menandros, Theocritos, Bion, Moschos, Oppianos, Manetho, the Anacreontea, Babrios, Nonnos, Musaios, Sibylla, Georgios Pisides, Theodoros of Crete, Leo Sapiens, Theodoros Prodromos, Gregory Nazianzenos, Agathias, Maximos Planudes—these and other more or less copious poets, like their Roman contemporaries, followed a purely artificial system alien to the nature of their native speech; which is the more significant when it is remembered that these versifiers laboured under the double disadvantage of painfully copying both the metre and diction of their classical predecessors, two elements surely extinct from the living language of their time.

5. In this way quantitative prosody is virtually restricted to the classical and archaic periods of Greek literature. It is here then that we must look for the key to a solution of the problem. Now in perusing Homer, and the tragedians with Aristophanes, we find that quantity with them consists in three classes of syllables: those 'naturally short,' those 'naturally long,' and those 'long by position.' We need not raise here objections to the rather misleading notion conveyed by the term 'naturally long,' on the ground that the classical dramatists and comedians were ignorant of such technical distinctions (*infra* 8). But we cannot pass over several other anomalies which must have struck every Greek student. I refer first to the frequent use in metre of long vowels and diphthongs as simple short vowels (as *Il. A* 299 οὔτε σῶ οὔτε τῷ ἄλλῳ, ἐπεὶ μ' ἀφέλεσθέ γε δόντες), then to the very common occurrence of combinations like σῶφρδῶς, σποῦδᾶζουσιν, ἡγάπησας, ξρήμος, κῆπος μού, νοῦς τινῶν, etc. which, if accent means anything, are physiologically impossible, or at any rate unnatural in actual speech (cp. *App. i.* 15, b). Nor can it be contended with more reason that the ancient Greeks made a perceptible distinction in pronunciation between ἀνιρότερος and μαρότερος, or σοφώτερος and κουφώτερος, between δικαιοσύνη and ἱεροσύνη. But above all I must refer to the singular and unnatural phenomenon of utter dissociation—and that chiefly in *A* verse—between metre and sense (*App. i.* 24). For we know that iambic verse in Greek makes no account whatever of the synactical or logical pause, since, with the rare exception of the bucolic diaeresis and the ἀπηρισμένον μέτρον (*RWestphal, Theorie iii.* 1, 134 ff. etc. & *Allg. Metrik* 386), the poet never aims at reconciling his metrical units or their members (lines, hemistichs, dipodies, feet, etc.) with the logical sentences or their subdivisions and members (final, middle, and sectional pauses)<sup>1</sup>.

that so, that the quantity is or is not represented by the script.' Kühner-Blass *i.* 308, 6.

[<sup>1</sup>] For the practice in other languages see *RWestphal, Theorie iii.* 1, 136 f.; also *Allg. Metrik* 386 ff.—For English verse see *EGuest, A History of English Rhythms* (ed. by *WWSkeat*, London, 1882), p. 144: 'There is no doubt, that our (grammatical) stops were at one time identical with our pauses. In the Anglo-Saxon poems we find the close of every sentence or member of a sentence,

Still more forced and unnatural is the case—the frequent case—when the poet forcibly disjoins the parts of a measure (foot) through a natural stop, and assigns them to two different sentences or even two interlocutors—as in dialogue—and furthermore squeezing them into metre by means of elision<sup>[1]</sup>, or aphaeresis, or even by anticipation and transposition of the aspiration. Or are we to believe that in dialogue the questioner knew prophetically both the nature of the reply to his question and the order of words, and so regulated accordingly the time (mora) in uttering his last syllable, or even snapped his interlocutor's initial aspiration? (cp. 171).

Soph. El. 1502: OP. ἀλλ' ἔρφ'. AI. ὑφηγοῦ. OP. σοὶ βαδιστέον πάρος.

Soph. O. T. 786 ἐκνιέ μ' αἰε τοῦθ' ὑφείρπει γὰρ πολὺ.

Soph. O. C. 883 XO. ἄρ' οὐχ ὕβρις τάδ'; KP. ὕβρις, ἀλλ' ἀνεκτέα.

Eur. Or. 1345 EPM. σῶθ' ὅσον γε τοῦτ' ἐμ'. HA. ὦ κατὰ στείγας—

Eur. Rhes. 157 ἦξω. 'πὶ τοῦτοισ τόνδ' ὑφίσταμαι πόνον.

Ar. Ran. 645 AI. ἦδη 'πάταξά σ'. ΞΑ. οὐ μὰ Δι'. AI. οὐδ' ἐμοὶ δοκῶ.

(So further: Od. μ 439. λ 441. Aesch. Pr. 482. Soph. Phil. 591. Eur. Cycl. 261. Or. 1345. Rhes. 157. Ar. Ran. 58, etc.);—<sup>[2]</sup>

5<sup>b</sup>. But even in the narrative, position between two words cannot have applied to actual speech, that is to the *ear*, because no man ever pre-arranges his words metrically before uttering them; he simply expresses his thoughts in words as they occur to him. The artificial character of metrical position is moreover shown by the fact that in cases of 'natural length' followed by two or more consonants, the accumulation of such consonants adds no extra length to the existing natural 'length'; and that in accentuation, a syllable 'long' by position is treated exactly as a naturally 'short' syllable, while the short diphthongs *ai* and *oi* form metrical length. Add finally that even the technical term 'length by position' (ἔχει μακρὰ συλλαβή) originally denoted 'rhythmical length' (89<sup>b</sup>), or, as others put it, 'length by (arbitrary) disposition', i.e. *institution* (by the poets), at any rate, 'length by convention.' (Cp. also RWestphal in Kühner-Blass i. 301, 3, and WChrist Metrik § 13).

6. So far then we already see—and we shall presently see more clearly—that versification with the Attic poets was founded not upon natural or intrinsic quantity. It was an artificial method<sup>[3]</sup> founded

coincident with a middle or final pause. In the works of Cædmon and other masters of the art, we find even the sectional pause so placed as to aid the sense.'—And p. 145: 'As a general rule, we may lay it down, that the final and middle pauses ought always to coincide with the close of a sentence or of some member of a sentence.'

<sup>[1]</sup> RWestphal, Theorie, iii. 1, 99 & Allg. Metrik 335; Kühner-Blass i. 301, 3 & A. 2.

<sup>[2]</sup> To cite a few more instances: Ar. Ran. 312 ΞΑ. οὗτος. ΔΙ. τί ἐστίν; ΞΑ. οὐ κατήκουσας; ΔΙ. τίως; so 184. 305. 632. 645. 653. 657. 1205. Aesch. 46. 402. 408. Soph. O. C. 539. 546. 832. etc. etc. Eur. Or. 1608–1626, etc.—Compare also the ἐπισυναλοιφή, so frequent in Sophocles, as: O. R. 29. 332. 785. 791. 1184. 1224. El. 1017. Ant. 1031. O. C. 77. 1164. Ar. Ran. 298. Av. 1716. Eccl. 351. A. P. 12, 73.

<sup>[3]</sup> Hence Euripides is represented by Aristophanes as using instruments (i.e. forced methods) in the construction of his verse. Ar. Ran. 956 (ἐδίδαξα) λεπτῶν τε κανόνων ἐσβολὰς ἐπὶ τῶν τεγωνισμοῖς. 797 τάλαντα μουσικῇ σταθμῆσεται. 799 καὶ κανόνας ἐξοίσουσι καὶ πήχεις ἐπὶ καὶ πλάισια ξύμνηκτα πλανθεύσουσί γε | καὶ διαμέτρους καὶ σφῆνας. ὁ γὰρ Εὐριπίδης | κατ' ἔπος βασιανειν φησι τὰς τραγωδίας.

upon precedent practice, a system developed in the course of previous antiquity and duly handed down to them. Indeed just as they served as canon and standard for all post-classical and Byzantine versifiers, so they were themselves pupils and followers of an ancestral system<sup>[1]</sup>, pupils and followers of Homer (Homerists). This being so, it is to the pre-classical or archaic period of Greek verse (Homer) that we must ultimately go back for the clue to the solution of the problem.

7. If we take a few representative specimens from Homer and compare them with similar specimens from classical Attic and dialectal compositions, we are at once struck by the diversity observable in the phonological structure of these representatives. In Homer we witness a very frequent succession of vowels. In Attic we observe a regular vowel contraction and unmistakable avoidance of heterosyllabic vowel sequences. In dialectal (Doric and Achaëic [Aeolic]) Greek, we notice a striking frequency of certain vowels (α ο ω ι), then a toleration of certain consonantal combinations inadmissible in classical Attic. Again if we turn to the old inscriptions, especially those of Attica, and examine their language, we find that they show regularly E and O there where our texts of Homer and the Attic poets now show ε η ει and ο ω ου respectively. In other words the sonants η ω ει ου—the principal exponents of quantity—are absent, or almost absent, from early Attic and previous Greek. A few specimens taken from among the older class of inscriptions will illustrate the case.

1. ESRoberts p. 78 (= IGA 492) : *Attica* (Sigeum) : 600-580 B.C.

N.B. An Ionic inscription in *prose* with a transcription and expansion into old Attic—both versions βουστροφῆδν, on the same stone.

a. *Ionic*: Φανοδικο | εμ το ρμοκ|ρατος το | Προκονη|σιο κρητη|ρα δε :  
και υποκ|ρητηριον : κ|ιι η|μον : ες π|ρυτανιον | εδωκεν : Συκε|υσιν.

b. *Early Attic*: Φανοδικο : εμ : το η|ερμοκρατες : το Προκο|νσιο : κατο :  
κρατερα | καπιστατον : και ηεθ|μον : ες πρυτανειον : ε|δοκα : μνεμα : Σιγε|υσσι :  
εαν δε τι πασχο μελεδαινε|ν : με ο Σιγεις : και μ επο|εισεν : ηαισπος :  
και : ηαδελφοι.

[c. In *later* or scholastic A spelling, ib. : Φανοδίκον εἰμὶ τοῦ Ἑρμοκράτους τοῦ Προκονησίου· κἀγὼ κρατῆρα κάπιστατον [χύπόστατον ?] και ἡθμόν ἐς πρυτανεῖον ἔδωκα μνήμα Σιγέουσιν. Ἐάν δέ τι πάσχω, μελεδαίνειν με, ὦ Σιγείς. και μ' ἐποίησεν Αἰσώπος καὶ ἀδελφοί.]

2. ESRoberts p. 65 (= IGA 407) : *Naxos* : VII-VI<sup>th</sup> B.C.—*Metrical*.

Νικανδρῃ μ ἀνεθεκεν κηβόλοι ιοχειρη  
Φορῃ Δεινοδικμ το Νησιο εἰσοχος αἰνον  
Δεινομεμενος δε κασιγνητῃ Φηραῆσο δ αλοχος μ . . .

[<sup>1</sup>] As a matter of course, ancient testimony to the artificial character of quantity is also not wanting altogether. Commenting on the passage of Dion. Thr. 632, 29 : μακρά συλλαβὴ γίνεται κατὰ τρυπούς ὅκτω, φύσει μὲν τρεῖς, θέσει δὲ πέντε—his Schol. expressly admits that such quantity is not fixed phonetically or physiologically, but merely rests on *tradition* : ib. 821, 25 ff. οὐχ ὥς ἔτυχε περὶ μακρᾶς συλλαβῆς λέγει ὁ τεχνικός τὰς ἐπεκτάσεις ἢ τὰς συστολάς τῶν συλλαβῶν γίνεσθαι, ἀλλὰ κατὰ παράδοσιν λέγει αὐτὰς γίνεσθαι, and 822, 2 : ἀρ' οὖν ἔξεστί μοι τὰς διφθόγγους καὶ τὰ δίχρονα διὰ παντὸς ἐκτείνειν ; λεκτέον ὅτι ἐν τοῖς μετρικοῖς τὰς διφθόγγους ἐκ παντὸς τρόπον, τὰ δὲ δίχρονα οὐκ εἰκὴ ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὴν παράδοσιν καὶ χρῆσιν τῶν παλαιῶν. So too 825, 28 : (ἡ βραχὺία συλλαβὴ) ἡ φύσει βραχὺία ὅντα τὰ φωνήεντα τὰς συλλαβὰς βραχύνει ἢ βραχυνόμενα τὰ δίχρονα, οὐ χυδῆν ἀλλὰ, καθάπερ ἐν τῷ περὶ μακρᾶς συλλαβῆς εἰρήκαμεν, τῇ χρῆσει προσ-έχοντες τῶν ποιητῶν.



3. ESRoberts p. 56 (= IGA 402) : *Paros* : VI<sup>th</sup> B. C.—*Metrical*.  
 Αρτεμι σῶι τοδε ἄγαλμα Τελεστώδι[κη ἀνέθηκεν]  
 Ασφαλίῳ μῆτηρ Θερσελεο θυγατηρ  
 Τῷ Παριῳ πώσημα Κριτονίδεο εὐχομ[αί εἶναι].
4. ESRoberts p. 74. *Attica* : VII<sup>th</sup> B. C. (Retrograde).—*Metrical*.  
 ος νυν ὀρχέστων παντὸν ἀταλῶτατα παίζει  
 το τοδε . . .
5. ESRoberts p. 76 (= CIA 463) : *Attica* : early VI<sup>th</sup> B. C.—*Metrical*.  
 [Εἰτ ἀστο]ς τις ἀνερ εἴτε κῆνος ἀλοθέν ἐλθον  
 Τετχον οἰκτιρας ἀνδρ ἀγαθον παριτο ;  
 ἐν πολέμοι φθιμένον νεῖραν ἦβεν ὀλεσάντα  
 ταυτ ἀποδυραμένοι κῆσθε ἐπὶ πραγμ ἀγαθον.
6. ESRoberts p. 79 (= CIA 469) : *Attica* : early VI<sup>th</sup> B. C.—*Metrical*.  
 Σμα Φρασικλείας κόρη : κελῆσομαι αἰεὶ  
 ἀντὶ γαμο παρα θεον τουτο λυχσο ονομα.
7. ESRoberts p. 86 (= CIA i. Suppl. 373 e) : *Attica* : after 527 B. C.—*Metrical*.  
 Μνημα τοδε ἔσ ἀρχες Πεισιωτρ[ατος Ἰππιο] υἱος  
 θεκεν Ἀπολλωνος Πυ[θιο] ἐν τεμενει.
8. OHoffmann ii. p. 48 : *Thessaly* : ± 500 B. C.—*Metrical*.  
 Μνημ ἐμὶ Πυριαδᾶ ἥος οὐκ ἐπιστάτο φεύγειν  
 ἀλ αὐθε περ γὰρ τασδε πολὺν ἀριστευόν εἶπανε.

7b. These specimens show very clearly that the (Attic) inscriptions previous to the Peloponnesian war, know no 'natural' quantity. What we find indicated in those of them which are metrical, is 'length by position,' and this 'position' virtually constitutes the principal indicator of quantity.—Add here by the way that the Cyprian dialect has no symbols for long vowels or syllables, but ignores natural 'quantity.' Likewise the Boeotian and Thessalian dialects know no η, but use εἰ instead; and Thessalian knows no ω, but uses ου instead.

8. As a matter of course there is not a word in the whole classical literature about quantity, as understood by us; nothing about short, long, or common syllables or vowels<sup>[1]</sup>, nor is there a Greek word for 'quantity'<sup>[2]</sup>; all these technical terms having made their first appearance in late grammatical treatises, that is in Greco-Roman times<sup>[3]</sup>. Let us then hold fast to this simple and indisputable fact: that the early and classical poets knew nothing of natural 'quantity' as understood by us; they only knew what constitutes the soul of poetry among all nations: they knew rhythm<sup>[4]</sup>, that is the regular recurrence of

[1] Plato's account of ι α ω manifestly refers to their external form or size, to the script. *Crat.* 426 E τῶ δ' αὖ ἰῶτα (ι) πρὸς τὰ λεπτὰ πάντα, ἃ δὲ μάλιστα διὰ πάντων ἴσι ἀν. διὰ ταῦτα τὸ ἵέναι καὶ τὸ ἴεσθαι διὰ τοῦ ἰῶτα ἀπομμεῖται. *ib.* 427 C τὸ δ' αὖ ἄλφα (α) τῶ μεγάλῳ ἀπέδωκε καὶ τῶ μῆκει τὸ ἦτα (η), ὅτι μεγάλα τὰ γράμματα. So *Phaedr.* 244 C ἦν (οἰονοιστικὴν) νῦν τῶ Ω σεμνύνοντες οἱ νέοι καλοῦσιν.

[2] The term χρόνος denotes time, tempus, mora, but not quantity in the current sense of prosody.

[3] Of course no account is taken here of *Arist. Poet.* 20-21, these chapters among many other passages being interpolations of some G-B grammarian.

[4] Rhythm was called ῥυθμός in so far as it referred to scanning, i. e. to the regular movement of the foot (ᾄσις and θέσις or βάσις); and ἀρμονία with reference to the voice. *Pl. Legg.* 605 A τῇ δὲ τῆς κινήσεως τάξει ῥυθμός δνομα

thesis and arsis, of ictus and fall, and this rhythm was indicated by the *προσῳδία* ('by-singing') or accent, 'scanning' <sup>[6]</sup>, the acute symbolizing the ictus or thesis, and the grave symbolizing the arsis or fall <sup>[6]</sup>. So they went by rhythm, which they naturally identified with music and thus called simply 'Musicians,' in special cases also 'Rhythmicians,' <sup>[7]</sup> the theorists whom we know as 'Metricians' since Alexandrian times <sup>[8]</sup>. This fundamental basis, this sole guide in verse, was indicated, as the earlier inscriptions show, by fixing its beat or ictus (thesis 85 ff. 89), by means of the acute (infra 16), upon a positional syllable. Now as the Greek language, even in its *A* period, is very poor in consonants and so cannot supply 'position' for every recurring ictus, the question, the great question arises: How did the Greek poets manage to indicate the rhythm in all the remaining measures of non-position? Philologists will of course give here again the time-worn reply that quantity was from the outset *inherent* to the language, and that the necessity of expressing it as well as some *new* sounds previously developed in the language led to the adoption of *η ω ει ου* etc. (28). But how can we conceive inherent quantity independent of, or rather antagonistic to, accent? And why should this intrinsic quantity be absent from the earlier inscriptions and then, though uniform by nature, be afterwards variously expressed in the various dialects? How are we to account for all these phenomena? On what principle and by what process could, for instance, \**μουτιζα, τὸν νόμον, ἐνς, \*ἐσμι, \*ἐνεμσα*, etc. become, by 'compensatory lengthening,' *μῶσα, τὸς νόμος, ἦς, ἡμι, ἐνημα*, etc. in Doric; *μοῖσα, τοῖς νόμοις, εἰς, ἔμμι, ἐνεμμα*, etc. in Aeolic; and *μῶσα, τοὺς νόμους, εἰς, εἰμί, ἐνεμα*, etc. in Ionic and Attic? What physiological agencies underlie this 'compensatory lengthening'? The account that the *lost* sound acts upon the preceding syllable by developing in it a new vowel sound (*ι υ*) or quantity (*η ω ᾱ ῑ ῡ*) is

εἴη, τῇ δὲ αὐτῇ φωνῇ, τοῦ τε ἑξέως ἅμα καὶ τοῦ βαρέως συγκεραυνυμένων, ἁρμονία ὕπομα προσαγορεύοιτο, χορεία δὲ τὸ ξυναμφοτέρων κληθεῖη. See below, note 8.

[<sup>6</sup>] That *προσῳδία* originally referred to verse and denoted no intrinsic or inherent quantity but the art of *scanning* is distinctly stated by our oldest grammarian Dion. Thr. § 2: ἀνάγνωσις ἐστὶ ποιημάτων ἢ συγγραμμάτων ἀδιάπτωτος προφορά. ἀναγνωστέον δὲ καθ' ὑπόκρισιν, κατὰ προσῳδίαν, κατὰ διαστολήν. ἐκ μὲν γὰρ τῆς ὑποκρίσεως τὴν ἀρετὴν. ἐκ δὲ τῆς προσῳδίας τὴν τέχνην, ἐκ δὲ τῆς διαστολῆς τὸν περιεχόμενον νοῦν ὁρῶμεν ἵνα τὴν μὲν τραγῳδίαν ἠρωϊκῶς ἀναγνῶμεν, τὴν δὲ κομφῳδίαν βιατικῶς, τὰ δὲ ἐλεγεία λιγυρῶς, τὸ δὲ ἔπος ἐντόνως, τὴν δὲ λυρικὴν ποιήσιν ἐμμελῶς, τοὺς δὲ οἰκτους ὑφεμένως καὶ γοερώς. [Mark that prose composition, though at first comprised, is now left out of account!] τὰ γὰρ μὴ παρὰ τὴν τούτων γινόμενα παρατήρησιν καὶ τὰς τῶν ποιητῶν ἀρετὰς καταρρίπτει καὶ τὰς ἑξείς τῶν ἀναγινωσκόντων καταγελάστους παρίστησι.

[<sup>7</sup>] As was to be expected, these two degrees of *προσῳδία* or rhythmical accent, the so-called *εξεία* or acute and the *βαρεία* or grave, are the only accentual terms known to classical antiquity, the remaining (eight) marks of *προσῳδία* having been invented by late theorists. See supra 1 and infra 16.

[<sup>8</sup>] Cp. Pl. Crat. 424 c οἱ ἐπιχειροῦντες τοῖς ῥυθμοῖς, and again ib. οἱ δεῖνοι περὶ τούτων. [Pl. Hipp. mai. 285 D. Hipp. min. 368 D. Ar. Nub. 634 & 646.]

[<sup>9</sup>] Loncin. Fr. 3, 1 *ῥυθμὸν δὲ πατὴρ ῥυθμὸς καὶ θεός. ἀπὸ ῥυθμοῦ γὰρ ἔσχον τὴν ἀρχήν, θεὸς δὲ τὸ μέτρον ἀπεφθέγγετο*. Rhythm is based on a number of syllables grouped together under one measure or foot. Bacch. 93 *κατὰ Φαιδρον ῥυθμὸς ἐστὶ συλλαβῶν κειμένων πως πρὸς ἀλλήλας ἑμμετρος θέσις*. Arist. Metaph. B. 1, 7 (*μέτρον*) *ἐν ῥυθμοῖς βάσις ἢ συλλαβή*. Aristox. Rhyth. 2, 16 *ὃ δὲ σημαινόμεθα τὸν ῥυθμὸν καὶ γνώριμον ποιούμεν πούς ἐστιν εἰς ἢ πλείους ἐνός*. Arist. Quint. 34 *πούς ἐστὶ μέρος τοῦ παντὸς ῥυθμοῦ δι' οὗ τὸν ὅλον καταλαμβάνομεν. τούτου μέρη δύο, ἀρσις καὶ θεσις*. See also above note 4.

an empty phrase analogous to the mediaeval axiom *natura abhorret vacuum*. For how can physiologically a *lost* (consonantal) sound *reappear*, and that not in the same place but in a different place (sometimes even in the preceding or following syllable), and in the form of a *vowel*, thus affecting the *quality* of the syllable? (Cp. \*τεκταινω τεκταίνω, \*λεγονται λεγούσι λέγουσι.) True, some authorities seeing the abnormality of the phenomenon argue that the developed vocalic substitute is 'silent' or 'mute.' But how can a *lost* sound *reappear* in a *silent* or *mute* form? Or is there any meaning in the so-called metathesis of quantity? (Cp. πόλεος πόλεως πόλμος, ἱερά ἱερά, ἱλαος ἱλαός.) These phenomena, which constitute a great problem in the Greek language, will be discussed here by laying under contribution the following data:

- a. The phonological interrelation of the various phases (dialects) and stages of archaic and classical Greek;
- b. A series of rhythmical phenomena observed in Greek verse;
- c. A number of striking analogies and affinities, established by comparative philology, between Greek and other ancient languages, in particular Old Indian and Latin;
- d. Certain historical data hitherto misinterpreted;
- e. The artistic or aesthetic principle underlying Greek writing, as explained in 25°.

9. In every language the tendency generally is to shorten the words by what is styled in Greek grammar *aphaeresis*, *hyphaeresis*, *contraction*, *synizesis*, *syncope*, *elision*, and *apocope*. Now if a written composition is not fixed from the outset by means of *engraving* or *printing*, it is obvious that, in progress of time, its original constitution or diction will suffer gradual phonetic changes in the above sense. These changes, however, forming as they do part of the slow process of the growth of language, escape our observation. But if the original composition happens to have been metrical, the phonetic alterations suffered in years after cannot fail to tell on its original metre or rhythm. Here then the necessity arises for restoring or rather indicating the disturbed rhythm by having recourse to some artificial expedient, that is by filling up the vacant places, a process which we are wont to call *compensatory lengthening* (*antectasis*), *contraction*, *crasis*, etc., all of which are virtually nothing else than various manifestations of one and the same principle: *metrical compensation*. It is exactly with this phenomenon that the Greeks were confronted when, after their national consolidation during the VII<sup>th</sup> B.C. (4<sup>b</sup>), they awoke to the necessity of adopting a system of national education. Their ancestral literature, which naturally served as basis of their educational system, was all in *verse* (Homer), verse composed long ago and therefore phonetically changed and metrically disturbed. Consequently schoolmasters who had to expound to their pupils not only the subject-matter and aesthetic part of the poetry, but also its metrical and grammatical structure, found that the current versions had been affected by the changes of the languages, in particular by the loss of certain sounds, and thus presented many metrical and grammatical anomalies which had to be explained or rather indicated in the interest of scholars or pupils. Accordingly teachers and commentators (Homerists) now began to mark the affected parts or syllables with conventional signs, such simple signs as would not interfere with the sense, form, sound or aesthetic appearance of the text,

and yet serve as visible indicators of the underlying phonetic changes. In Achæic (Aeolic) communities<sup>[1]</sup> the conventional marks resorted to were either a doubling of the *adjoining* (preceding or following) consonant ('compensatory doubling'), as: \*ἴσμι ἴμμι, \*ἄσμεσ ἄμμεσ, \*ἐννυμι ἐννυμι, \*ὀλοφυρίζω ὀλοφύρρω, \*κρινῶ κρίνω, \*κτενῶ κτένω, \*φθερίζω φθέρρω, \*ξενίος ξέννος, \*στενίος στέννος (= Δ στενός); cp. Doric \*δικαδῶ δικαδῶ, δικάζω, \*θεριδῶ θεριδῶ (θερίζω); then Attic θάρσος θάρ'ος θάρρος, ἄρσσην ἄρ'ην ἄρρην, μυρσίνη μυρίνη μυρρίνη, \*μαλζον μάλ'ον μᾶλλον, \*φυλζην, φύλ'ον φύλλον, ἀλζος ἀλ'ος ἄλλος (cp. μικρός, Doric μικ'ός μικρός), \*μελιτζά \*μελιτσα whence μελιτ'α μελιττα and μελιτσα μελίσσα, etc.—or a vertical (straight) stroke |, inserted not into the precise place of the lost sound (which could not be always traced) but into the metrically affected syllable, whether preceding or following;—an epenthetic stroke suggested by its natural simplicity<sup>[2]</sup>, by its already established use as a divisor or mark of punctuation (e.g. in inscriptions of Crete, Thera, etc.), possibly also by its use as I-ascript in the spurious diphthongs (20<sup>ff</sup>). That this epenthetic stroke may have been used also as a divisor between heterosyllabic vowels analogous to the later diacritic marks placed over ι and υ in MS texts, is of course very probable (20<sup>6</sup>). On this principle, when original α ε ο υ occurred before a missing sound (consonant) and thus had lost their 'positional length,' they came to be marked αι εοι υι, and so gave birth to these hysterogeneous diphthongs. That the ι here was originally mute and the hysterogeneous diphthongs retained for a time the phonetic value (quality and quantity) of their simple parents α ε ο υ, is self-evident<sup>[3]</sup>. Accordingly Achæic (Aeolic) τὰς ἀρχαίς is an hysterogeneous and prosodic (metrical) development from original τὰν ἀρχάν, and so stands for τὰ's ἀρχά's; τὰς δίκαις for (τὰν δίκαν) τὰ's δικά's, μέλαις for (μέλαν) μέλα's, ἱσταίμ for (ἱστανμ) ἱστα'μ, πάς for (\*παντ, παν's) πᾶ's, λύσαις for (\*λυσαντ λυσαν's) λυσα's, ἱσταίς for (\*ἱσταντ ἱσταν's) ἱστα'ς, φᾶσι for (\*φαντσι φαν'σι) φα'σί, κλάω for (\*κλαφῶ \*κλα'ῶ) κλά'ω;—ἔις for (ένς) ἔ'ς=εἰς; τιθεῖς for (\*τιθεντς τιθεν's) τιθῆ'ς, ἐνεῖμα for (\*ένεμσα) ἐνεμ'α, ἔστειλα for (\*έστελσα) ἔστελ'α, ἐφθεῖρα for (\*έφθερα) ἐφθερ'α, πάτερ for (\*πατερς) πατέρ', σάτερ for (\*σωτερια) σώτερ'α, κρέιττων for (\*κρετῶν i.e. \*κρετσων) κρέτ'ων; κρέισσων for (\*κρετσων) κρέ'σων; cp. τιθεῖμι, ἐπέμεισε, ποέμιας, εὐγένεις (=νέγες, ἔι (=ῆ), μέγ (=μῆ);—τόις=τούς for (τόνς) τό's, μόισα for \*μοντῖα) μώ'σα, ἔχοισα for (\*έχοντσα \*έχον'σα) έχο'σα, φέροισι for (\*φεροντσι φερουν'σι) φερο'σι; so too μόισα for (\*μορῖα) μόρ'α.

10. Actuated by similar considerations, the Ionians also adopted certain compensatory (prosodic) symbols, viz. the Achæic (Aeolic) εἰ for original ε', then ου (i.e. ΟΥ) for Aeolic οἰ (=original ο'),—whence the names εἰ οὐ of the letters ε and ο—while α before a missing sound, that is α', was retained as compensated ᾱ. Accordingly φαεινός, ξένος, ἔμμεκα (from \*ένφεκα), τόνς νόμους, μόισα, έχοισα, but μέλα's, πᾶ'σα, φα'σί. In the same way, Doric communities adopted η, that is E joined with

[1] The order adopted here is Aeolians (Achæans), Ionians, Dorians, Athenians, —but it is immaterial to our present purpose whether we credit the one race rather than the other with the priority in the use of the rhythmical or prosodic system.

[2] Such a stroke | could not then be confounded with iota, as the latter had, at that archaic period, the forms ῖ ῥ or Σ.

[3] On this point KBrugmann (Curt. St. iv, 82 ff.) and after him GMeyer are certainly right in holding against FBlass that hysterogeneous εἰ 'originally' had not the value of a diphthong among the Athenians and Ionians, but was only an orthographic expression of ε. (FBlass. Pron. 31.)

I to Η (later H), for ε', as: ἡμί for (\*έσμι) ε'μί, ἦς for ε'ς = εἰς, πλῆστος for (\*πλεῖστος) πλε'στος (cp. τίθημι, ἐπόησε, ποητάς, ἦ, μή, εὐγενής with Achaëic τίθειμι, ἐπάεισε, ποίetas, εἰ, μέι, εὐγένης); then Ω, probably O underlined with the stroke (Ω), for Achaëic OI or Ionic OY, as: τὼς νόμως for (τὸνς νόμους) τὸ'ς νόμω'ς, μῶσα for (\*μονία) μὸ'σα, διδῶσι for (διδόνσι) διδῶ'σι, ἀγῶσα for (ἀγόνσα) ἀγὸ'σα, βωλά for (βόλλα) βολ'ά, κῶρος for (κορφο) κὸρ'ος. [But also written τὸς προξένος, τὸς θεός, τὸς νόμος, τὸς Αἰγυπῖος, τὰς παρθένος, etc. in old inscriptions! OHoffmann i. 210, ii. 476; KBrugmann<sup>2</sup> 69; Kühner-Blass i. 168.]

11. At last the Athenian schoolmasters also saw the necessity of adopting such conventional symbols in the interest of their schools, and the more urgently as their own (Attic) dialect had, both phonetically and grammatically, departed the most from the original or pro-ethnic form of the Homeric diction, and so exhibited the most disturbing anomalies. What principle they initiated is not clear, though the earliest inscriptions recovered, which go as far back as the VII<sup>th</sup> B. C., show a few instances of 'compensatory' ε for ε, and ου for ο. However we know that, about the middle of the VI<sup>th</sup> B. C., they had for dictator (τύραννος) Peisistratos, a man of superior genius, ability and light, a ruler who promoted the interests and welfare of the people by affording facilities to the rural and commercial classes, by founding tribunals, by laying aqueducts, by erecting fine temples, and even a public library, etc.<sup>[1]</sup> We further hear of him in connexion with Homer. That Peisistratos did not institute a collection, redaction, or edition of Homer is now universally admitted. But that he did something in connexion with the Homeric poems is too strongly attested by historical tradition to be altogether dismissed as a pure figment of post-classical antiquity. What he did then was apparently an attempt to have the Homeric text normalized in the interest of the Athenian schools. So we hear that he appointed a commission of scholars—Onomacritos of Athens, Zopyros of Heraclea, Orpheus of Croton (to pass over the corrupted fourth name)—with instructions to draw up a rational and practicable system of normal spelling calculated to facilitate the reading at school of the national or standard texts (Homer, Hesiod, Archilochos, etc.)<sup>[2]</sup>.

[1] On Peisistratos' character and work see Hdt. i. 59. Th. 6, 54. Arist. Pol. 8 12, 2 (= p. 229, 32); 'Αθην. πολ. 162 ff. Plut. Sol. 31.—Also AHolm, Gr. Hist. i. 408 ff. & 419.—Gellius N. A. 6, 17 libros Athenis disciplinarum liberalium publice ad legendum praebebendos primus posuisse dicitur Pisistratus tyrannus. Cp. Lib. I 3 A.

[2] It is this orthographic normalization for school purposes that is alluded to, with an allowable rhetorical exaggeration, by Cicero, our oldest authority on the subject. De Orat. 3, 34: sed ut ad Graecos referam orationem, septem fuisse dicuntur uno tempore, qui sapientes et haberentur et vocarentur. Hi omnes praeter Milesium Thalen civitatibus suis praefuerunt. Quis doctior eisdem illis temporibus et cuius eloquentia litteris instructor fuisse traditur quam Pisistrati? qui primus Homeri libros confusus antea sic dispositos dicitur ut nunc habemus? non fuit ille quidem civibus suis utilis sed ita eloquentia floruit ut litteris doctrinisque praestaret.—That later writers and scribes should fail to see the importance of such an educational measure, and so endeavour to improve or clear it by raising it to the more memorable and more palatable legend that Peisistratos had collected and edited the hitherto scattered fragments of Homer (Bekk. An. 768. Jos. c. Ap. 1, 2. Plut. Thes. 20, 3. Ael. V. H. 13, 14. Paus. 7, 26, 6. Diog. Laert. i. 57. Liban. ad Jul. i. 385. Eust. ad Il. i. A p. 5. ad Il. K p. 785. Bekk. An. 767. Villos. ii. 182. JCramer An. i. 6. HKeil in Rhein. Mus. vi. n. r. 108 ff. & 243 ff. ib. 118), need not surprise us: it well agrees with the spirit and character of those uncritical ages which wanted something more substantial, more heroic, more gratifying, than an abstract or indirect service to public education. For had Peisistratos actually made a collection or redaction of Homer; or had

12. What were the results arrived at by the above commission, and whether their recommendations met with immediate application at school, is impossible to ascertain, the whole matter having been lost sight of in the midst of the political convulsions of those times: three (or one?) downfalls and restorations of the Peisistratæan dynasty, then Persian wars,—that is, political events which absorbed the interest of all contemporary and subsequent annalists and historians. Nevertheless it is a significant fact that even in the contemporary and subsequent Attic inscriptions we meet with a sporadic beginning of a new spelling—among poets probably adopted by Simonides of Ceos (Plin. H. N. 7, 56, 57; Schol. Dion. Thr. 780 f.), pointing to a compromise of the above orthographic systems initiated in Achaëic (Aeolic), Ionic, and Doric communities. Accordingly, when representing a rhythmical or grammatical length, E now begins to figure in the Attic inscriptions as EI (later on as  $\Xi$  or H, identified with EI), while O figures as OY (later on as  $\alpha$  or  $\Omega$ , evidently identified with OO). The phenomenon, however, appears only in sporadic cases, the old orthography (*γράμματα ἀρχαία, παλαιά, Ἀττικά, ἐπιχώρια*) remaining in universal practice down to the middle of the V<sup>th</sup> B. C. It is only since this time, when grammar had become a powerful factor in general education<sup>[1]</sup>, that the scholastic (Peisistratæan?) spelling and herewith the hitherto technical or compensatory symbols I H  $\Omega$ —being now mistaken for real phonetic symbols—forced their way into ordinary writing (hence the confusion of E and H, O and  $\Omega$ , 26), and only since the year 403 B. C., under the archonship of Euclides, that the new spelling obtained, by a public act, official recognition or formal sanction<sup>[2]</sup>. It may be added here by

he materially meddled with the constitution of the text, that is with the subject-matter and language of the national poet, how could possibly such a momentous event or such a sacrilege have passed off unrecorded or unnoticed not only by classical antiquity which so often quotes Homer, but even by the very Alexandrian Homerists Zenodotus, Aristophanes, Aristarchos, Aristonicoi, Didymos?

[1] That by this time grammar—conceived in a philosophic spirit—had risen to be a favourite subject among theorists (sophists, philosophers) and writers, is sufficiently borne out by contemporary sources. Even special works on higher grammar or philology are expressly mentioned, as a treatise of Gorgias *περὶ ὀνομάτων*, another of Protagoras *περὶ ὁρθοεπείας*, another of Prodicos *περὶ ὀνομάτων ὁρθότητος*, and another of Democritos *περὶ Ὀμήρου ὁρθοεπείας καὶ γλωσσίων* (from which Callimachos compiled his *Πινὰς τῶν Δημοκρίτου γλωσσίων*), even *περὶ εὐφώνων καὶ δυσφώνων γραμμάτων* (Diog. Laert. 9, 7, 48). This grammatical speculation is moreover illustrated by Plato's etymological disquisitions in his Cratylus, to pass over Aristophanes (Ran. 818–829) and Euripides (Et. M. 92, 25). Compare also 29<sup>th</sup> [2].

[2] The rather obscure story of this public act, that a bill was introduced by Archinos of Athens and carried, to the effect that the Athenians should henceforth use (officially also) the Ionic script, rests on the following two passages: Suid. a. v. Σαμίον ὁ δῆμος: *παρὰ Σαμίους εὐρέθη πρῶτος τὰ κβ' γράμματα ὑπὸ Καλλιστράτου, ὡς ἄνδρῶν ἐν τρίποδι. τοὺς δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐκείσε χρῆσθαι τοῖς τῶν Ἰάνων γράμμασιν Ἀρχίνοιο δ' Ἀθηναίου (sic) ἐπὶ ἀρχοντος Εὐκλείδου. . . . περὶ δὲ τοῦ πείσαντος ἱστορεῖ Θεόπομπος.* Schol. Ven. ad Il. II. 185 Καλλίστρατος δ' ὁ Σάμιος ἐπὶ τῶν Πελοποννησιακῶν ταύτην μετένεγκε τὴν γραμματικὴν (script) καὶ παρέδωκεν Ἀθηναίους, ὡς φησιν Ἐφορος. Bekk. An. 783, 26 ἄλλοι παρ' ἄλλους εἰσὶ χαρακτῆρες τῶν στοιχείων. οἱ δὲ νῦν χράμεθα εἰσὶν Ἰωνικοί, εἰσενέγκαντος Ἀρχίνου παρὰ Θεβαίων (read παρ' Ἀθηναίων) ψήφισμα τοὺς γραμματιστάς ἔχοντος τοὺς διδασκάλους παιδεύειν τὴν Ἰωνικὴν γραμματικὴν ἔχοντα τὰ γράμματα. Compare also Plut. Arist. 1 ὡς ἐλέγχει τὰ γράμματα τῆς μετ' Εὐκλείδην γραμματικῆς. Then Schol. ad Eur. Phoen. 68a σοὶ νῦν ἔχοντο: γράφεται εἰ μὴ ἐκρύβω πτίσαν, ἢ ᾗ τῷ ἐκρύβω σοι, τῷ Κάλμω αἱ θεαὶ κατέκτισαν τὰς Θήβας. γίγνοντο δὲ περὶ τὴν ἀρχαίαν γραφὴν ἀμάρτημα. ἐπ' ἀρχοντος γὰρ Ἀθήρην Εὐκλείδου μήτε

the way that, with the incorporation into the alphabet of the new symbols, a new system of orthography was created into which all previous literary and many inscriptional compositions had to be transliterated. Such a proceeding was naturally attended by considerable confusion and misinterpretation traceable even in our present texts<sup>[1]</sup>.

13. This official act then marks the completion of the Attic and afterwards Panhellenic alphabet. It denotes the ultimate stage of a process or rather practice which had originated long before at school, and which in progress of time had found its way into common life. It cannot be termed a 'spelling reform,' as some authorities represent it; for were it a reform, that is a systematic and abrupt remodelling of the Greek orthography on any principle<sup>[2]</sup>, such an event involving the change of the entire system, and thus affecting not only public instruction but also social intercourse, could not possibly have passed off without meeting with some public remonstrance or criticism; such a revolutionary measure would have been duly emphasized and commented upon by contemporary historians and annalists; nor could it have failed to elicit the censure of contemporary satirists (Aristophanes etc.). But because it was a mere ratification of accomplished facts, it passed off quietly and without public stir. As a matter of fact, a systematic change of the orthographic system,—an orthographic reform instituted by some authority or some body of men—has never taken place in the whole history of the Greek language. Nor is there any proof or probability that the Greeks ever since the dawn of classical antiquity have consciously followed the phonetic principle.

τῶν μακρῶν εὐρημένον, τοῖς βραχέσιν ἀντὶ τῶν μακρῶν ἐχρῶντο, τῷ ε ἀντὶ τοῦ η καὶ τῷ ο ἀντὶ τοῦ ω. ἔγραφον οὖν τὸ δῆμα μετὰ τοῦ ι, δῆμοι· μὴ νοήσαντες δὲ καὶ ὅτι κατὰ τὴν ἀρχαίαν γραφὴν καὶ δεῖ μετατεθεῖναι τὸ ο εἰς τὸ ὦ μέγα ἐτάρασαν τὸ νοητόν.—The meanness, incidental character and confusion of the account clearly indicates that the public decree alluded to made no impression upon the Athenian public, but passed off almost unnoticed, that is as a mere formal sanction of an accomplished fact, as a mere recognition of a spelling system already familiar to the people.

[1] Of such a transliteration we have proofs: *Direct* in the express remarks of Aristonico in A 104; Schol. Town. H 238. Porphyr. Quæst. 8 p. 287 (Schrader on § 127); α 52;—where ο is confounded with ω. For ε and η Schol. § 241; α 275. For ι and η α 252.—*Indirect* in the misspelling of κερουσίαν for κερουσίαν (η 107), ὠλεσίκαρπος for οὐλεσίκαρπος (κ 512), περιώσιος for περιούσιος (Δ 359; π 203), ναιετάωσαν for ναιετάουσαν etc. ἀρίωσι for ἀρίουσι (ι 108), δηύωσαν for δηύοιεν (δ 226; so A 153, N 675) δημοσιχάει for δημοι στιχάει (O 635), ἐπιδημίου δερυνέντος for ἐπιδημίος κρυέντος (I 64), κακομηγάνου δερυνόεσης for -νου κρ. (Z 344), ἔγρετο λαός for ἔγρετο (H 434, Ω 789), ὠμωστής for ὠμωστής, etc. (PCauer Hom. 76 ff.),—then in the misspelling of μέν and δέ for μέν and δέ (1744 f.); and in the numerous cases of the so-called 'distraction' (as ὁράεις: ὁράς, ὁράς). The same holds true also of the subjunctives ἴομεν, γνώομεν, φθίεται, δαμῆτε, εἶδομεν, etc. (for ἴομεν, γνώομεν, φθίηται, δαμήητε, εἶδομεν, etc.), which are now explained away by forced methods. See also preceding note.

[2] FBlass Pron. 10 'Now it is actually the case that in Attica towards the close of the fifth century [a.c.] the entire system was absolutely changed. Here was the opportunity in those cases where the living sound had here and there deviated from the writing, to bring them again into harmony. Moreover since the Athenians and also the other races did not yet [?] possess any grammarians or etymologists to attach importance to a historical mode of writing, the only principle which could have weight was the phonetic.' All this reasoning is invalidated by the above historical evolution of Greek orthography, then by the fact that grammatical or philological speculation was a favourite subject with the philosophers and sophists as early as the V<sup>th</sup> a.c. See above, 12 [1].

14. Now let us see how far the above historical account agrees with, or explains, the phenomena of Greek phonopathy and prosody. Of course I need not discuss here the principles of aphaeresis, hyphaeresis, syncope, elision, and apocope, seeing that these are cases of phonetic loss pure and simple, a loss which at the very outset was implied by the author and so does not affect the nature or quantity of the remaining syllables. We are concerned here only with the phenomena of contraction (including crasis, also metathesis of quantity) and antectasis. Regarding contraction, we should remember that it appears fully effected first in Attic, then in Doric, but is largely dispensed with in Achaëic and Ionic. On the other hand, as Doric and Achaëic admit of several consonantal complexes (e. g. *νσρσ*) they show no antectasis in these cases. Note finally that antectasis is altogether absent from the Achaëic of Thessaly and Asia Minor.

A. *Prosodic compensation for a lost vowel : CONTRACTION*  
(including *Crasis* and *Metathesis of Quantity*).

PRO-ETHNIC FORM	REDUCED FORM (in early inscript.)	RHYTHMICALLY COMPENSATED FORM (after 400 B.C.)			
		Achaëic (Aeolic)	Doric	Ionic	New Attic & Panhellenic
<i>αα :</i> γεραφα Ἀθαφα τὰ ἄλλα	γερα' Ἀθενα' τ' ἄλλα	γερά Ἀθάνᾱ (τ' ἄλλα)	γέρᾱ Ἀθάνᾱ τ' ἄλλα	γέρᾱ Ἀθηνᾱ τ' ἄλλα	γέρᾱ Ἀθηνᾱ τ' ἄλλα
<i>εε :</i> δέετε βασιλεφες ἐφεχες ἐφεςθιον φερεεν	δε' τε βασιλ' ες ἐ' χες ἐ' σθιον φερε' ν	(βασίλῃες) ἤχες ἥσθιον φέρην	δῆτε ῆχες ῆσθιον φέρην	δέεττε βασιλῆες εἰχες ῆσθιον φέρεμ	δέεττε βασιλῆς, - λεις εἰχες ῆσθιον φέρειν
<i>ιι :</i> διφιος πόλυ	δι' ος πολι'	διος πόλι	διος πόλι	διός πόλι	διος
<i>οο :</i> νοφος δηλόομεν λυσσο	νο' s δηλο' μεν λυκο'	(νόος) δηλωμεν λύκοιο	νώs δηλώμεν λύκω	νώs δηλῶμεν λύκοιο	νόους δηλοῦμεν λύκον
<i>αε :</i> τιμάετε σιγάεν γαα	τιμᾶ' τε σιγα' ν γαα	τιμᾶ' τε σίγα' ν γᾶ	τιμᾶ' τε σιγ' ἦν γᾶ	τιμᾶ' τε σιγα' ν	τιμᾶ' τε σιγ' ἄν
ἄφελιος τὰ ἐν ὄραφε	ἄ' λιος -ελιος τα' ν ὄρα' ὄρ' ε	ἄ' λιος τά' ν ὄρα	ἄ' λιος τά' ν ὄρη	γέα -ῆλιος -ῆλιος τά' ν ὄρα ὄρη	γῆ -ῆλιος -ῆλιος τά' ν, τὰν ὄρα
<i>αι :</i> Ἀλκμαφον τιμάομεν γελαφονσα ταον	Ἀλκμα' ν τιμᾶ' μεν τιμ' ομεν γελα' σα γελ' οσα τα' ν τ' ον	Ἀλκμαν τιμᾶ' μεν γελα' ισα τα' ν	Ἀλκμᾶν τιμᾶ' μες γελ' ὠσα τ' ἄν	τιμ' ὠμεν γελ' ὠσα τ' ὠν	τιμ' ὠμεν γελ' ὠσα τ' ὠν



	PRO-ETHNIC FORM	REDUCED FORM (in early inscript.)	RHYTHMICALLY COMPENSATED FORM (after 400 B.C.)			
			Achaëic (Aeolic)	Doric	Ionic	New Attic & Panhellenic
	χωρων	χωρᾶ'ν χωρ'ων	χωρᾶ'ν	χωρᾶ'ν	χωράων χωρ'ων	χωρ'ων
ea :	ἐφαρος	ἐρος	ἦρος	ἦρος	ἦρος	ἦρος
	τευχεα Ἑρμεφας βασιλεφα	τευχε' Ἑρμέ'ς βασιλέ'α	βασιλεμα	τεύχη' βασιλέῳ	(τεύχεα) Ἑρμέμας βασιλιηα	τεύχη' Ἑρμή'ς βασιλέᾱ
eo :	σεφο	σε'ν σ'ο	σεῦ	τε(ο)ῦ	σέυ, σέμο σ'ου	σού
	φραζεο	φραζε'ν φραζ'ο	φράζευ	φράζευ	φράζεο	φράζου
	*γενεφος	γενέ'ς γεν'ος	γένευσ	γένεος	γένεος, -ευσ	γέν'ους
	βασιλεφος φιλομεν φρονεονσα	βασιλέ'ος φιλ'ομεν φρον'ό'σα	βασιλειος	βασιλέ'ως φιλωμες φρονώσα	βασιλιηος φιλέομεν φρονεύσα, -έουσα	βασιλέως φιλούμεν φρονούσα
oa :	προφatos	προ'τος πρ'ατος	πρω'τος	— πρ'ατος	πρω'τος	πρωτος —
	ό άνήρ	ό'νηρ -άνήρ	ώνηρ	— άνήρ	ώνήρ	άνήρ
oe :	δηλοετε ιεροφergos αμεινοes ριγοen τό έμόν τό έργον	δηλο'τε ιερó'ργος αμεινω'ς ριγω'ν το'μον το'ργον	τῶμον τῶργον	δηλω'τε ιερó'ργός αμεινω'ς ριγω'ν τῶμόν τῶργον	δηλοῦτε ιερourγός αμεινους ριγουν, -ων τουμόν τουργον	δηλοῦτε ιερourγός αμεινους ριγών, -ων τουμόν τουργον

## B. Prosodic compensation for a lost consonant : ANTECTASIS.

	PRO-ETHNIC FORM	REDUCED FORM (in early inscript.)	RHYTHMICALLY COMPENSATED FORM			New Attic & Pan- hellenic
			Achaëic(Aeolic)	Doric	Ionic	
AN :	*όλνυμι *βολνομαι	όλ'νυμι βολ'ομαι	όλλυμι βόλλομαι	όλλυμι βώλλομαι	όλλυμι βούλλομαι	όλλυμι βούλλομαι
NP :	παρρησια συρράπτω	πα'ρησια συρ'ραπτω	παρρησια συρράπτω	παρρησία συρράπτω	παρρησίη συρράπτω	παρρησία συρράπτω
NΛ :	συλέγω	συ'λέγω	συλλέγω	συλλέγω	συλλέγω	συλλέγω
NΦ :	ξενφος	ξεν'ος	ξένγος	ξη'νος	ξέμος	ξένος

	PRO-ETHNIC FORM	REDUCED FORM (in early inscript.)	RHYTHMICALLY COMPENSATED FORM			New Attic & Panhellenic
			Achaëic (Aeolic)	Doric	Ionic	
AC :	*έστελσα	έστελ'α	ἔστέλλα	ἔστηλα	ἔστείλα	ἔστειλα
PC :	*χερς θάρσος	χερ' θάρ'ος	χῆρ θάρρος	χῆρ θάρμος	χείρ θάρρος	χείρ θάρρος
MC :	*ένεμσα	ένεμ'α	ἔνεμμα	ἔνημα	ἔνειμμα	ἔνειμα
NC :	τὰνς δίκανς πάνσα τιθενσα ἀκογσας ένς μενς *έκρινσα τοὺς, αὐτοὺς διδόνσα	τὰς δικάς πά'σα τιθέ'σα ἀκόγσας έ'ς μέ'ς έκριν'α τό'ς, αὐτο'ς διδό'σα	τὰς δικάς πά'σα τίθεςα ἀκόγσας έ'ς μέ'ς έκριννα τό'ς, αὐτο'ς διδό'σα	τὰνς δικανς πά(ν)σα, πᾶσα) τιθένσα ἀκόγσας έ'ς μῆς έκριννα τὼς αὐτὼς διδῶσα	τὰς δικάς πᾶσα τιθέ'σα ἀκόγσας έ'ς μεις (μῆν) έκριννα τοὺς αὐτοὺς διδούσα	τὰς δικάς πᾶσα τιθείσα ἀκούσας εἰς μῆν έκριννα τοὺς αὐ. διδῶσα
	μοντήα	μό'σα	μῶ'σα	μῶσα	μῶγσα	μοῦσα
AI :	ἀλῖος ὀφελῖω	ἀλ'ος ὀφελ'ω	ἄλλος (Cypr.) ὀφέλλω	ἄλλος, ἄλος ὀφῆλω	ἄλλος ὀφέλω	ἄλλος ὀφείλω
NI :	κτενῖω κρινῖω τεκτανῖω	κτεν'ω κριν'ω τεκταν'ω	κτέννω κρίννω τεκτάννω	κτῖνω κρίνω	κτέινω κρίνω τεκτάινω	κτείνω κρίνω τεκταίνω
PI :	φθερίω χερίων	φθερ'ω χερ'ων	φθέρρω φθήρω (Arc.) χέρρων	φθήρω χῆρων	φθέρω χείρων	φθείρω χείρων
PF :	κορφα	κορ'α	κόρρα	κῶρα	κόγρη	κόρη
CM :	*έμμι (asma-)	έ'μι (Cypr.) ά'μες	ἔμμι ἄμμες	ἡμί άμές	εἰμί ἡμεις	εἰμί ἡμεις
CN :	*είφναι	έναι	ἦναι	ἦμεν, εἶμεν	ἔναι	εἶναι

15. The preceding explanation of the phenomena commonly classed under the head of contraction and antectasis requires little comment. It shows that contraction is the process by which two formerly separate or heterosyllabic sonants, two adjoining sonantic syllables, were first phonetically reduced, then metrically lengthened to one syllable having the value of the former two. In the same way antectasis is the process by which one of two incompatible consonants forming position is first phonetically dropped, then metrically replaced in the rhythmically affected syllable, the substitute gradually assuming the form and value of a certain vowel and thus effecting a 'natural' length in the place of the former 'position.' In other words, before the period or stage of 'contraction' and 'antectasis,' Greek, like other languages,

showed only two classes of syllables: syllables naturally *short* and syllables long by *position*. Accordingly what we are now wont to call length by position was originally, as it still is, natural length, and what we now call natural length represents an hysterogeneous and accidental length, that is an artificial growth.

15<sup>b</sup>. Admitting the above results to be correct, the question naturally suggested by them is: Would a practical application of them involve a reform in our system of reading verse (scanning), and if so, what changes would have to be made? The reply is plain: since our general system—the system followed in England and Germany, as well as in Greece<sup>[1]</sup>—is not quantitative but *rhythmical* (ictus and fall), no reform, no change is required except a more thorough application of the rhythm so as to indicate the caesuras etc.

### *Prosodic and Reading marks since A.*

16. The gradual transformation of ! γ Η Ω from compensatory marks to phonetic symbols or characters was attended by two results of great importance for the subsequent history of Greek writing. One was that all previous literature had to be now systematically transcribed from the old spelling (*ἀρχαῖκή σημασία*) into the new or scholastic orthography (*ἡ μετ' Εὐκλείδην γραμματική*), a circumstance which involved considerable confusion and misrepresentation, still traceable in our own texts<sup>[2]</sup>. The other was that new prosodic marks had to be now devised to fill the place of the old ! γ Η Ω. We therefore first hear now of a set of new prosodic marks (*σημεία προσφώδιας*), namely the *βραχεία* sc. *προσφωδία* (◡) and the *μακρά* (—)<sup>[3]</sup>, signs which were

[1] It is a common but fundamental error among European scholars that present Greeks read classical poetry without metre or rhythm. As a matter of fact they follow the system of scanning handed down to them by their Byzantine ancestors who again had inherited it from their forefathers, and who first introduced it also to Europe together with the rest of the Greek language. Paradoxical though it may sound, metrical reading or scanning is the only 'modern Greek' relic still preserved among Erasmusian scholars.

[2] See *supra* 12 [3].

[3] Arist. Poet. 26, 3 περιεργάζεσθαι τοῖς σήμείοις καὶ βασιλεύοντα περ ἐποίει Σωσίστρατος καὶ διάδοντα (δὴ ᾄδ-?) περ ἐποίει Μνασίθεος ὁ Ὀπουντίος. Bekk. An. 780, 10 (πάλαι οὐκ ᾔην) τὰ δύο μακρά, ἡ καὶ ω. ὅταν οὖν ἤβελον γράψαι ἔχουσιν ἐκφώνησιν τοῦ ἡ λέξιν, ἔγραφον τὸ ε καὶ ἐπάνω του εἰ τὸ σήμειον τῆς μακρᾶς. ὅταν δὲ τὴν ἐκφώνησιν τοῦ ω, ἔγραφον τὸ οῦ καὶ ἐπάνω τοῦ οῦ ὡς προσέληται τὸ σήμειον τῆς μακρᾶς. 782, 5 ἄλλοι δὲ λέγουσιν ὅτι καὶ τὰ μακρά τελευταῖον ἐπεσώθησαν, τῶν βραχέων τὸ πρότερον μετὰ μακρᾶς προστιθεμένης ἀναπληροῦντων τὴν τάξιν. ἐποίουν γὰρ ἀντὶ τοῦ ω ὁ καὶ ἄνω μακράν, καὶ ἀντὶ τοῦ ἡ εἰ καὶ ἀνωθεν μακράν. Victor. i. 11, 8 (43, 25 HKeil): 'σημείον veteres χρόνον, id est tempus, non absurde dixerunt ex eo quod signa quaedam accentuum, quae Graeci προσφώδιας vocant, syllabis ad declaranda temporum spatia superponuntur, unde tempora signa Graeci dixerunt. sed et hoc loco suggerente non praetermiserim, eosdem figuras pedum secundum spatia temporum per litteras ita designasse, ut brevis syllabae loco, quae sit unius temporis, ponatur B, longae autem loco, quae sit temporum duum, M; hoc ideo ut per litteras regula pedum facile intellegatur.' Victorinus' account is fully confirmed by the earlier papyri (e. g. the Harris Iliad, 1<sup>st</sup> c. B.C.), and MSS, in which the use of the μακρά (—) and βραχεία (◡) is frequent. It is only since the XIII<sup>th</sup> of our era that these quantity marks have been gradually dropped, evidently because they interfered with the then regular addition of the accents. See also ALudwich, Quantitätszeichen in den ältesten Iliashandschriften, Königsberg, 1892.

naturally classed by the side of the older rhythmical marks ( / \ Λ, supra 8), and so enlarged the system of *προσῳδίαι*.<sup>[1]</sup> As time went on and prose writers also became the subject of study at school and elsewhere, the *σημεῖα προσῳδίας* were applied to prose texts also, and were conceived as accents<sup>[2]</sup> or accentual marks, *προσῳδία* now assuming the meaning of *accentuation*<sup>[3]</sup> besides scanning (App. i. 5). Again when later on—during the III<sup>rd</sup> B.C.—Alexandrian critics took up systematically the study and interpretation of the old—now styled classical—texts, a fresh set of symbols or reading marks was devised, they say, by Aristophanes of Byzantium (70). These new symbols are: the two breathings (‘ and ’), the comma (,), the apostrophe (’), and the hyphen (∪ or ∩). The whole system of *προσῳδία* was therefore now brought up to the number of ten<sup>[4]</sup>.—It should be added here that when in the course of their *P* development the various exponents of *προσῳδία* came to be identified with their graphic symbols, each symbol misappropriated the name *προσῳδία*, and this led to the system of *δὲκα προσῳδία*, notwithstanding that the term *προσῳδία* denotes an abstract notion, a ‘by-singing,’ or ‘scanning,’ and that originally it had been applied, as already explained (supra 8), to symbolize the rhythm produced by the regular recurrence of ‘ and ’, that is by the ictus and fall.

17. It may be objected here against the above theory that, by substituting the principle of simple rhythm for that of quantity, the difficulty of reconciling stress-accent with rhythmic prosody is not wholly removed. This is true of languages with a strong stress where the difference between accented or long syllables and unaccented or short syllables is very marked (as in modern English and German), but in Greek where accent is much weaker and all syllables are virtually isochronous—half-long—the case is different (supra 1). Here the fulness and distinct individuality of each syllable considerably weaken the stress of the (dominant) accent and, under the guidance of the rhythm, help to count the number of syllables, so that a versifier can easily subordinate accent to the rhythmical ictus (cp. App. i. 24 [3]) or even ignore it altogether. That this was the case also in classical Greek may be seen from many ancient specimens. Thus if we attentively peruse the *Anacreontea* in ThBergk's edition, we find that whereas quantitative metre is often violated, rhythmical syllabometry is almost rigidly observed, so that the sixty-five songs form two classes of eight and seven syllables, or rather of sixteen and fourteen syllables respec-

[<sup>1</sup>] A greater variety of *προσῳδία* is mentioned by [Sergius] 529 ff. (HKell), but the account there given is too confused and improbable to be of value. (76 [2]).

[<sup>2</sup>] The use of the plural *προσῳδία* in Pl. Rep. 399 Δ φθύγγους τε καὶ προσῳδίας (‘the tones and accents of brave men’) is meaningless and suspect.

[<sup>3</sup>] Hence the Schol. commenting on Dion. Thr. § 2 ‘κατὰ προσῳδίαν’ says (Bekk. An. 743, 7): ἀναγινώσκειν δὲ ‘κατὰ προσῳδίαν,’ ἥτοι καθ’ ὃν ἔχει τόνον ἢ λίξις, ὡς μὴ ἀναγνῶναι τὸ ὅρος ὅρος, καὶ τὸ ἀγνός οὐ καθαρὸς ἀγνός, κατεύθυν εἰς πλάνην ἀγαγεῖν τὸν ἀκροατὴν, καὶ ἀντὶ τοῦ ὅρος τυχὸν δὲ ἵμνητις ἢ τὸ ταῦτερον ἢ τι ἄλλο, ὅρῳ νοῆσαι ἥγουν τὸ ὑδατώδες τοῦ γάλακτος κτλ.

[<sup>4</sup>] Accordingly another Schol. in Dion. Thr. (744, 12) explains the term ‘κατὰ προσῳδίαν’ by: κατὰ τέχνην, τουτίστι κατὰ τόνους, χρόνους, πνεύματα, πάθη. So further ib, 745, 9.

tively, with a regular division in the middle of the line. The rhythm is often indicated by one or more stress syllables.

A. Heptasyllabic:  $\times \times \times \times \times \times \times$  of which the rhythm points to either a trochaic or iambic trimeter acatalectic:  $\underline{\cup} \underline{\cup} \underline{\cup} \underline{\cup} \underline{\cup} \underline{\cup} \underline{\cup}$

or  $\underline{\cup} \underline{\cup} \underline{\cup} \underline{\cup} \underline{\cup} \underline{\cup} \underline{\cup}$ .

## No. 1.

Ἀνακρέων ἰδὼν με  
ὁ Τήσιος μελωδός,  
ὄναρ λέγων προσείπεν  
κάθ' ὁδρῶν πρὸς αὐτόν  
5 περιπλάκην φιλήσας.  
γέρον μὲν ἦν, καλὸς δέ,  
καλὸς γε καὶ φίλευνοι.  
τό χεῖλος ὤζεν οἴνου  
τρέμοντα δ' αὐτὸν ἤδη

10 Ἔρωσ ἐχειραγάγει.  
ὁ δ' ἐξελὼν παρήνου  
ἔμοι στέφος δίδωσιν.  
τὸ δ' ὦζ' Ἀνακρέοντος  
ἐγὼ δ' ὁ μωρὸς ἄρας  
ἔδησάμην μετώπῳ  
καὶ δῆθεν ἄχρῳ καὶ τῶν  
ἔρωτος οὐ πέπαυμαι.

## No. 2.

Ἡ γῇ μέλαινα πίνει,  
πίνει δὲ δένδρε' αὐ γῆν  
πίνει θάλασσα δ' αὔρας  
ὁ δ' ἥλιος θάλασσαν,

5 τὸν δ' ἥλιον σελήνην.  
τί μοι μάχεσθ' ἑταῖροι;  
καὐτῷ θέλοντι πίνειν;

So further nos. 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26 A, 26 B, 33, 52, etc.

B. Octasyllabic:  $\times \times \times \times \times \times \times \times$  of which the rhythm points to a trochaic tetrameter acatalectic:  $\underline{\cup} \underline{\cup} \underline{\cup} \underline{\cup} \underline{\cup} \underline{\cup} \underline{\cup} \underline{\cup}$ .

## No. 29

Ἰακινθίην με βάβδω  
χαλεπῶς Ἔρωσ βαπίζων  
ἐκέλευε συντροχάζειν.  
διὰ δ' ὀξέων μ' ἀναύρων  
φυλόχων τε καὶ φαράγγων  
τροχάοντα τεῖρεν ἰδρως.

κραδίῃ δὲ βινὸς ἄχρῳ  
ἀνέβαινε, κἂν ἀπέσβην  
ὁ δ' Ἔρωσ μέταπα σείων  
ἀπαλοῖς πτεροῖσιν εἶπεν  
σύ γὰρ οὐ δύστη φιλήσαι.

## No. 38.

Ἐπειδὴ βροτὸς ἐτέχθη  
βιότου τρίβον ὀδεύειν,  
χρόνον ἔγνω δὲ παρήλθον,  
ὃν δ' ἐγὼ δραμεῖν οὐκ οἶδα.  
5 μέτετέ με (αἰ) φροντίδες

μηδὲν μοι καὶ ἦμιν ἔστω  
πρὶν ἐμὲ φθάσῃ τὸ τέλος  
παῖξω, γελᾶσω, χορεύσω  
μετὰ τοῦ καλοῦ Ἀναίου.

So further nos. 2, 2 B, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 27 A, 27 C, 28, 30, 31, 32, 35, 37, 42, 48, 51, 53, 54, 55, 56, 58, 59, 60, 63, 64, 65, etc.

C. In a similar way, the so-called Babrian choliambics  $\cup - \cup - \cup -$   
 $- \cup - - \cup$  are virtually dodecasyllables, pointing to a combination of a trochaic dimeter catalectic with an iambic trimeter catalectic:  $\acute{x} \times \acute{x} \times \acute{x} \times$   
 $\times \acute{x} \times \acute{x} \times \acute{x} \times$ .

Babr. no. 19: Βότρυς μελαίνης ἀμπέλου παρωρείου  
ἀπεκρέμαντο· τοὺς δὲ ποικίλῃ πλήρει  
ἰδοῦσα κερδῶ πολλάκις μὲν ἠρμήθη  
πηδῶσα ποσσὶν πορφυρῆς θιγεῖν ἥρως.  
ἦν γὰρ πέπειρος κ' εἰς τρυγητὸν ἀκμαίη.  
καμοῦσα δ' ἄλλως (οὐ γὰρ ἴσχυεν ψαύειν)  
παρήλθεν οὕτω βουκολοῦσα τὴν λύπην  
ὀμφαί δ' ὁ βότρυς, οὐ πέπειρος, ὥς ἔμην.

No. 35: Δύω μὲν υἱοὺς ἢ πίθηκος ὠδίνει  
 τεκούσα δ' αὐτοῖς ἐστὶν οὐκ ἴση μήτηρ,  
 ἀλλ' ὅν μὲν αὐτῶν ἀθλίης ἐπ' εὐνοίης  
 θάλπουσα κόλποις ἀγρίως ἀποσπνίγει  
 τὸν δ' ὡς περισσὸν καὶ μάταιον ἐκβάλλει.  
 κακείνος ἐλθὼν εἰς ἐρημίην ζῶει.  
 [τοιούτο πολλῶν ἐστὶν ἦθος ἀνθρώπων  
 οἷς ἐχθρὸς δὲ μᾶλλον ἢ φίλος γίνου.]

So further nos. 5, 14, 34, 52, 78, 120, 121, 128, 131, etc.

18. It will be noticed, moreover, that these Anacreontean and more particularly the Babrian verses show an unmistakable tendency to a compromise of syllabometry with accentual rhythm by closing the line with a paroxytone, thus leading to Neohellenic verse which, like popular Latin and Romanic verse, requires a fixed number of syllables with a fixed stress syllable, as the indicator of rhythm, at least at the closing measure of each hemistich or line:

x x x x x x || x x x x x

(Cp. ὦ κοῦνδν ἀδτάδελφον, || Ἰσμῆνης κάρα.)

Ὁ Ἰάννης μὲ τὸν ἥλιο	καὶ ὁ Ἰάννης ὁ καυμένος
συνορίζονται	τὰ χαμόκλαδα.
τὸ ποῖός νά πῃ 'ς τῇ δύσῃ	Καὶ ὁ ἥλιος ἐβραδυάσῃ
γληγορότερα.	'ς τῇ μανίτσας του
Καὶ ὁ ἥλιος ἐδιασκέλα	καὶ ὁ Ἰάννης ὁ καυμένος
δρῃ καὶ βουνά	'ς τὰ χαμόκλαδα.

(Cretan folk-song, Jann. no. 113.)

(x x x x x x x)

Τὴ Διαμάντω θὰν ἀρχίσω  
 καὶ καρδίᾳ θὰ σπανταλίσω.  
 τετρακόσια παλληκάρια  
 τῇ Διαμάντῳ μπέμπου γράμμα, etc.

(Cretan folk-song, Jann. no. 133.)

Τὸ παιδί ὄντε γενᾶται  
 σὰν τὸ παρικό λογᾶται.  
 Εἰς τοῖς δέκα μεγαλώνει  
 καὶ τὸν κόσμον καμαρώνει, etc.

(Cretan folk-song, Jann. no. 186.)

(x x x x x x — x x x x x x.)

Ἄστρο μου, ἀστράτσι μου,  
 καὶ ἀσπερινὸ καὶ αὐγερινὸ  
 αὐγερινὸ τῆς ἐρωθιάς  
 ἦρθε τὸ ξημέρωμα  
 κ' ἦρθε μ' ἐπ' αὐτῇ τῇ γειτονιά, etc.

(Cretan folk-song, Jann. no. 172.)

(x x x x x | x x x x x x.)

Ἐπὶ ψηλὸ βουνό, 'σὲ χαμηλὸ λαγκάδι  
 Γιάννης πορπατεῖ μαζί μὲ τὴν καλὴν του.  
 κ' εἰς τὴν στράταν του κ' εἰς τὴν πορπατηξιάν του  
 δράκος τ' ἀπαντᾷ, θερὸ τοῦ συντυχαίνει.  
 Ἰεῖά του Γιαννακῆ, γιὰ σου καλὴ ἀνθρωπίνε.  
 καὶ ὅς τα παίζουμε, Γιάννη, γιὰ τὴν καλὴ σου.  
 καὶ ἀπαλεύγανε ἀπ' τὸ ταχὺ ὅς τὸ βράδυ,  
 Γιὰ σου, Γιαννακῆ.

(Cretan folk-song, Jann. no. 78.)

(× × × × × ×)

<p>“Ενας γέρος γέροντας καὶ οὐδὲ τόσο γέροντας ἐκατὸν ἐννεὰ χρονῶ πύτιζε τὸν γρίβα του. 5 τὰ βουνὰ τριγύριζε καὶ τὰ δέντρα κύταζε. Μπρὲ βουνά, ψηλὰ βουνά, τώρα μὲ τὴν ἀνοιξη δέ με ξαναεῴνετε</p>	<p>10 'μένα καὶ τὸ γρίβα μου; σάν πως ξαναεῴνονται καὶ καινούρια γέρονται τοῦτα τὰ χαμόδεντρα, τὰ χιλιόχρονα κλαριά; 15 νὰ γενόμουν κ' ἐγὼ νέος, σάν πως ἤμου μὰ φορά, κορασίδα νὰ 'παίρνα, νὰ 'ταν δώδεκα χρονῶ.</p>
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(Epirotic folk-song.)

Τὸν καιρὸ τῇ Βενεθιάς  
ἔκαμα κ' ἐγὼ μὰ θειά.  
παίρνω πᾶν νὰ τη βρῶ  
μὲ κανίσκιν ἀκριβό, etc.

(Cretan folk-song, Jann. no. 252.)

19. The peculiarity of subordinating accent to syllabometry in sung verse is not peculiar to Greek alone but common to all languages with a weak stress-accent. ‘During my stay at Moscow, I gained the conviction that, in regard to the prosody of all nations, a sharp line of distinction must be drawn between *sung* verse and *spoken* verse, that is between verse devoted to the accompaniment of music and verse merely spoken. In both classes the lines consist of metrical feet with rhythmical theses and arses; but it is only in sung poetry that the metrical feet have a fixed rhythmical duration.’ (RWestphal, *Allg. Metrik* [1893], preface v., f.) And p. 311 f.: ‘Besides Serbian and Lithuanian, Russian seems to be, among all modern languages of the Indog. group, the only one which has essentially retained the accentuation of Greek, whereas in all others the seat of accent depends mostly on the number of syllables. Every syllable which in a Russian word has the accent, also serves as thesis in Russian versification. But as regards *sung* folk-songs the lines are subjected to different norms: here, as in the old Iranian poetry, the thesis need not coincide with the syllabic accent, so that, were the melody not added, it would often be difficult to ascertain the metre.’ [Follow as illustration the words *kalina kalina* which in a popular song are pronounced *kálina kálina*.] ‘This phenomenon occurs still oftener in the folk-songs of the Lithuanians. The Lithuanian folk-song stands entirely on the same footing with old Iranian metropoea. Nesselmann in his *Lituanische Volkslieder* (Berlin 1853, p. ix) says: “It is extremely difficult to determine the metre of a *daina* when we do not know the melody, for the scansion of the “*dainos*” is independent from the word-accent which in other respects holds good. A Lithuanian himself distinguishes between musical accent and word-accent, and so in reciting the text of a “*daina*” follows the former, not the latter.’ He also calls this mode of reciting *unt balso skaityti*, ‘reading according to the voice,’ i.e. according to the melody. Thus the beginning of No. 87 according to the word-accent runs as follows:

Aut tiltùžio stowéjau | Su mergýte kalbéjau,  
whereas according to the melody, it is accented thus:

Aut tiltùžio stówéjau | Šù mergýte kalbéjau.

Hence it comes that without the assistance of the melody, one constantly gropes in the dark.

## APPENDIX III.

### TERMINAL CONSONANTISM AND ITS INFLUENCE ON THE *P-N* INFLECTION.

1. One of the characteristic features—if not the most characteristic—of *P-N* has been its gradual evolution on the principle of association and analogy (112-120). Wherever we may direct our attention, we find that among terms or words which popular conception and feeling might, in any way, associate with one another, the commonest or most familiar representative among them gradually succeeded in attracting, one after another, the rest, so that it has ultimately led to a general uniformity (1487 f.). A striking illustration of this levelling process is afforded by the history of terminal sounds in the inflection.

2. Our classical Greek grammars lay down two fundamental canons, one of which is 'that a Greek word may close with any *sonant* (vowel or diphthong) or one of the *semi-sonants* *s, v, ρ*' (218). The first part of this rule has remained in full force through all post-classical periods and vicissitudes of the Greek language, and still holds good in *N* speech (219.) It has even, since *M*, gained some extension beyond its *A* boundaries, and in so far will be considered in the course of our study of the second part of the rule which declares that—

'No other *consonant* is admissible at the end of a genuine Greek word except one of the *semi-sonants* *s, v, ρ*' (also *ξ* and *ψ* as combinations of *s* with a preceding guttural or labial respectively). Et. M. 638, 11 οὐδέποτε λέξις Ἑλληνικὴ εἰς ἀφῶνον λήγει. (218.)

#### I. ANALOGICAL TERMINAL *v*.

##### *A. Extension of Terminal v to all Accusatives Singular.*

3. We know from our school grammar that, in *A*, the accusative singular of Greek nouns, whether substantive or adjective, ended, in all three declensions, mostly in *v*, as:

τὸν ναῦτην, τὸν Ἄρην, τὸν ταμίαν, τὴν ὄραν, τὴν γνώμην, τὸν βορρᾶν, τὸν Ἀπελλῆν, τὴν ἀργυρᾶν, τὴν μῶαν, τὴν γῆν—τὸν δοῦλον, τὴν ἄμμον, τὸ ζῶον, τὸ ξύλον, τὸν νοῦν, τὸν λαγών, τὸν ἰχθύν, τὸν βοῦν, τὴν ναῦν, τὴν πόλιν, τὴν φύσιν, τὴν θρῆν, τὴν χάριν,—τὸν καλόν, τὴν καλήν, τὸ καλόν—αὐτόν, αὐτήν, ἐμαυτόν, ἐμαντήν, ἐκείνον, ἐκείνην, τόν, τήν, τοῦτον, ταύτην, ὅν, ἣν, πόσον, πόσην, etc.



4. There was only one class of nouns—chiefly the so-called consonantal stems of the third declension (338 ff.)—which ended with a sonant, as :

τὸν κόρακα, Αἰθίοπα, μῆνα, πατέρα, βασιλέα—τὴν φλέβα, χίονα, Δήμητρα, τὸν ἥρω, τὴν ἡχώ, τὸ ἄστυ, τὸ πρᾶγμα, σῶμα, etc.—so too ἐμέ, σέ.

5. In our modern notions of systematic grammar, we are wont to draw a sharp boundary-line between the two categories. But speaking of ancient times, we must remember that neither classical nor post-classical speech knew anything of such grammatical classifications and distinctions. The current literature too cannot have exerted a controlling influence on the uneducated masses, because the Greek people at large did not read much in those times. The nation merely followed the genius of the language, that is their innate feeling according to which the object case, or, to use the modern grammatical term, the accusative (singular), ended commonly in *ν*. To put it another way, final *ν* in the declension was taken for the sign of the accusative singular. Consequently forms like *μήνα* beside *ταμίαν*, *ιερίν* beside *βορέαν*, *μητέρα* beside *ήμερον*, *χείρα* beside *χῆραν*, *ἀληθῆ* beside *ἀγαθῆν*, etc., were felt incomplete and abnormal, and so had to be supplied with the finishing *ν*.

6. The earliest traces of such normalization go back to classical antiquity itself. The start seems to have been made by contracted nouns, particularly proper names, ending in *-ης*, which were associated or identified with those substantives now classed under the first declension. Thus *Σωκράτης*, *Διογένης*, *Δημοσθένης*, *Ἀριστοτέλης*, etc., occur even in *A* beside *Σωκράτη*, *Διογένη*, *Δημοσθένη*, *Ἀριστοτέλη*, etc. (432). Soon hereafter—since the IV<sup>th</sup> B.C., if not earlier—appellatives followed, as *τριήρη* beside *τριήρη*, *τετρήρη* beside *τετρήρη* (CMeisterhans<sup>2</sup> 107, 14), and since 300 B.C. (if not earlier) proper names ending in *-κλής*, as: *Μενεκλής*, *Ἀμεινοκλής*, *Λυσικλής*, *Εὐκλής*, beside *Στρατοκλία*, *Διοκλία*, *Σωκλία*, *Ἀριστοκλία*, *Χαρικλία*, etc. (ib. 105; cp. Phryn. 134 'Ἡρακλῆς, Περικλῆς, Θεμιστοκλῆς ἐπεκτείνων τὴν ἐσχάτην λέγειν, ἀλλὰ μὴ 'Ἡρακλήν καὶ Περικλήν καὶ Θεμιστοκλήν). From the III<sup>rd</sup> B.C. downwards the instances become so frequent as to warrant the assumption that popular speech closed every accusative singular with *ν*.

a. Sept. Ex. 8, 18 *σκνίφαν*; 10, 4 *ἀκρίδαν*; 16, 15 *νύκταν*; Lev. 13, 15 *ὕγιήν*; Num. 15, 27 *αἶγαν*; Ruth 4, 12 *γυναῖκαν*. 1 Reg. 2, 10 *δοσθενήν*. 2, 19 *διπλοῖδαν* (for *διπλοῖδα*); 17, 39 *θώρακαν*; 19, 11 & 24 *νύκταν*; 21, 8 *χείραν*; 22, 11 *ιεράν*; 30, 24 *μερίδαν*; 2 Reg. 2, 29 & 4, 7 *νύκταν*; 5, 18 *κοιλάδαν*; 13, 10 *κοιτῶναν*; 3 Reg. 1, 45 *βασιλείαν*; 4 Reg. 22, 3 & 25, 19 *γραμματαῖαν* (for *-τία*); 2 Par. 35, 23 *βασιλείαν*. Esdra 8, 8 *ιεράν*; Judith 13, 10 *φάραγγαν*; Ps. 9, 23 (also 10, 5; 36, 35, etc.) *δοσεβήν*; 21, 21 *μονογενήν*; Sira 13, 6 *ἐλπιδαν*; 42, 2 *δοσεβήν*. Jer. 15, 5 *σάρκαν*; 21, 1 *ιεράν*; 21, 7 *βασιλείαν*. 1 Mac. 10, 1 *Πτολεμαῖδαν*. Baruch 4, 16 *μονογενήν*; Ezech. 18, 13 *ἀνθρακῶν*. Jes. 7, 19 *βαγδάδαν*. (Cp. FGSturz 27 f.; EASophocles Lex. p. 361.)

b. NT Matth. 9, 18 *χείραν*; John 7, 23 *ὕγιήν*; 20, 25 *χείραν*. Acts 6, 5 'Αντισιοχῶν; 14, 12 τὸν Δίαν; 20, 31 *νύκταν*. Rom. 16, 11 *συγγενήν*; 16, 15 *Νηρέαν*. Heb. 6, 19 *ἀσφαλῆν*. 8, 5 *δειχθένταν*. Rev. 1, 13 *ποδήρην*; 12, 13 *ἀρσεναν*. 13, 14 *εἰκόνα*.—Barn. 7 τὸν ἔναν. Dioc. 1, 33 τὸν χῶαν.

c. Gr. Urk. Berlin 15 (A.D. 197) 21 *σφραγίδαν*. 27 (II<sup>nd</sup>–III<sup>rd</sup>) 14 *μηδέαν*. 148, 3 *θυγατέραν*. 155 († 153), 13 *χείραν*. 155 (A.D. 152–3) 13 *χείραν*. 93 (II<sup>nd</sup>–III<sup>rd</sup>) *τὴν γυναῖκα σου*. 13 (A.D. 289) 8 *ὕγιήν καὶ δόνην*, etc.

d. CIG 1781 *ἄνδρα*; 2089 *γυναῖκαν*, *θυγατέραν*; 8619 (A.D. 451–74) 21 *κατὰ χῶαν*. 8795 *χείραν*; 2264 *ἥσαν*; 1988<sup>b</sup>, 10 *μητέραν*. 2264<sup>b</sup>, 8 *θυγα-*

τέραν; 4000 ἀνδρεάνταν, 1. 8692, 18, 19 ἀρχονταν. CIA iii. 1379 πατρίδαν. LRoss 261 ἀνδραν; Mitth. iii. 339 θυγατέραν. xxi. 37 γλυκύντηταν. ib. 113, 9 συγγενήν.—Gr. Pap. Br. Mus. p. 110 (III<sup>rd</sup>) 801 ἀστέραν. ib. 124 (V<sup>th</sup>) 11 γυναίκαν.—GKabel 167 χάριταν. 168 = CIA iii. 1379 (III<sup>rd</sup>) λιμέναν, πατρίδαν. 368, 8 νεότηταν. 372 (IV<sup>th</sup>) πατέραν, ἀσρότηταν. 522, 10 μητέραν. 716 Πετροκύρακαν. 920 πατρίδαν. 1038, 32 τὴν ἀσφαλὴν πράξιν. 1135 Οἰδιπόδαν.

e. Great Louvre Pap. 190 δράκονταν; 1774 τὸν μελαμφαῆν; 2942 παραμήκην. CWessely Akad. Wiss. 1889, p. 78 χεῖραν (frequently), θυρίδαν, ἀστέραν. id. Prol. 65 (487 A.D.) τὸν κόμιταν, τὴν χεῖραν.

f. Acta Tho. 7, 38 χεῖραν; 18, 30 χάριταν; 45, 35 (also 78, 37) γυναίκαν. 45, 31 (also 46, 31) θυγατέραν; 94, 28 χρηστότηταν; Evang. Tho. A 3, 3 τὴν νεότηταν. 10, 2 τὸν πόδαν. 16, 1 τὴν χεῖραν. B 3, 2 τὸν ἀέραν; 7, 2 τὸν παῖδαν. Acta Pilati A G, 1 φονέαν. 12, 2 κλείδαν. B 4, 4 τὴν νύκταν. Anaphora Pil. A 3 τὴν χεῖραν; 10 τὴν νύκταν. B 10 τὴν νύκταν.

g. Leont. Neap. V. J. 70, 6 νύκταν; 100, 19 χεῖραν; 100, 14 μῆναν; 101, 2 βασιλείαν; 22, 24 εὐλαβήν. V. S. 1737 C ἐβδομάδαν; 1708 B μονήρην. 1, 7 θεοσεβήν.

7. Similarly neuters like ἡδύ, γλυκύ (στίμμ or) στίμ, μελίτι, etc., associated as they were with χωρίον, παιδίον, ξύλον, etc., appeared naked and thus called for the analogical finishing ν: τὸ ἡδύν, γλυκύν, μελίτιν, (GKabel 719, 8 f, II<sup>nd</sup>), στίμιν Gr. Pap. Br. Mus. 95, 336, also CWessely, Neue Gr. Zaub. p. 78; so too the numerous diminutives τὸ ἡμωβέλιον (on Coins, BVHead 348, 146-3 B.C.), τὸ στάδιον, Ἀρτέμιον, Ἐρώτιον, Ἀκείσιον, Ἀφροδείσιον, Ἑλλάδιον, Δυνάμιον, Χαρίτιον, Χρυσίον, Ἡδύν (FGbenseler, in Corp. Stud. iii. 171 f.); further CIA iii. 156 Φιλημάτιν; 238<sup>b</sup> (p. 495) ἀμφιδέξιν; 238<sup>a</sup> κηστρίον ἀργυροῦν; CIG 8841 & 9704 μαρτύριον; 9906 ψυχάριον;—and on papyrus ζωίδιον, χοιρίδιον, ἐπιστόλιον (CWessely Prol. 64), πεπόνιον, πηττάκιον, ἐπαύλιον (id. Akad. Wiss. 1889, p. 115); and in Byzantine writers: ῥιζάριον, ὀψάριον, κοντάριον, ἀσῆμιον, θεμάτιον, καλαμάριον, ἐνοίκιον, καράτιον, λογάριον, κουβάριον, σακκίον, σελλάριον, παλλίον, χαρτίον, etc. etc.<sup>[1]</sup> (Cp. 302.)

8. Corresponding influences operated on the pronouns ἐμέ and σέ, and led to ἐμέν (GKabel 326, 6 = CIG 3440, III<sup>rd</sup>); so too even in no. 274 δ' ἐμέν, not δέ μιν and σέν (? Cleemans ii. 117), forms very common in M-N speech (532; cp. infra 30).—Even ταύτη θαλάμειν for θαλάμη KZ xxviii. 386 († II<sup>nd</sup>).

9. But the full development and popularity of this analogical -ν cannot be adequately gauged from the sporadic instances scattered in the literary productions of the time, numerous though they are. Nor are we better informed as to its actual condition in the succeeding B period down to the X<sup>th</sup>. This is also not surprising when we remember that by this time a systematic grammar, founded on the Atticistic or, what amounts to the same, ecclesiastical Greek (οἰ9f.), had long been universally adopted and uniformly taught in the schools, and that this grammar had fixed the elementary rule regarding final -ν. All scribes, therefore, as well as their copiers, whose training was based exclusively on the received grammar just alluded to, could never be so ignorant as to misapply this rudimen-

[<sup>1</sup>] That the final ν in all these diminutives in -ι is not constituent but analogical appears also from a papyrus of the V-VI<sup>th</sup> (Louvre Pap. 126-8) where we read ονάρκι, ἐλῆδι, ὀσπιτι, βαυκάκι, μνάκι, περιστέρι, παγῶνι, ἀξινάρι, etc., beside ὀψάριον, ποτήριον, κεφάλιν, etc.

tary rule and write invariably τὸν κόρακα, μῆνα, ἐμὲν, and the like. That this was actually the case appears sufficiently also from the circumstance that, with the very first appearance of *N* popular compositions in the XI<sup>th</sup>, the parasitic final -ν reappears in overwhelming multitudes. Indeed, every accusative- in the case of neuters also every nominative—singular appears supplied with a final -ν. It would be idle to adduce here special proofs seeing that every page of mediaeval popular productions teems with the parasitic -ν. And this is the more significant, as all such productions proceed from more or less professional schoolmen (Spaneas or whoever the author may be, ThProdromos, MClycas, etc.), who were carried by the spirit of classicism still strongly prevailing in their time (024-028; infra 21). A few samples and passages, however, may illustrate the case:—

(a) CIG 8704 (A.D. 1027), 19 ἐς τὸ θέμα. Span. 12 τὸν βασιλέα. 27 παῖδιν μου πρὸς ἐσέναν; 62 πατέρα; 172 τοὺς πρὸς ἐσέναν σφάλλοντας παῖδιν μου συγγνωμόναι. 179 τὸ δικαιολόγημά σου; 183 χάριν πλήρη. 280 τὸ θέλημά σου. (Cp. 131 ὡς γὰρ τὰ φύλα τοῦ πυρὸς τὴν φλόγα παυζάνει); and so all diminutives in -ιν, as παῖδιν μου passim. 50 γενολόγιν. 52 κυνήγιν, etc.—Roboam 28 τὸ χρήμαν. 33 συγγενήν. 46 f.

τὸ χάρισμα, τὴν βόγα τοῦ καὶ τὴν φιλοτιμίαν τοῦ  
καὶ ἔχρη κρίμα ἐκ θεοῦ καὶ βλασφημίαν μεγάλην  
ὅτι δι' αὐτὸ δουλῶνται, παῖδιν μου εἰς ἐσέναν,  
πουλεῖ τὰ πάντα τοῦ ὡς δι' ἐσέναν καὶ βάνει τὸν ἑαυτὸν τοῦ  
καὶ βάνει καὶ τὴν σάρκα τοῦ εἰς κάμονον δι' ἐσέναν.

60 ψευδὴν συντυχίαν. 71 πράγμα τοῦ; 85 γείτονα. 86 τὴν ἐλπίδα τοῦ, et passim. Pul. 119 f. ἐμέναν καθυβρίσεις | ἐμέναν γεωρίζουσι κ' ἐσέναν κατέχουσι σε.

(b) Pocat. 1-4 'Εμὲν οὐ πρέπει νὰ λαλῶ οὐδὲ νὰ συντυχαίνω,  
οὐ πρέπει ἐμὲν νὰ βλέπωμαι . . . ἐμένα πρέπει νὰ θρηνῶ.

(c) Prodr. 1, 33 τὸ στόμα της. 49-52 ταττίκιν εἰς ποδίριν, | ἱμάτιν, οὐκ εἶδα 'ς τὸ δακτύλιν μου κρικέλιν δακτυλίδιν, | οὐδὲ βραχιόλιν. 249 μακρὸν καλάμιν. 2, 39 μέλιν ὀρεῖδιν σύσγουδον, ἄλας, ἀμανιτάριν, et passim. 3, 35 τὸ πλάτυσμα. 76 τινὰ λαχαίνει τὸ δ' ἐμεῖς, ἐμεῖς δὲ πάλιν τινὰ, | καὶ τινὰ τὸ παραβατόν, καὶ τινὰ τὸ τῆς πρῶτας. 85 τὸν μῆνα. 86 οὐδέναν. 101 τ' ἄδρην τὸ παζιμάδιν, καὶ τὸ παλαμδόκομμα. 111 ὅς νίμμαν τοῖς πατράσιν. 147 τὸ ζέμαν. 186 πίνακα κένενα. 346 ὀρύζιν μὲ τὸ μέλιν,—et passim.

10. The same state of things continues to the present day in some insular idioms, particularly in the northern sporades (219. 221), partly also in that of Crete. On the whole, however, a reaction began during *M*, and gradually led to the opposite process as we shall presently see.

#### *A Retreat of Final -ν (also -ρ, -ξ, -ψ) from the Nominative Singular and elsewhere.*

11. As soon as final -ν came to be felt as the characteristic sign of the accusative (supra 5 f.), its position in the nominative was shaken. Just as the minority of accusatives, formerly ending in a sonant, were drawn into the majority by adopting an analogical -ν, so now nominatives ending in -ν, being less in number, submitted to the plurality of those closing with any other letter than -ν. But this normal plurality used to end, as we know—

(a) if masculine, in -ς, as: ταμίας, ναύτης, Πέρσης, βορρᾶς, λόγος, ἀσθός, χρυσοῦς, νεώς, ὑπόχρεως; ὄφεις, ἰχθύς, βασιλεὺς, ἀληθής, γλυκὺς, μέλας (cp. also Κρῆς, ἰδρώς, γέλως, etc.);

(b) if feminine, in a vowel, as : σοφία, χώρα, μέλισσα, ἀλήθεια, βασιλεία, τιμία, γλυκεία, ἀργυρή—τιμή, πύλη, καλή, μεγάλη, φαῖη, χρυσή, ἡχώ,—less frequently in a vowel + s, as : ἄμμος, ἐλπίς, πόλις, κίνησις, ἡ ἀνομις, ἀληθής<sup>[1]</sup>.

12. Apart. then. from these two leading classes of nouns, there remained but a small number of masculines and feminines closing with -ν. Now at a period when final -ν had already been mistaken, by popular feeling, for the sign of the accusative (supra 5), the minority was naturally felt as an anomaly, and thus had to retreat before the normal ending. Similarly final ρ ξ ψ could no longer resist the influence of this pervading plurality and so adapted themselves to the established and familiar type which required -s for all masculines, and a sonant—commonly -α or -ι—(this ι representing η, ε, υ, ει, ει, υι)—or a vowel + s for feminines (248). And in order to arrive at such a normalization, there were two ways open : (a) either final ν ρ ξ ψ had to make room for -s, or for a vowel, according as the noun under consideration was masculine or feminine (338), and this actually happened in some instances, as : γέρος for γέρων, χάρος for χάρων, ἄρκος for ἄρκων, παθός for παθών (as ὁ παθός εἶνε ἱατρὸν = πάθος μίθος), διάκος for διάκων (a T-B form of διάκονος); cp. the ancient φρίκη & φρίξ, φύλακος & φύλαξ, μίρτυρος & μάρτυρ, κρόκη & κρός, κλαγγή & κλαίγξ, πτύξ & πτυχή, ἀμβίξ & -ικος, ἄρπαξ & -αγος, ἑλιξ & -ικη, ἱλιγξ & ἱλιγγος, ὄρυξ & ὄρυχη, κρέξ & κρέκα, Καππᾶδοξ & -δόκης, Γόρτυν & -υνα, πέλιξ & -ικη, πίθηξ & -ηκος, βόστρυξ & -υχος, φάλαγξ & φαλάγγη, τριβαξ & -ακος, δόρυξ & δόρκος, σάμβυξ & -ύκη, ψᾶρος & ψάρ, ἐθελήμος for ἐθελήμων, μεγιστᾶνος for μεγιστάν (Vita SA. 30\* B. 31\* E. 40\* C, etc.), μείζος for μείζων, πλείος (Prodr. 4, 544) for πλείων, etc.; (b) or a more serviceable expedient had to be resorted to: the accusative singular to be used as a nominative. The latter alternative offered far more advantages, since it already closed commonly with the suggestive ending -α, as : τὸν πατέρα, γείτονα, γέροντα, βῆχα, πίνακα, βασιλεᾶ; τὴν αἶγα, φλέβα, ἀκρίδα, etc. It was the commonest and most familiar case, since it not only acted as the object case—having succeeded the ancient accusative and moreover replaced the dative and genitive to a great extent (1247)—but also occurred very frequently with prepositions (εἰς, πρὸς, ἀνά, κατά, διὰ [for], μετά [after], παρά, ἐπὶ, περὶ, ἀμφί, ὑπὸ, ὑπέρ, later also ἀπὸ, and still later σύν, ἐκ, μετά [=with], ἐκ); finally it exhibited the full stem, an additional advantage appealing to popular speech which aims particularly at perspicuity and emphasis. It was the accusative form, therefore, that lent itself most conveniently for the purpose, since it was already in itself a finished nominative feminine : (τὴν αἶγα) ἡ αἶγα, (τὴν βῶγα) ἡ βῶγα (so even Achmet. 285), (τὴν θυγατέρα) ἡ θυγατέρα, (τὴν ἀκρίδα) ἡ ἀκρίδα, (τὴν νύκτα) ἡ νύκτα, etc.<sup>[2]</sup> As to the masculine gender, it was also sufficiently indicated : the normal ending -s (263) had only to be affixed and the nominative was ready and complete for use, as : (τὸν αἶρα) ὁ αἶρας? (Cleemans 117 II<sup>nd</sup> A. D.), (τὸν κόρακα) ὁ κόρακα-ς, (τὸν πατέρα) ὁ πατέρα-ς, (τὸν γείτονα) ὁ γείτονα-ς, (τὸν μήνα) ὁ μήνα-ς, (τὸν ἀρχοντα) ὁ

[1] Neuters, after deducting those ending in -ν, -μα or a vowel, which have been already considered above (9, a, b, c), come hardly into account.

[2] The two words θυγατέρα and ἀπλότης, quoted as nominatives from so early compositions as Hermas (EASoph. Lex. s. vv., also introd. 36 ii. 4) rest on interpolations of the notorious forger Simonides.

ἀρχοντα-ς, (τὸν βασιλεί) ὁ βασιλία-ς, (ὁ βασιλεύς [i. e. βασιλεψ] being inadmissible 407), etc.

13. In like manner, all participles inflected after the 3rd declension (-ων, -ον, -ουσα; -ῶν, -ῶν, -οῖσα; -ας, -αν, -ατα; -ές, -ές, -υια; -εις, -έν, -είσα; -ύς, -ύν, -ύσα; -οῖς, -όν, -οῖσα), as far as they were still surviving, could no longer hold their own, and so were now replaced by their analysis to a finite relative clause, or by a prepositional infinitive, as : (ὁ λέγων) ὅστις οἱ ὅπου λέγει, (ὁ εἰπών) ὅστις οἱ ὅπου εἶπε, (λέγων) ἐπεὶ οἱ ὅτε ἔλεγε, οἱ ἐν τῇ λέγειν, ἐπειδὴ λέγει οἱ ἔλεγε, ἐὰν λέγῃ οἱ ἔλεγε, etc. (2166.)

14. In cases where the accusative ended in -ιν (that is -ιν or -υν), the course to be adopted was plainly indicated : -ν was simply dropped and the preceding ι, being identified with the final -η of the 1st declension, served as a normal basis. Accordingly, in the case of feminines, it was already so used, as :

τὴν χάριν	χαρι	ἡ χάρις (343)
τὴν πίστιν	πιστι	ἡ πίστις
τὴν ῥάχιν	ῥαχι	ἡ ῥάχις
τὴν δύναμιν	δυναμ	ἡ δύναμις
τὴν πράξιν	πραξι	ἡ πράξις
τὴν ὄψιν	ὄψι	ἡ ὄψις
τὴν δύσιν	δυσι	ἡ δύσις

whereas masculines (which are but few) had only to annex the normal ending -ς, as :

τὸν ὄφιν	ὄφι	ὁ ὄφεις or ὄφης (343 f.)
τὸν & τὴν δρῦν	δρυ	ὁ δρύς or δρῆς.

15. The process which has been operative in the formation of this novel nominative singular applies, as a matter of course, also to the vocative. It may be illustrated by the following examples :

τὴν αἶγα	ἡ αἶγα	(ῶ) αἶγα
τὴν μητέρα	ἡ μητέρα	(ῶ) μητέρα
τὴν νύκτα	ἡ νύκτα	(ῶ) νύκτα
τὴν γνώσῃ	ἡ γνώσῃ	(ῶ) γνώσῃ
τὴν πράξῃ	ἡ πράξῃ	(ῶ) πράξῃ
τὸν πατέρα	ὁ πατέρας	(ῶ) πατέρα
τὸν κόρακα	ὁ κόρακας	(ῶ) κόρακα
τὸν δαίμονα	ὁ δαίμονας	(ῶ) δαίμονα
τὸν βασιλέα	ὁ βασιλεῖας	(ῶ) βασιλεῖα

15<sup>b</sup>. Compare CIG 1153 ὦ Μενεκράτη. Evang. Tho. 3, 1 ἄδικε ἀσεβῇ καὶ ἀνόητε. 8, 2, 1 ἀσεβῇ καὶ παράνομε. HCollitz 1206 Πολυκλῆ. 1210 Διομήδη. 1191 Ἀριστοφάνη. 1215 Δωρικλῆ. 1243 Ἀγαθοκλῆ. (278. 442.)

## II. MOVABLE OR EUPHONIC ν.

16. The old grammatical rule prescribing that the verbal endings -ε and -ι annex a movable or euphonic -ν (commonly but erroneously called ἐφελευστικόν), when a sonant or a pause succeeds, holds, every scholar knows, no longer considering that all direct and authentic literary monuments—inscriptions and papyri—fail to confirm such a doctrine. According to Hadde JJMaassen's instructive researches (in Lpz. Stud. iv. 1-64), founded on the public or 'official' Δ inscrip-

tions, the annexation of final  $\nu$  appears to have been the regular practice in the IV<sup>th</sup> B.C. Its actual addition or omission is illustrated by the following table (ib. 16):—

N in *tertia persona sing. temporum praeteritorum*.

	IN MEDIA ORATIONE.			
	<i>Ante vocales</i>		<i>Ante consonas</i>	
	Adest	Abest	Adest	Abest
B. C. 500-403	3	0	22	0
" 403-336	9	1	37	4
" 336-300	20	0	58	2
	IN PAUSA.			
	Adest	Abest	Adest	Abest
	Adest	Abest	Adest	Abest
B. C. 500-403	1	23	3	40
" 403-336	33	13	31	19
" 336-300	17	0	22	1

17. In the subsequent or *P* period, the practice of movable  $\nu$  became so popular as to affect also artistic compositions and sometimes defy even metre, as may be seen from the following inscriptional specimens: RWagner 65 f.=GKaibel 189 (III<sup>rd</sup> B.C., Melos) *φροντίσιν θνατόν. 270 σοι θέμης ἐστὶν δόμων. 402, 1 ἐν οὔρεσιν παρθέτων ἀγνῆν. ib. 2 τὸ πάροιθεν νῦν αὐδήεσαν ἀπασιν. 545 (p. 528) τίς Πλάταιαν σὺλῃσεν; τίς ὤλεσε; 616 ἤρμωσεν τοῦτομ' ἐμὸν. 726 (†III<sup>rd</sup>-IV<sup>th</sup>, Rome), 9 ζῶει μὲν ζωοῖσιν, θάνειν δὲ θανοῦσιν ἀληθῶς. 80 (†III<sup>rd</sup>, Cyzicus), 3 εἰκόνα ἐξετέλεσσαν καὶ εἴσατο. 903a 5 'Ισιδωρον δ' ἐν ἰκόσιν μαρμυρήσαν.*

18. Traces of this misuse, however, appear even in *A* inscriptions (Fallen in Arch. Inst. Amer. iv. 158), as: VI<sup>th</sup> B.C. (Attica) *ἀνέθηκεν Διδός*. GDittenberger 367 (Delos) *ἀνέθηκεν Κάλλανος*.—(Attica) *ἐπέθηκεν θανά(ν)τοι(ν)*.—*εἶπεν δίκαιον*.—IV<sup>th</sup> B.C. (Amorgos) *ἐσθῆσεν τότε*.

19. Once established in the popular conscience,  $\nu$  movable became a constituent suffix and remained in common practice down to the beginning of the Christian era, when the spirit of general reaction, manifested in the language at large, interfered also with the use of final  $\nu$  in written composition, and fixed its position and character on the plea of avoiding hiatus and aiming at euphony. From this time onward Atticizing or scholastic writers adhered more or less rigidly to the rule laid down, while unlearned scribes could not help making liberal concessions to popular speech, and so admitted more freely the intrusive  $\nu$  in the 'wrong' place, that is before a consonant. The latter class of literature shows plainly that movable  $\nu$  not only remained in full practice, but had even extended to the 3d person sing. of contracted imperfects in  $-\epsilon\iota$ <sup>[1]</sup>, of imperf. and aor. pass. in  $-\tau\omicron$  and  $-\eta$ , then to the subj. in  $-\eta$ , and even to adverbs, as:

Gr. Urk. Berlin 300 (†148), 5 *κὰν δέον ᾗN*; 246 [II<sup>nd</sup>-III<sup>rd</sup>] 17 f. *μελησάτω ἡμῖν πῶς δαυπος ᾗN*. Gr. Pap. Br. Mus. p. 203 [VI<sup>th</sup>] 83 *παρεσχέθηN παρ'*

[<sup>1</sup>] Compare  $-\epsilon\iota$  III person (for  $-\epsilon\iota$ ): *ἥσκειν* 388; *ἔπολεν* HRoehl IGA 485; *ἡγάγειν*, *βεβλήκειν*, *ἐσθήκειν*, *ἤδειν* (220, 5), *προσῆεν*, etc. (Kühner-Blass i. 293).

Οὐαλεντίνου. Πανδώρα 19, 47 *ἐγένετο*N. GKaibel 719 *πατὴρ δέ μοι ἦτο*N 'Απαμεία CIG 8690 *ἱστορήθη*N ὁ ναὺς. Bull. Corr. Hell. vii. 261 *ἀνεκείνη*N. —Acta Tho. 16, 40 *ἐβάρηθη*N; 37, 39 *ἠβουλήθη*N; 49, 5 *ἰδεήθη*N; 50, 9 *κατέβηθη*N; 51, 15 *ἀπεστάλη*N; 58, 6 *ἐκοιμήθη*N; 87, 40 *ἐπλήγη*N (all 3rd person). Leont. Neap. V J. 18, 17 (C) *ἐξερίφη*N; 30, 13 (F) *ἐσακρονίσθη*N; 42, 25 (C) *ἐλυπήθη*N; 77, 19 (C) & 92, 8 (AC) *ἠδυνήθη*N; 82, 19 (C) *ἐφοβήθη*N. V. S. 1673 A *κατηϊώθη*N; 1721 A *ἐπνίγη*N; 1733 B *ἐτυφλώθη*N; 1740 B *ἐδικοικέθη*N; 1740 C *ἐβάρηθη*N; 1741 B *ἠύξθη*N. 1688 B *ἐφόρει*N. 1721 B *ἠύλει*N (all 3rd person). Louvre Pap. 2, 3<sup>62</sup> *μήτε*N. *ἔπειτα*N Jahr. Kl. Phil. Supl. xvi. 825.

20. As to the practice in the current speech of the time, we have no direct evidence illustrating the actual state of things. Nevertheless we have indirect criteria that -ν movable remained in unbroken currency down to *M*. This evidence is: (1) it was regularly affixed as an almost constituent element even in pre-Christian inscriptions and papyri; (2) it appears more or less constantly in all post-Christian compositions of unlearned character; and (3) with the first appearance of popular *N* compositions during *M*, it suddenly reappears in overwhelming numbers; in point of fact, it is annexed to every third person of all verbs, whether barytone or contracted, whether active, passive or middle, frequently even to adverbs.

a. Prodr. 3, 41-45 *ἦτο*N (four times), et passim; 209 f. *νὰ 'χρίστη*N τὸ μυστάκιον μου *νὰ 'κρίτη*N *λιγδίτη*N, | *ν' ἀγκώθη*N *ἡ κοιλία μου*, *ν' ἀπλώθη*N *ἡ ψυχὴ μου*. 2, 55 τὸ *πηγαδύσχοινον ἐκόπη*N.

b. EGeorg. Const. 313 *ποῦ 'νε*N *ἡ παρρησιά σας*; 316 *καὶ ποῦ 'νε*N *ἡ εὐγενεΐς*. 477 *θέλει γενῆ*N *ἀνήμερος*. 626 *θέλει γενῆ*N *ἀπέραντο ποτάμι*. 724 *ἡ δὴ δύναμις αὐτοῦ ἐνε*N ὁ *κροτισμός του*. 730 ὦ *θέ*. *νὰ τό 'χαν πολέμῳ*N . . . *καὶ νὰ 'χαν κάμνη*N. 735 *καὶ τοῦτο ἐνε*N *ἀληθής*. 922 *νὰ ἐνε*N *διὰ πάντα*.

c. Belth. 1010 ὁ Βέλθανδρος οὐδὲν *ἀπηλογήθη*N. 1109 f. *ἐξεγυμνώθη*N *ἐφθασε κοντὸ εἰς τὸ πνιγῆναι*, | *μόλις ἐσώθη*N *εἰς τὴν γῆν γυμνὸς μὲ τὸ βρακίον του*.

d. Hermon. I, 210 *τὴν φύσιν | ἤνπερ γὰρ ἔχει*N *ἡ Ἔρμ*. II, 215 *ἔστη*N *γὰρ τοῦτον τότε . . . μὴ στραφῇ*N *ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου*. 14, 18 *φωτίζονται*N; 8, 152 *μάχονται*N; 21, 136 *κυριεύονται*N; index *νῆ* *μετὰ τῆς σπάθης ἐσφάγη*N ὁ *Αἴας*, et passim.

e. Now: *ποτέ*N *του* 'never in his life,' *μὴ*N *ἀκοῦς* 'don't listen,' *μὴ*N *παρπονᾶσαι* 'don't complain,' *μή*N *το ξεχάσῃς* 'don't forget it.' (1797.)—So δ for ἄν, δὲ for δέν, etc. (infra 25).

20<sup>b</sup>. Also adverbial participles in -ντα (822 f.) occasionally become -νταN, as Hermon. 22, 326 *βλέποντα*N; 19, 363 *γυρίζοντα*N, etc.

21. The above specimens (17-20<sup>b</sup>), which might be multiplied to any extent, speak for themselves. Their full import, however, can be realized only when it is remembered that the authors from whom they are taken are more or less scholarly littérateurs with a pronounced bias for 'classical' Greek, so that their *N* popular productions are simply archaistic and artificial compositions with liberal concessions to the vernacular idiom hitherto ignored (supra 9). With all that, they cannot resist the uncontrollable influence of popular speech, and thus admit -ν movable, almost indiscriminately, in every third person of all tenses. This practice is continued to the present day in several modern Greek idioms, mentioned above (10), whereas its retreat from the other dialects will be explained presently.

III. OMISSION OF FINAL *ν*.

22. The truism that every excess leads to reaction finds its application also in the use of final *ν*. Its original presence or gradual extension over all accusatives singular, including the nominative neuter; to all datives plural in *-σιν*; and to all persons singular of the verb, including those in *-μ*, not to speak of its constant presence in the genitive plural: this profusion of final *ν* could not but lead to confusion, and confusion again could not but lead to reaction. Accordingly, as soon as it had reached the stage of excess, the formerly euphonic and later constituent terminal *ν* began to be dropped. This reactionary process signalizes itself naturally first in sporadic cases, then spreads gradually until it has finally dislodged almost every final *ν*, whether euphonic or constituent. The earliest manifestation of this process may be traced—as far as the material is available—to *G* times, that is to the period of its great spread.

a. CIG 5074 (A.D. 31) *θεὸν μέγιστον Ἑρμῇ*.

b. Gr. Urk. Berlin 183 (A.D. 85), 24 *τὴν προσήκουσα τῇ[ς] Σαταβούτου ταφῇ καὶ σκηδῖαν* (read *κηδείαν*).

c. Great Louvre Pap. 3183 *τὸν βορρᾶ καὶ τὸν λίβα*. 1721 *τὴν ψυχῇ*. Gr. Pap. Br. Mus. p. 117, 27 *τῇ χάριν, τῇ ψῆφον*. 241, 24 *ἕνα μὲν εἰς βορρᾶ, τὸν δὲ ἄλλον εἰς ἀπληρώτην*. CWessely Akad. Wiss. 1889 p. 115 *ἀπλὴν ἀσφάλεια*. ib. *οὔσα* (for *οὔσαν*), *εἰς βορρᾶ* often.—Leont. Neap. V. J. 51, 16 & 26 *τὸν ἅγιον δββᾶ* . . . Acta Pil. B 1, 1 *εἰς τὸν κορβανᾶ*.—Porph. Adm. 170 *τὸν Ἀρπαδῇ, τὸν Σαλμούτζη*.

d. Acta Tho. 39, 34 *παρεδύθη*. 89, 5 *συνήφθη*. Leont. Neap. V. J. 88, 20 (E) *ἐγεννήθη*. 17, 1 (C) *ἐπληροφόρηθη*. 92, 25 (AC) *προεχειρίσθη*. 16, 8 (E) *ἐγένεσθη*; 7, 9 (C) *ἔφη*—all 1st persons.

23. The subsequent *T-B* periods, as far as we may judge from the literary monuments extant, do not show an adequate progress of the reaction against final *ν*. This cannot, however, indicate a discontinuance, but rather testifies to the scholastic zeal of the scribes of the time (supra 19-20). For soon hereafter, when *M* popular literature made its appearance, we are suddenly faced with a bewildering state of things: final *ν* is added and dropped promiscuously and indiscriminately, showing, as it were, a still undecided struggle.

Span. 12 *τὸν βασιλεῦν* & 235 *τὸν βασιλέα*. 82 *θέλημα* & 280 *θέλημάν* του. 185 *ἡ χίρις ὅλη ἐγάθην* & 224 *οὐδὲν τὴν ἡσυχολήθη* & 228 *ὁ βασιλεὺς τοὺς ἀπεκρίθη*. Roboam 32 *ὁ σε δώση* & 121 *ἀν σε δώση*, 62 *ἀν σε θλίψη*. Prodr. 4, 198 *ὡς καὶ δεκατέσσερα*, beside *κᾶν* passim. 1, 17 *ἀρρώστημα*, but 32 *τὸ στόμιν της*. 3, 99 *μὴν θαρῆς* & 227 *μὴ βλαβῆτε*, 48 *μὴ κνηθεσαι*, *μὴ τριβεσαι*, *μὴ παρακαμπουρίζς*. 139 *μὴ ἐξέρχσαι*. 316 *νὰ μὴν χορταίνω* & 317 *νὰ μὴ χορταίνω*. 3, 517 *δεῖνᾶν* & 517 *δεῖνα*, 567 *τὸν δεῖνα*. 504 *τὸν βασιλεῦν* & 545 *βασιλέα*. 4, 340 *τετράδα καὶ παρασκευή*, 556 *ἐκόπην τὸ ζωνάριον μου*. ABC 12, 4 *ποτέ μου δέ νὰ σ' ἔλλαξα*. 74, 2 *ὁ δὲ(ν) πιστεύς λιγερῇ, καὶ ἂν δὲν πληροφόρᾳσαι*.

24. Since that time the struggle has been carried on, but the process of reaction eventually gained the upper hand, and so final *ν* is now fast retreating from popular speech. In point of fact, it subsists only in the few insular dialects specified in 221; generally also in the proclitics (*τόν, τόν, τὼν, οἷν, ἄν, μὴν*, etc.), when they are followed by a sonant or *κ, π, τ*, as: *τὸν ἀγαπᾷ, τὴν πεiràω, μὴν πᾶης, μὴν ἀκοῦς, ἂν ἐρθῆς, δὲν το θέλω, τὸν κικόν του καιρό, τὸ παιδί(ν) του*; further in a few more cases where its dropping would give rise to confusion (*εἶχα* with *εἶχαν*, *ἤθελα* with *ἤθελαν*,



εἶπα ἔφην with εἶπαν ἔφυναν infra 28; also τὸ with τόν). But even in these exceptional cases the phonetic difficulty is obviated by another expedient: a suffixal or rather *protective* vowel -ε is annexed and produces amplified forms like τόνε, τήνε, τῶνε for τόν, τήν, τῶν; αὐτόνε, αὐτήνε, αὐτῶνε for αὐτόν, αὐτήν, αὐτῶν (the analogy of which is followed by μᾶσε, σᾶσε, τοῦσε, τῶσε for μᾶς, σᾶς, τοῦς, τῶς i. e. τῶν), δένε for δέν, ἄνε for ἄν (cp. also εἰσέ and 'σέ for εἰς and 'ς respectively), etc. (130. 132<sup>b</sup>. 208). This protective -ε is apparently due to the influence of the syllabic augment of verbs with which the words under consideration are so often associated, as: τόν (τήν) ἐγύρευα, ἐβλεπα—τόνε (τήνε) γυρεῖω, βλέπω—γυρεῖω, βλέπω τονε (τηνε); τῶν ἔδωκα, τῶνε δίδω, δίδω τῶνε; τῶν ἐθυμήθηκα (Crete), τῶνε θυμῶμαι, θυμῶμαι τῶνε; 80 σᾶς ἐφίλησε, σᾶσε φιλεῖ; μᾶς ἐμίλησε, μᾶσε μιλεῖ; ἄν ἐφοβήθηκε, ἄνε φοβάται, etc. (536 f. 725).

25. Sometimes also -α protective is appended, probably due to the accusative singular (τινά, ἕνα, δείνα etc.), as: (αὐτόν) αὐτόνα, (αὐτήν) αὐτήνα, (ἐμέν) ἐμένα, (ἐσέν) ἐσένα. So too the neuter form ἐν with its compounds οὐδέν, μηδέν, κανέν, καθέν, has been amplified to ἐνα, οὐδένα, μηδένα, κανένα, καθένα, as: Apophth. 105 B πλείοντες εἰς ἕνα; 144 C ἑνα ἄγγελιον ἐλαίου; 80 Cosm. Ind. 101 B. Mal. 346, 11 μίλιον ἕνα; further 279, 8: 280, 13; S. Pelagia p. 56 συναγαγὼν εἰς ἕνα πάντας τοὺς πολίτας [where HUsener mistakes it for masculine and refers to Latin *unum*]; Porph. Cer. 121, 1 καθένα ἕκαστον βῆμα. Span. 133 εἰς τὸ καθένα πρᾶγμα; Prodr. 5, 56 κερνοῦν τον ἄλλον ἕνα (for ἄλλο ἐν); and with further movable ν, as Prodr. 6, 167 μ' ἕνα βελτῶιν; 3, 86 λουτρὸν οὐδένα βλέπεις (unless ὁ λουτρὸς).

26. In cases, however, where the absence of final -ν would not lead to confusion, it is simply dropped, and words like the above (24) obtain a threefold form, viz. (a) αὐτόν (or εὐτόν) -ήν, -ῶν; τόν, τήν, τῶν; δέν (after which also μῆν for μή), ἄν; μᾶς, σᾶς, τοῦς, τῶς (i. e. τῶν), εἰς: all used in connected speech and before a vowel or κ, π, τ;—(b) αὐτόνε, (or -α), -ήνε, (-α), -ῶνε, (-α); τόνε, (-α), τήνε, (-α); τῶνε, (-α); δένε, ἄνε: in connected speech before consonants other than κ, π, τ; but μᾶσε, σᾶσε, τοῦσε, τῶσε, εἰσε before any consonant.—(c) αὐτό, αὐτή, αὐτῶ, τό, τή, τῶ, δέ, ἄ.

27. That final -ν is often assimilated to following μ λ ρ, or appears as nasal γ before gutturals, has been explained in 195 and 200 ff.

28. The retreat of final -ν is a phonetic phenomenon which has necessitated a number of grammatical changes in the language especially since T times. One of them is that forms like ἔλυσα and ἔλυσαν, ἔλεγα and ἔλεγον (G-B for ἔλεγον, 1st and 3rd person, 794), ἐκοιμήθην and ἐκοιμήθη, τόν and τό (tonoclitic pronoun for αὐτόν and αὐτό), distinguished as they were only by the final -ν, have since its retreat become identical and thus called for a *protective* suffix, suggested by association or analogy (132<sup>b</sup>. 801<sup>b</sup> f.). Thus in ἔλυσαν and ἔλεγον a protective -ε was appended, and gave birth to the N forms ἐλύσανε, ἐλέγανε (=ἔλυσαν, ἔλεγον). This -ε was presumably suggested by the third person singular of *past* tenses (ἔλυε, ἔλυσε, λ|έλυε, ἐφάγε). In process of time it was transferred also to the other persons and thus called forth the more recent but still dialectal forms ἤρχομιν-ε<sup>[1]</sup> or ἤρχομινε (also ἤρχομαι-ε = ἤρχομην; ἤρχουσιν-ε<sup>[1]</sup> = ἤρχου; ἤρχετον-ε<sup>[1]</sup> = ἤρχετο; ἤρχομεν-ε<sup>[1]</sup> or ἤρχομεσθι-ε<sup>[1]</sup> = ἤρχομεθα, etc.—beside the less frequent

[1] So accented throughout, after ἤμουνε, ἤσουνε, ἤτουνε, current even in M, as: Pul. 441 ἤσουνε.

forms of northern speech *ἤρχόμευα*, *ἤρχόσουα*, etc. where the final -a is due to the influence of the first person *ἔμευι*, *ἔμεινα*, *εἶχα*, *εἶπα*, *ἠΐρηκα*, etc. (801<sup>c</sup>).—That this protective or suffixal -ε (or -a) was resorted to when euphonic -ν had been identified with constituent ν, needs no special elucidation here.

29. On the other hand, the aorist passive (*έκοιμήθην*, *έκοιμήθη*) was amplified by the superaddition of the perfect ending -κα (the two tenses having meanwhile become identical and equally characteristic of the past [786. 1875]; cp. *έστην* and *έστηκα*, *εύρον* and *εύρηκα*, *έσχον* and *έσχηκα*, *έθανον* and *τέθνηκα*, *έδων*, *έδωκα* and *δέδωκα*, etc.), and thus received additional emphasis through the double ending -θη-κα, as: *έκοιμή-θη-κα*, *έκοιμήθη-κε*, *έκοιμηθή-καν-ε*. (761<sup>b</sup>. 801.)

30. The various stages of the whole process of euphonic and analogical amplification may be exemplified in the two pronouns *έμει* and *σί*. As already explained (532 and supra 8), their seemingly abnormal form called for their supply first with the analogical -ν (*έμιν*, *σέν*). Then the necessity arose for their assimilation to one of the received accusative endings (-άν, -ην, -ά by this time all amplified to -αν). The nearest and most convenient of such endings was naturally -a, since it was suggested by forms like *τινί*, *δείνα*, *είνα*, *λιμένα*, *μήνι*, *χιμῶνα*, *ρίνα*, and moreover suited both genders, consequently also the forms *έμει(ν)* and *σί(ν)*. Accordingly *έμιν* now became *έμει-ν-α*, and *έν* or (with the analogical prefix suggested by *έμέ* 532) *ένέν* became *έ-σί-ν-α*. In the further progress of time, when every accusative closed with final -ν (supra 5 f.), this new suffix was appended also to *έμει-ν-α* and *έ-σί-ν-α* and led to *έμέ-ν-α-ν* and *έ-σί-ν-α-ν* (cp. *τινά-ν*, *δείνα-ν* etc.), as in Span. 172 etc. When lastly final -ν became untenable (supra 22 ff.), a second suffixal or protective -ε came to its defence and led to *έμέ-ν-α-ν-ε* and *έ-σί-ν-α-ν-ε*, now often heard in popular speech (537).

## APPENDIX IV.

### THE FUTURE INDICATIVE SINCE A TIMES.

1. Compared with the other tenses of the present and past, the future indicative from the outset laboured under serious disadvantages. For while present action was assigned almost entirely to the present indicative, and past action exclusively to the past (i. e. aorist, imperfect and pluperfect) indicative, future action was distributed between the future indicative on the one hand, and the other moods (subjunctive, [optative], and imperative) on the other (App. v. 1), not to speak of the infinitive (App. vi. 1 & 4), nor of the present indicative (1836). Each of these moods was of its own an exponent of prospective action, in that it referred to a time to come, and thus performed part of the office otherwise appropriate to the future indicative. The future tense therefore had virtually a much narrower scope than had the present and past indicative. With the gradual retreat of the secondary subjunctive (App. v. 6-13), of the 3<sup>rd</sup> person imperative (1918 ff. 1928. App. v. 16), and above all of the infinitive (2063 App. vi. 13-17), and their succession mostly by the primary subjunctive simple or in company with the appropriate conjunction, but particularly with *iva* (App. vi. 16), this mood—the primary subjunctive—became as it were the sole heir and successor of all extinct moods and thus came to be felt as the principal exponent of future action. The future indicative therefore, owing to its limited use, eventually became so unfamiliar with the masses as to be altogether dispensed with, its place having been assumed by various substitutes partly permanent, partly transient. These are in chronological order:—

2. A. a. The *present indicative* acting as a durative future. This has been a permanent substitute from classical antiquity down to the present time, with steadily increasing popularity (1836. Cp. RKühner ii.<sup>2</sup> 115, 1 & 119, 5).

Α 365 ἡ θήν σ' ἔξανύω γε καὶ ὕστερον ἀντιβολήσας, | εἴ που τις καὶ ἐμοὶ γε θεῶν ἐπιτάρροβός ἐστι. Hdt. 7, 140 οὔτε γὰρ ἡ κεφαλὴ μένει ἔμπεδον, οὔτε τὸ σῶμα . . λείπεται . . πέλει. Also 8, 77. Th. 4, 95 ἐν μῇ μάχῃ τήνδε τὴν χώραν προεκτάσθε καὶ ἐκείνην μᾶλλον ἐλεγθεροῦτε. Eur. Andr. 381 ἦν θάνησιν σὺ παῖς ὅδ' ἐκφεύγει μόνον σοῦ δ' οὐ θελοῦσης καθθανεῖν τόνδε κτενῶ. Xen. An. 4, 7, 3 τῇ στρατιᾷ οὐκ ἐστὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια εἰ μὴ ληψόμεθα τὸ χωρίον. Antiph. 3, 8, 11 καταλαβόντες καθαροὶ τῶν ἐγκλημάτων ἴσσεσθε, ἀπολύσαντες ὑπαῖτιοι καθίστασθε. Martyr. Polyc. 11, 2 πυρὶ σε ποιῶ δαπανηθῆναι εἰ τῶν θηρίων καταφρονεῖς, ἐὰν μὴ μετανόησιν. Apophth. 396 Δ θεός, θέλεις οὐ θέλεις οὐκ ἀφῶ (present γῶ) σε ἐὰν μὴ αὐτὸν θεραπεύσῃς.

APP. IV.—FUTURE INDICATIVE SINCE *A* TIMES. [2<sup>b</sup>-6.

2<sup>a</sup>. This substitute is now very common in *N* speech, as : *δνε με μαρτυρήσης σε σκοτώσω*, and the almost exclusive means of expressing the future indicative in South Italian Greek (1836<sup>b</sup>). (G. Morosi 145.)

3. *δ*. The association thus effected between present and future may account not only for the converse usage (1889), but also for the confusion, since *A*, of the future subjunctive—acting as future indicative in that case (infra 8)—with the present subjunctive, a circumstance which has finally called into existence several verbal doublets, as : (ἡστούμην) αἰσθώμαι—novel present αἰσθομαι. (ἐθιγον) θίγω—θιγω. (ἰπέσχόμην) ὑπόσχωμαι—ὑπόσχομαι. (εἰσπόμην) ἐσπώμαι—ἐσπομι. (ὠφλον) ὀφλω—ὀφλω. (ἐγενόμην) γένωμαι—γένομαι. (ὠρυγον *P*) ὀρύγω—ὀρύγω (as Callin. 117, 15). So εἶρω ('say') fut. ἐρῶ—ἐρῶ.—So too in *N*: ἐξέγυρω, then recently (κατίσχω) κατάσχω—κατάσχω, (συνέδραμον) συνδράμω—συνδράμω.

4. *B. c*. Especially regular and common appears the use of the present for a less assertive future in the case of such verbs as include in themselves the inception of future. Such are : *ἐρχομαι*, *εἶμι* (989), *πορεύομαι*, *ὑπάγω*—more commonly *δύναμαι*; also *οἶομαι* or *οἶμαι*, *ἡγούμαι*, *νομίζω*, *φημί*, *λέγω*, *ἐλπίζω*, *φοβοῦμαι* (especially when they are used parenthetically); *χρῆ*, *δεῖ*, *πρέπει*, etc.—and above all *μέλλω*, (*ἐ*)θέλω, *βούλομαι*, *ὀφείλω*, and the like. (1893. 1896. 2086<sup>b</sup>.)

*Ar. Vesp.* 534 *εἴπερ, ὁ μὴ γένοιτο, νῦν οὗτος ἐθέλει κρατῆσαι*. *Sept. Josu.* 1, 11 *ἐτι τρεῖς ἡμέραι καὶ ἡμεῖς διαβαίνετε τὸν Ἰορδάνην τοῦτον*. *John* 14. 3 *ἐὰν ἐτοιμάσω τόπον ὑμῖν, πάλιν ἐρχομαι καὶ παραλήμφομαι ὑμᾶς*. So 4, 23, 1, 30. (*Op. Matt.* 3, 11 *ὁ ἐρχόμενος* and *Mark* 10, 30 *ὁ αἰὼν ὁ ἐρχόμενος*). *Rom.* 15, 25 *νυνὶ δὲ πορεύομαι εἰς Ἱερουσαλὴμ διακονῶν τοῖς ἀγίοις*. *Diod.* ii 616, 53 *τοῖς ὀφειλοῖσιν ἀναδέχεσθαι τὸν θάνατον = τοῖς ἀναδεχομένοις*. *Hesych.* *ἐλεύσομαι* ἐρχομαι, ἐπαγγέλλω. *JMosch.* 2865 *βλέπε πόσους κόπους θέλεις ἀπολέσαι*. *Leont. Neap.* V.S. 1685 *Β αὐριον θέλομεν ἐνδύσαι ὑμᾶς*. *Span.* 101 *ἔχεις δὲ καὶ συνειδήσιν ὅπου σε θέλει ἐλέγχειν*. *Prodr.* 4, 514 *καὶ τότε θέλω νὰ σε ἰδῶ τὸ πῶς τὸν θέλεις κύρειν* 'and then I want to see how you will drag him.'

5. It is obvious that the imperfect of the above verbs (*ἐ-ἡδυνάμην*, *ἔδει*, *ἐπρεπε*, *μέλλων*, *ἠθέλων*, *ᾠφείλων* [1905], etc.) in *G-B* perform the office of the potential indicative (*would, might*; *op. infra* 7).

*Test. XII.* 1040 *Α εἰ μὴ λαπῶβ ὁ πατήρ ἡμῶν προσηύδατο περὶ ἐμοῦ πρὸς κύριον, ἠθέλε κύριος ἀνελεῖν με (= ἀνείλεν ἂν με)*. *Callin.* 81, 12 *στρατηλάτης ἔμελλε γενέσθαι εἰ μὴ ἐτελεύτα*. *Acta Xanth.* 62, 25 *εἰ ἦν μοι δυνατόν ἠθέλων εἰπάσθαι τοῦ κρασιίδου τῶν ἱματίων αὐτοῦ*.

6. *d*. On a similar principle, during *G*, *ἔχω* with the aorist infinitive takes the place of the future, and thus corresponds to the Latin phrase *habeo* with *infinitive*, used in the sense of *δύναμαι*, *ὀφείλω*, *μέλλω*, then as an equivalent to the future tense (*cp. French j'aimerai, finir-ai*). This Latinism, however, seems to have struck no deep roots in popular speech, seeing that modern Greek, even in its *M* stage, uses this turn much less frequently than synchronous scholastic writers. Be it further observed that *ἔχω* in this construction appears first in the sense of *I have cause to*—*I have* (a duty) *to*, *I must* (*ὀφείλω*),—then (when the simple future had disappeared) *I am about* (*μέλλω*), and finally *I shall or will* (*ἔσομαι*).

*Clement* 1, 4 *εἰ μήτι γε τοῦ νῦν με λυποῦντος ἐκεῖ χεῖρον παθεῖν ἔχω*. 1, 17 *σοὶ μὲν ἐτοιμός ἔχω κυνοδεύειν. περὶ ὧν ἔπραξεν ἐνταῦθα (ἡ ψυχῇ) ἔχει κριθῆναι*. 1, 12 *εἰ γε τὰ τῷ θεῷ διαφέροντα γυνῶμα θέλεις, παρὰ τοῦτον μόνον μαθεῖν ἔχεις*. 2, 28 *ὑφ' οὗ (θεοῦ) κριθῆναι ἔχει ἡ ἐκαστοῦ ψυχῇ περὶ ὧν ἔπραξεν ἐνταῦθα*. 2, 33 *οὗ (κανόνος) μὴ ἀφιστάμενός τις οὐκ ἔχει πλανηθῆναι*.

2, 36 πρὸς ἀγαθοῦ τινος ἀγνώστου συντελούμενον ἐλθεῖν ἔχει. 3, 15 ἅτινα αὐτοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς ἰδεῖν ἔχομεν. 3, 17 πᾶν ψεῦσμα, πᾶν μυρίαὶ ἐπινοαίαι βοηθήται, τὸν ἐλεγχον κἂν ἐν μικρῷ χρόνῳ λαβεῖν ἔχει<sup>[1]</sup>. 15, 11 ὁ παρὰ τοῦτο ποιῶν αἰωνίως ἔχει κολασθῆναι. Ignat. Rom. 2 οὐτὲ ὑμεῖς ἐὰν σιωπήσητε κρείττονι ἔργῳ ἔχετε ἐπιγραφῆναι. Hermas Sim. 9, 10 μικρὸν ἔχω ἀναπαυθῆναι. 10, 5 μικρὸν ἔχω ἀφαιρεθῆναι (v. l. ἀναιρεθῆναι) καὶ πάντα σοι ἐπιλύσω. Cyrill. H. Catech. 1, 2 καὶ τότε ἀκοῦσαι ἔχεις ἐὰν ἄξιός γένῃ. Macar. 561 B δτε ἐποίεις τὰ κακὰ οὐκ ἴδεις ὅτι γυλλωθῆναι ἔχεις καὶ ἀποθανεῖν; Eriph. i 736 B ἐλέγξει σε ἔχει. Pallad. 1043 O ἀνάσχου μοι τῆς νοουσίας καὶ σπυρνέγκαι σοι ἔχει. Nilos 541 A πολλοὶ ἐπισκόπων ἔχοσι κατακληρονομήσαι τὴν κάμνον τοῦ πυρός. Chal. 984 B σντηγχεῖν γὰρ ἔχομεν τῷ ἀρχιμανδρίτῃ. 1404 B ἔχει χειροτονῆσαι ἐπίσκοπον. Narr. Zos. 106, 35 ἡ δύξα τῆς πίστιώς σου διέσαι (ubi male δει σε) ἔχει τὸν Σατανᾶν. 107, 12 ἐγὼ ἴδειν ὅτι οὕτως ποιῆσαι σε εἶχεν ὁ θεὸς ὡς καὶ τοὺς μάκαρας, καὶ ἔχοσιν εἶναι ἀναμάρτητοι καὶ εἶναι αὐτοὺς ὑπὲρ τοὺς ἀγγέλους. Apophth. 96 A ταχέως ἔχει τὸ σῶμα σου ἀσθενῆσαι. 105 B εἰ ἐποίησα ἐμαυτῷ ἀγάπην, ταύτην ἔχω εὔρειν. 285 B εἰ δὲ μὴ φυλάξωμεν ἐρηνωθῆναι ἔχει ὁ τύπος οὗτος. Euseb. Alex. 400 B σὺ ἀφίειν με ἔχεις κάκεινον φίλος γενέσθαι. Theod. Scyth. 233 D εἰ τις λέγει ὅτι ὁ δεσπότης ἔχει ἐν τῷ μέλλοι τι σταγρωθῆναι ὑπὲρ τῶν δαιμόνων . . . ἀνάθεμα ἔσται. Protov. 19, 3 Σαλώμη, καινόν σοι θέαμα ἔχω διηγήσασθαι. JMoschos 2897 D ἔχεις ἀποθανεῖν καὶ εἰς κόλασιν ἀπελθεῖν. 2976 C Βασιλεῦσαι ἔχω. 2856 D ἄρτι ἔχω ἀποθανεῖν. So 2865 A. 2872 B. 2948 B. 2976 C, et passim. Chron. 721, 20 ἔχετε γενέσθαι. Nic. ii. 665 A ἐκδικῆσαι ἔχοσιν. Theoph. 127, 23 ἡ Ἰλως ἔχει εἶναι εἰς τὸ παλάτιον ἢ ἐγώ. 270, 10 μετὰ πολλῆς αἰσῶνης ἔχει ὁ χαγᾶνος ὑποστρέψαι εἰς τὴν χώραν. 325, 28 f. ἐὰν λαλήσης τὸν στρατὸν ἵνα δέξωνται με, καὶ τὰς ῥόγας αὐτῶν ἐπαγγέλλαι ἔχω καὶ εἰρήνην ποιῶ . . . καὶ καλῶς ἔχομεν ζῆσαι . . . καὶ πάντας ὑμᾶς προαναβιβᾶσαι ἔχω καὶ συγκροτῆσαι. 19 οὐδὲ ἰμοὶ ἔχει ὁ βασιλεὺς πιστεῖν. 349, 22 εἰ ὧ δεῖξαι σοι ἔχω τὸ τίς εἰμι. So further 4, 16. 381, 12, 15. 472, 13. So too ἔχει ὀρίσειν (for ὀρίσαι). Porph. Cer. 489, 9.

6<sup>b</sup>. Even a future of ἔχω and εἰμι came to be formed by means of this construction: Narr. Zos. 107, 13 ἔχοσιν εἶναι (= ἔσονται) ἀναμάρτητοι καὶ εἶναι, αὐτοὺς ὑπὲρ τοὺς ἀγγέλους. Theoph. 197, 15 ἔχει εἶναι (= ἔσται). Porph. Adm. 201, 5 & 212, 8 ἔχειν ἔχομεν (= ἔσμεν).

6<sup>c</sup>. So still ἔχω νὰ πάθω, ἔχεις ν' ἀκούσῃς, etc.

7. e. As a matter of course, the imperfect of ἔχω in all the above cases has the force of οἷος ἦν or ἔμελλον, might, should, would (cp. supra 5). Hence it frequently stands in the apodosis of a subjective or unreal condition, thus performing the work of a potential indicative (1907. 1974). The particle ἂν in this case is mostly omitted.

Test. XII. 1073 A εἰ μὴ Δὰν ὁ ἀδελφός μου συνεμάχησέ μοι, εἶχον με ἀνελεῖν, 1080 D εἰ μὴ ἡ (ubi male ἡ) μετάνοια τῆς σαρκός μου, στενός εἶχον ἀποθανεῖν. Acta Petri et Pauli 185, 15 τοῦτο εἶχε παθεῖν ἡ Ῥώμη. Callin. 98, 4 εἰ γὰρ ἀνιγγεῖας περεκαλοῦμεν καὶ ἡμεῖς. Apophth. 176 A εἰ ἡς ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ σου, καὶ

[1] So further: Clement. 3, 37 εἰ δὲ τις τολμήσειεν ἀδίκως τὴν ψυχὴν κολασθῆναι ἔχει. 15, 10 μηδὲν ἀμαρτάνοντες ἐπὶ μόνῳ τῷ τὴν ἐλεημοσύνην μὴ ποιεῖν καταδικασθῆναι οὐκ ἔχοσι. 20, 4 περὶ ὧν πρᾶσσουσιν κακῶς πάντως κολασθῆναι ἔχοσιν. 3, 61 πάντως καὶ πεσεῖν ἔχοσιν. 11, 11 τέλος λαβεῖν οὐκ ἔχει. 11, 32 καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐπαίχνηθῆναι ἔχομεν αὐτοὶ δὲ ἀπολέσθαι. 12, 31 ἀνευ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ βουλῆς οὐδὲ στρουθὸς ἐν παγίδι ἐνπεσεῖν ἔχει. 13, 8 θανάτως καὶ δόλωτος βιώσαι ἔχει. 13, 14 τὴν κατὰ πάντων νίκην λαβοῦσα σωθῆναι ἔχει. 16, 9 οἱ μὴ πεπονηκότες ἀπολέσθαι ἔχοσιν. 16, 10 ταύτης τὴν γεννήτορα ἐὰν καταλίπῃ, δικαίᾳ κρίσει καὶ αὐτῇ με καταλιπεῖν ἔχει. 19, 2 ἐὰν εἴπῃς μὴ εἶναι, ἐκ πολλῶν καὶ τῶν τοῦ διδασκάλου σου ἀποδείξει ἔχω ὅτι ἔστιν.

ἐπίσκοπος πολλάκις καὶ κεφαλὴ πολλῶν εἶχες εἶναι. Dorothe. 1700 β εἰ συνφέρει μοι, εἶχε πάντας πέμψαι μοι ὁ θεός. Nic. ii. 657 ἂ κακείνων ἂν εἶχόμεν ἱστορῆσαι καὶ ζωγραφῆσαι. JMoschos 2948 β ὥτας εἶχον λαβεῖν εὐλογίαν τῶν ἀγίων. Chron. 732, 3 εἶχεν ἐλθεῖν.

8. B. The future *subjunctive* simple. This substitute is familiar to Homer and the Attic poets, fairly common in *A* prose (1921, 1962), chiefly after οὐ μή(ν) (also μή οὐ 1956), but very popular in *P*, particularly *G-B* compositions with or without οὐ μή(ν) (2016). Though obsolescent, this simple future subjunctive still survives in *N* speech (infra 10).

Π. A 262 οὐ γάρ πω τοίους ἴδον ἀνέρας οὐδὲ ἴδωμαι. Γ 287 ἦ τε καὶ ἰσσομένοισι μετ' ἀνθρώποισι πέληνται. Z 459 καὶ ποτὲ τις εἰπήσιν. So too Z 201. M 191. Π 437 Hymn. Apoll. 1 μῆσομαι οὐδὲ λάθωμαι Ἀπόλλωνος Ἐκάτοιο. Aesch. Sept. 38 οὐ μή(ν) ληφθῶ δόλω. Soph. Tr. 1190 οὐ μή(ν) λάβω. So too Ai. 560. Phil. 103. Eur. El. 988 οὐ μή(ν) . . πέσῃς. Xen. An. 2, 2, 12 ἦν γὰρ ἀπὰς δύο ἡ τριῶν ἡμερῶν ἀποσχωμεν οὔκτι μή(ν) δύνῃται (dur. fut., op. supra 4) βασιλεὺς ἡμᾶς καταλαβεῖν. So Hier. 11, 15. Pl. Rep. 341 B. Xen. An. 7, 3, 26 ἂν θέλῃς αἰρήσεις καὶ ἀποχωρῶν οὐ μή(ν) δεῖσῃς τὸν πολέμον. Pl. Symp. 214 Δ ὁπόσον ἂν κελύη τις ἐκπῶν οὐδὲν μᾶλλον μή(ν) ποτε μεθυσθῇ. Dem. 22, 39 ἀπαντὲς εἰσιν ἀππλάγαμένοι καὶ διην οὐδεὶς οὐδεμίαν μή(ν) δῶ.

Sept. Job 7, 10 ἐὰν ἀνθρώποις καταβῇ εἰς ᾄδην, οὔκτι μή(ν) ἀναβῇ οὐδ' οὐ μή(ν) ἐπιστρέψῃ εἰς τὸν ἴδιον οἶκον οὐδ' οὐ μή(ν) ἐπιγνῶ αὐτὸν ἔτι ὁ τόπος αὐτοῦ. Esa. 10, 14 καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ὅς διαφεύγεται με ἡ ἀντιείη μοι. 2 Reg. 18, 2 ἔστω ὅτι δράμω. Tobit 6, 8.

NT Luke 1, 15 ἔσται γὰρ μέγας ἐνώπιον κυρίου, καὶ οἶνον καὶ σίκερα οὐ μή(ν) πιῇ καὶ πνεύματος ἁγίου πλησθῆσεται. Matt. 7, 6 μὴδὲ βάλητε τοὺς μαργαρίτας ὑμῶν ἐμπροσθεν τῶν χοίρων, μήποτε καταπατήσουσιν αὐτοὺς ἐν ταῖς ποσὶν αὐτῶν καὶ στραφέντες ρήξωσιν ὑμᾶς. John 10, 28 καὶ οὐ μή(ν) ἀπολώσιν εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα, καὶ οὐχ ἄρπάσει τις αὐτὰ ἐκ τῆς χειρὸς μου. Luke 8, 17 οὐ γάρ ἐστιν κρυπτόν δ' οὐ φανερόν γενήσεται οὐδὲ ἀπόκρυφον δ' οὐ μή(ν) γνωσθῇ καὶ εἰς φανερόν ἔλθῃ. 11, 5 τίς ἐξ ὑμῶν ἔξει φίλον καὶ πορεύσεται πρὸς αὐτὸν μεσονυκτίου καὶ εἰπῇ πρὸς αὐτόν, φίλε κτλ.—Barn. 17, 2 οὐ μή(ν) νοήσῃτε. 19, 4 ff. οὐ μνησικακήσεις, οὐ μή(ν) διψήσῃς, οὐ μή(ν) λάβῃς, οὐ μή(ν) ἀρῇς, ἀλλὰ διδάξεις, οὐ μή(ν) γενῇ. Hermas Sim. 5, 7, 3 εἰ δὲ γέγονεν ἄγνοια προτέρα, πῶς σωθῇ ὁ ἄνθρωπος;

Symm. Pa. 54, 24 κατενέγκῃς. Thdt. Dan. 12, 10 ἐκλεγῶς, ἐκλεκτανῶς, πυρωθῶς, ἀπαρθῶς, ἀνομησῶς. Clement. 349 Δ ἐγὼ δὲ θεοῦ δεηθεὶς τὴν ἰσὺν παρὰ σῶν (v. l. παρίσω). Great Louvre Pap. 2097 ἐπενέγκω for ἐποιέσωμαι. Aloh. 36, 16 ταύτην χαπεύσας εὔροισ (write εὔρως) ἄργυρον κάλλιστον. Men. Rhet. 232, 12 ἐργάσῃ, παραδράμῃς. Cyrill. H. Procat. 357 Δ ποτὲ μὲν ὑμῖν . . δεῖξῃ ὁ θεὸς ἐκείνην τὴν νύκτα . . τότε παραδείσου θύρα ἀνοιχθῇ τότε ὑδάτων ἀπολάγσεις χρυστοφόρων ἔχοντων εὐωδίαν τότε Χριστοῦ προσηγορίαν λάβητε. Nil. 461 D ποτε γινώσκ . . ποτε μυσῇσαι θελήσεις . . ποτε κατὰ νοῦν λάβῃς. Mart. Petri et Pauli 121, 1 ὅτι κατανοῆσαι δυνήσῃτε cum poteritis advertere. 136, 5 πέμψει ὁ θεὸς ἅγιον ὅστις βασιλεὺς αὐτῶν λεγθῇ (ἐκλ.-?). Apocr. Evang. Tho. 3, 2 ἰδοὺ νῦν καὶ σὺ ὡς δένδρον ἀποξηρανθῇ καὶ οὐ μή ἐνέγκῃς φύλλα οὔτε ρίζαν οὔτε καρπὸν. Acta Andr. et Matt. 4 ἀνέλθῃς. 31 πορευθῇς. 32 ἐπανεέλθω. Acta Barn. 8 οὐ γὰρ ἔλθῃ μεθ' ἡμῶν. Gr. Urk. Berlin 302 († 538), 22 μισοῦμαι τὰς προγεγραμμένας ἀρούρας καὶ παρὰ σῶν καὶ παρὰ σῶν ἐναισίου τὸν φόρον αὐτῶν. Mal. 111, 21 ἄτινα καὶ νῦν εἶπω. Cono. Nic. ii. 920 ο ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ ἐξορῶντων τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν αὐτῆς καὶ ἰδοὺ τί με βλέπτει. Vita Epirh. 41 D τότε μνησθῇς. 64 Δ ἐπείρεσον τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς παραθῃσῶσιν τράπεζαν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τοῖς καὶ φαγονταὶ (write -ωνται) καὶ εὔφρανθῶσι καὶ ἀπελεύσονται (-ωνται) τὴν ὁδὸν αὐτῶν. So ib. B. Callin. 136, 19 οὐ μὴ ὑμᾶς ἐγκαταλείψῃ ὁ θεὸς ἀλλὰ ἐλέησῃ καὶ ἀπολάβῃτε καὶ προσδέξωμαι ὑμᾶς. (CP. EASoph. 1. Lex. 45.)

9-12.] APP. IV.—FUTURE INDICATIVE SINCE A TIMES.

9. That the primary subjunctive had established itself, in early Christian times, as the legitimate substitute for the future indicative is further corroborated by the express testimony of the grammarians themselves.

Lesbon. 186 f. Τῶν Ἀττικῶν τὸ συντάσσειν τὸ μὴ μετὰ μέλλοντας χρόνον μὴ πείσομαι. Ἔστι δὲ τοῦτο τὸ σχῆμα τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἀντιφῶντα σπαρίας δὲ καὶ Ὀμηρος κίχρηται. Ἡμεῖς δὲ τὰς ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων φωνὰς τὴν τε μὴ ἀπαγόμεναι καὶ τὴν οὐ ἀρνησιν ὑποτακτικοῖς ῥήμασι συντάσσομεν ὡς οὐ μὴ διαλεχθῶ ἡμέρον, οὐ μὴ εἶπω. Ἀνακύπτει δ' ἐκ τούτου τοῦ σχήματος καὶ ἕτερον Δάριον δ γίνεταί τῆς αὐτῆς συντάξεως χρεωκοπομένης, ὡς οὐκ εἶπω σοι ἀντὶ τοῦ οὐκ ἐρῶ σοι. Καὶ ὁμίερον οὐκ ἴδης ἀντὶ τοῦ μὴ ἴδης, κατὰ (ubi male καὶ) τό. Οὐ γάρ πω τοίους ἴδον ἀνέρας οὐδὲ ἴδωμαι. So Hesych. οὐχ ὑπόσω : οὐκ ὑπενέγκω, οὐ βαστάσω. οἶσαι ἐνέγκει, προσφέρει, κομίζει (bad spellings for -ῃ). παροίσομεν παρηνέγκωμεν, παρακομίσωμεν. τευζόμεθα τῆχωμεν. μελλήσω σπουδάσω ἢ ὑπερβώμαι. περιτεύεται συντήχῃ ἢ περιπέσεται (read -εῖται). ἐλεύσομαι ἔρχομαι ἑπανάθω. πόρωσι χαρίσονται δώσουσιν. ἔδονται φάγωσιν. πείσονται πάθωσι, et passim. Phot. Lex. πείσονται πάθωσιν. περιτεύεται συντήχῃ. περιπέσεται. συνεύξομαι συντήχῃ. στήσουσιν σῶωσιν, κρατήσουσιν, ἐφέξουσιν. τίσωσιν τιμῶσιν, τιμωρήσονται. οἶσω κομίσω, ἐνέγκω. Schol. Pl. Δ 237 ἔδονται φάγωσι.

10. This primary subjunctive is still lingering in modern Greek, chiefly in wishes, that is in the sense of the ancient secondary subjunctive to which it has succeeded (supra 8; infra 12<sup>b</sup>; App. v. 15): χαρῶ σε = οὕτως ὀνείμην σου, ὁ θεὸς φυλάξῃ (incorrectly -ξοι) 'God forbid.'

10<sup>b</sup>. The longest record of the future simple is shown by such defective forms as ἔσομαι, ὤψομαι, ἐλεύσομαι, which being felt as independent verbs without present, were used accordingly, as: Vita Epiph. 49 α ἀγωμεν, τέκνο, καὶ ὀψόμεθα (-ψώ-?) τὸν λέοντα. ib. β δευτε τέκνα καὶ ὀψεσθε τὸ πτώμα. 53 c ἔσομαι πίστιν ἔχων, καὶ ἔσῃ πεποισῶς. CGL 33, 32 ἀφες ὀψομαι (read ὤψομαι). Lucas 27, 8. 173, 12; see 1767, a.

11. That at a time when the subjunctive of the future was on the ascendancy over its indicative, the spirit of reaction should sometimes lead to the converse phenomenon, that is to the use of the indicative for the subjunctive, was inevitable. We therefore find sometimes final *iva* and *ὥς* with the future indicative spelt with the thematic vowel (η and ω) of the subjunctive. (Cp. EASoph. Lex. p. 40.)

NT Acts 21, 23 ἵνα ξυρήσονται τὴν κεφαλὴν καὶ γνῶσονται. 1 Cor. 13, 3 ἵνα καυθῶμεν. 1 Pet. 3, 1 ἵνα κερδηθῶσονται. Athen. 12, 23, p. 527 Δ ὥπως παραθῶσονται, παρασχῶσονται. Dio Chrys. 1, 136, 7 ὥπως μὴ ἔσονται. Aristid. 38 p. 482, 11 ὥπως γενήσονται. Basil. ii. 683 E ἵνα πλησθῶμεθα. Mart. Barthol. 7 ἵνα γνωσῶμεθα. Proc. ii. 454, 9 περιεσώμεθα. i. 479, 17 ἔσῃσθε. ii. 43, 13 περιεσῶνται (v. l.). i. 54, 17 διαθήσονται (v. l.). 220, 10 γενήσονται. 277, 17 θήσονται. 336, 13 συλλήψεται. ii. 71, 20 ἀκούσῃσθε, Agath. 41 πείσῃσθε (from πάσχω). 163 καθιστήσῃ. Theophyl. 278, 8 ἵνα γενήσονται. Cp. 1990<sup>b</sup>.

12. C. The present or future subjunctive strengthened by the modal particle *άν*, which, in progress of time, was confounded with *iva*, and later changed to *νά* (1774). This formation marks the gradual transition from the potential secondary subjunctive [optative] (1925)—now fast retreating—to the more concrete and simple future subjunctive (1773 f.).

Polyb. 11, 6, 6 οὐτ' ἂν ὑβρίζειν ὑπομείνητε τοὺς ἐλευθέρους. 18, 18, 2 θαρρήσῃ ἂν ἀποφῆναι. Dion. H. ii. 1175, 13 οὐ γὰρ ἂν οὗτος ὀλιγαρχίας ὄνομα θῆται τῇ τῶν κρατίστον ἡγεμονίᾳ. v. 615, 13 οὐδὲν ἂν ὑπολάβῃ λέγεσθαι κατὰ τέχνην. Philo. i. 60, 32 μὴ γὰρ ὄντων ὀνομάτων οὐδ' ἂν διάλεκτος ἦ. Dioica. 2, 91, p. 215 τὸ δὲ ὀρθίθειον καὶ χήρειον στίβας οὐτὰς ἂν εὐωδιασθῇ. Plut. ii. 556 β σκοπῶν ἂν εὕρησ. 777 B

οὐκ ἂν σοι προσδιαλέξωμαι. [Demetr.] 13, 14 μόλις ἂν ἐννοηθώμεν. Clement. 45 B τίς γὰρ ἂν ἁμαρτήσῃ; Galen. ii. 8 B ἐπαινήσῃ δ' ἂν τις καὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων νομοθέτην. vi. 355 C οὐκ ἂν ποτε φάγωμεν τῶν ἐκείνους ἰδωδύμων. Sext. 60α, 28 οὐκ ὀλίγη δ' ἂν ἔχη μοῖραν εἰς προτροπὴν καὶ ὅταν βλέπωμεν κτλ. Cyrill. H. Procat. 12 ὅταν τῇ πείρᾳ λάβῃς τὸ ὕψωμα τῶν διδασκομένων, τότε ἂν γνῶσῃ. Callin. 104, 19 λιμὸς ἔχει γενέσθαι καὶ ἵνα τότε αὐτοῖς δώσῃς. 123, 26 ὅσα οὖν καλὰ ἔργα ἔδαν ποιήσῃ τις, ἵνα λέγῃ ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτοῦ. Proc. ii. 135, 19 οὕτω γὰρ ἂν ποιήσῃ. 171, 19 ἦν τι καὶ περὶ Καμπανίας ὑμῶν ἢ Νεαπόλεως αὐτῇς εἴποιμεν, οὐκ ἂν δέξῃσθε; 263, 12 τῆς παρουσίας αὐτῶν προσβείας οὐδὲν ἂν γένηται μαρῶτερον. Acta Xanth. 75, 24 ἂν γὰρ συναντήσωμεν αὐτῷ οὐκ ἂν κινήσωμεν. Pallad. 1113 B ἔδαν γὰρ μάθω, ἵνα αὐτῷ συντήγῃ· ἔδαν δὲ μὴ μάθω αὐτοῦ τὴν πολιτείαν οὐκ ἀπέρχομαι ἕως τοῦ ὕρους. Acta Pil. i. B, 4, 1 ἡμεῖς ἵνα εἴπωμεν τῇ μεγαλειότητί σου τί εἶπεν αὐτός. 10, 6 σήμερον λέγω σοι ἀλήθειαν· ἵνα σε ἔχω εἰς τὸν παράδεισον. [Amphil.] 222 B (ed. Campresis) ἔδαν ἔλθω εἰς τὴν αὐριον ἕως ὥρας ἑκτῆς, τί ποιεῖς; ὁ δὲ ἔφη· ἵνα ἀποθάνω. λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ ἄγιος· καί, ἵνα ἀποθάνῃς τῇ ἁμαρτίᾳ, ζήσῃς δὲ τῷ Χριστῷ μου. 222 C ἔδαν ζήσῃς ἕως αὐριον, ἵνα βαπτισθῶ.—See also 1774, b.

IScylites 643, 12 ἔω σε ἔκτισα, φούρνε, ἐὼ ἵνα σε χαλάσω. [Cp. MGlycas 282 ὅπου τὸν φούρνον ἔκτισε πάλε ἀς τον χαλάσῃ.] Nicet. 304, 26 εἰς βύτριν ἀγουρίδος μόλις ἵνα εὗρῃ τις μίαν ῥῶγαν ὄριμον. 598, 24 πῶς ἵνα . . . στήσονται; 783, 23 τ. ἵνα γενώμεθα. Span. 137 καὶ ἂν τὸ μικρὸν εὐχαριστῇς, νὰ σ' ἔβῃ καὶ ἄλλο μέγα 208 καὶ τότε δεῦτε πρὸς ἐμὲ καὶ ὑπάτι νὰ σας εἶπω. 215 ἀνάπαντέ τους ὀλίγον καὶ πάντα νὰ τους ἔχῃς. 232 f. ἐπαίδευσέ σας διὰ δαρμῶν κ' ἐγὼ νὰ σας παιδεύσω Μετὰ σκοπίων . . . καὶ νὰ σας ἐξαλείψω. 203 καὶ ἂν ποιήσῃς τίποτε καὶ ἂν μὴ παρηγορήσῃς, Δούλοιοι σου πίντες νὰ εἴμεθα καὶ νὰ σ' εὐχαριστοῦμεν. So 110, 123, 137, 168, 174, 191, 247. MGlycas 218 ἄφ' οὗ χωριάτης καὶ ψυχῇ πότε νὰ φέρῃς ὄψιν; Ἀφ' οὗ κληθῇς καὶ μαρανθῇς πότε νὰ ἐξαναθάλῃς; Ἀφ' οὗ γηράσῃς καὶ σαπῇς πότε νὰ γένης νέος; Ἀφ' οὗ ἀποθάνῃς καὶ σαπῇς πότε νὰ ἐξαναζήσῃς; Prodr. i. 62 τὰ λουτρικὰ τὰ μ' ἔποικας τὸν κραββατοστρώσιν εἰς κλῆρον νὰ τα δέξωνται οἱ παῖδες σου πατρῶν. 2, 107 μὴ προσδοκᾷς δὲ πάλιν ὅτι ἂν με δώσῃς τίποτε νὰ το κακοδικήσω. Ὅμως ἐκ τῆς ἐξέδου μου καὶ σὺ νὰ καταλάβῃς etc. 5, 45 καὶ ἀκούσον τὴν βιοτὴν τζαγγάρου καὶ νὰ μάθῃς τὴν βρώσιν καὶ ἀνάπανσιν τὴν ἔχει καθ' ἐκάστην. 6, 75 ἂν γὰρ πεισθῇς ταῖς συμβουλαῖς καὶ τοῖς διδάγμασί μου. Σὺ μὲν λοιπὸν νὰ τιμηθῇς, μεγάλως (δ') εὐτυχῇς, ἐμὲ δὲ τὸν πατέρα σου . . . Νὰ θρέψῃς ὡς ἀδύνατον καὶ νὰ γεροκομήσῃς. 6, 122 καὶ δὸς με νὰ προγεύσωμαι καὶ τότε νὰ πετζῶνω. Belth. 968 f. ἐπεὶ ὡς οἰκεῖν τῆς θυγατρὸς αὐτὸς τῆς ἱδκῆς μου Ἐνέπλεξε καὶ ἡγάπησεν, νὰ τῆς τον δώσω ἀπάρτι, Νὰ ποίσω τῷ ἀνδρόγυνον καὶ νὰ τους εὐλογήσω, καὶ νὰ τον δώσω καὶ νὰ ζῇ ὡς ἀγαπᾷ καὶ θέλει. (Cp. Istaphr p. 25, 11 ὁμῶσατε ὅτι οὐτε δῶρα νὰ ἐπάρτε οὐτε κρυφὰ νὰ το λέγετε, καὶ ἐγὼ νὰ σας ἐρμηνεύσω . . . καὶ ὥμοσαν ὅτι Οὐτε δῶρα νὰ ἐπάρωμεν οὐτε κρυφὰ νὰ το λέγωμεν. NSophianos 85 τάσσω σας ὅτι εὐκολώτατα νὰ φθάσετε. So too 86.)

12<sup>b</sup>. So too now *τώρα* νὰ σε ἰδῶ 'I'll see you now'; ἐγὼ νὰ σου δείξω 'I'll show you'; αὐτὸς νὰ με πιάχῃ; 'shall he catch me?'

13. Observe that the particle *νὰ* introducing the imperfect or aorist indicative forms the potential apodosis of a subjective conditional clause, expressed or unde stated (1773 f. 1907. 1974). It thus stands for the A modal *αν*: 'might,' 'should,' 'would'.

Prodr. 4, 211 καὶ τότε νὰ εἶδες, *δέσποτα*, *πηδήματα νεωτέρου*. 6, 376 *ἐβγάνω τ' ἄλοκκινον*, νὰ 'πες βαφεῖν ὁμοιάσω (= εἶπες ἂν 'you would say'). Belth. 238 νὰ εἶπες οὐρανόβωμον *δστέρα* ἔχει ἔσω. 250 f. ἐκ δὲ τὸ *στόμα τῶν αὐτῶν* ἂν ἐβλεψες νὰ εἶδες *πῶς* συγκυμὸς ἐξήρχετο φρικώδης ἀγριώδης, Νὰ εἶπες ὅτι *κύνων* ἔχουσιν ὡς περ *ζῶντα*. 352 τὰ δὲ ἐπὶ τὰ ἀνῶθεν εἰς χεῖρας τῶν ἐράτων Νὰ εἶπες *χαχατουρίζουσι, συχνοσυκνογελοῦσιν*.



14. D. The preceding combination (νὰ + subj.) was strengthened once more by the superaddition to it of *θε*, an abbreviated form of *θ-λα* (not *θ-λαω* which is never shortened 863). This new particle made its appearance during the XIII<sup>th</sup> and has ever since remained in popular use. However, the combination *θε ν* soon coalesced to *θεν*, and this again was gradually (since the XVI<sup>th</sup>) contracted to simple *θα*, the ultimate and now universal prefix to the future tense<sup>[1]</sup>. See 1922 & infra 18.

Asin. 178 φορτοῦνα θε νὰ ποίω but θε νὰ = θέλει νὰ 211, 269, etc.). So Picat. 59 θε νὰ στρέψω θέλω.—Chron. Mor. Prol. 825 ὅπου θὰ τοὺς πιστεύω. Abraham 989 θὰ ἰδῇς.

15. The full form of *θέλει* with νὰ for *θεν* or *θα* is still heard among old-fashioned people. It is used always *adverbially* (cp. *A ὠφελον = εἶθε* 1905) and commonly follows the inflected subjunctive, thus νὰ σε ἰδῶ θέλει 'I will or shall see you,' νὰ με ἰδῇ θέλει, νὰ σε ἰδοῦμε θέλει, νὰ με ἰδῶτε θέλει, νὰ με ἰδοῦμε θέλει. In the second person singular νὰ με ἰδῇς θέλει, the contiguity of the incompatible *σθ* (177) is usually avoided by interchanging the verbal forms: νὰ με ἰδῇ θέλεις. So further: νὰ νυστάξω θέλει, νὰ νυστάξῃ θέλεις, νὰ νυστάξῃ θέλει, νὰ νυστάξωμε θέλει, νὰ νυστάξετε θέλει, νὰ νυστάξουνε θέλει—νὰ χαρῶ θέλει, νὰ χαρῇ θέλεις, νὰ χαρῇ θέλει, νὰ χαροῦμε θέλει, νὰ χαρῇτε θέλει, νὰ χαροῦνε θέλει<sup>[1]</sup>.

16. This modern combination of *θέλει* + νὰ or *θὲ* + νὰ, used as it always is in an adverbial sense, could not appeal to the Hellenizing taste of the scribes and thus led them to attempt at restoring the full verb in its personal function and infinitival construction. As however the infinitive by this time had become extinct from the popular language (App. vi. 13-18. 25-27), another expedient was resorted to: the third person singular of the subjunctive usually closed with the then commonest movable -ν (App. iii 19 ff.). In this form (-ν = in), now very familiar with the masses, a relic of the ancient infinitive was thought to have been discovered, and thus an artificial makeshift obtained with the erroneous spelling -ειν (instead of -νν), ever since tenderly adhered to by scribes: *θέλω γράφειν*, *θέλω γράψειν*, *θέλω φάγειν*—later *θέλω γράφει*, *θέλω γράψαι*, *θέλω φάγει*—instead of the correct form *θέλω γράφῃ-ν*, *γράψῃ-ν*, *φάγῃ-ν*, where -ν is movable (infra 17. See also App. vi. 18 f.).

17. A similar process is traceable in the ostensibly infinitival construction of *ἔχω*, viz. *ἔχω γράφει* (*φάγει*, *φθάσει*), 'I have written (eaten, arrived),' *ἔχω λυπηθῇ* 'I have been grieved,' *ἔχω σηκωθῇ* 'I have got up.' This is a modern coinage due to the misconception or misapplication of the Latinism formerly favourite with scribes (supra 6): *ἔχω γράψαι*, *φαγεῖν*, *φθάσαι*, etc. 'I shall write, eat, arrive,' etc. N penmen, familiar with modern languages, wanted to have an exact equivalent of the Romanic

[1] Compare SPortius p. 33 f. (ed. WWagner): 'Fut. Sing. *θέλω γράψαι*, *θέλεις γράψαι*, *θέλει γράψαι*, *scribam*. Plur. *θέλωμεν γράψαι*, *θέλετε γράψαι*, *θέλουσι γράψαι* — vel aliàs magis "corrupte": Sing. *θὲ γράψαι*, *θὲ γράψαις*, *θὲ γράψαι*, *scribam*. Plur. *θὲ γράψομεν*, *θὲ γράψετε*, *θὲ γράψουσι*.' And p. 50: 'Appendix de particula *θὲ* vel *θέν*: Quamvis "frequentior" sit apud hodiernos Graecos usus futuri secundo modo explicati, et particula *θὲ* vel *θὲ* \ aut *θέν* per synopen ita dicitur, sicut et *ἦθε* [?] pro *ἤθελα* volebam, quia tamen non raro reperies futurum "primo" modo traditum, quod affinitatem quandam cum Graeco literali futuro prae se ferre videtur, idcirco pauca de dictarum particularum usu censeo disserendum.'

'Est igitur particula *θὲ*, sicut et verbum *θέλω*, quando absolute ponitur, nullaque particula superaddita, specialis nota futuri. Dixi, absolute, nam si cum particula νὰ conjugatur ut *θέλω νὰ γράψω*, non denotat futurum, sed definitam quandam animi constitutionem ad scribendum.' (Cp. infra 18.)

APP. IV.—FUTURE INDICATIVE SINCE *A* TIMES. [17-19.

perfect, but being averse to the already existing periphrasis *ἔχω γραμμένο* or *-να* (*φαγωμένο* or *-να, εἶμαι φθασμένος, λυπημένος, σηκωμένος, κουρασμένος*), because it lacked the reduplication of the participle and so rendered it unfit for stylish composition, they resorted to the circumlocution: *ἔχω γράψαι, φαγεῖν, εἰπεῖν*, etc. 'I shall write, eat, say,' etc., no longer felt as a future. However, as it was impossible to revive the long extinct infinitive, they had recourse to something which approached and suggested it, or rather was mistaken for it: the third person of the (future) subjunctive which ended in *-ι* and very frequently in *-ιν* owing to the almost regular presence of the parasitic or euphonic *-ν* (App. ii. 19 ff.). This form then, sounding as it did like the former normal infinitive (*-ειν*), gave rise to the now current spelling *ἔχω γράψαι, ἔχω φάγει, ἔχω σηκωθῆ* (as if from *σηκωθῆναι*!), *ἔχω κοιμηθῆ* (as if from *κοιμηθῆναι*!) etc. It is evident however that such spelling has no historical foundation and ought to be given up for the correct form *ἔχω γράψῃ φάγῃ, σηκωθῇ, κοιμηθῇ*, etc. Nor should it be forgotten that this novel mode of forming a periphrastic perfect, being as it is the fabric of scribes, savours of a certain pedantry and has not yet established itself fully in popular speech. (Cp. App. vi. 18 f.)

18. The preceding remarks make it now clear that the ancient future has not been displaced by *θέλω* with its successive complements: infinitive—*ἵνα*—*νά*, as commonly believed by philologists who are misled to such a retrospective inference by the very recent phenomenon of *θὲ + νά = θι*. This is also confirmed by the following considerations respecting *P* and post-Christian Greek: (1) The future indicative, when it began to retreat, was replaced mainly by the primary subjunctive either simple or (later) preceded by *ἵνα*, but never by means of, or in company with, *θέλω*. (2) Its expression by means of the subjunctive with simple (*ἵνα*) *νά*—without *θέλω*—is still obtaining (though limited and obsolescent supra 8 & 10) in *N* speech. (3) The verb *θέλω*, whenever occurring, ever since *A* times, retains its proper volitive force I *wish* or *desire*, hardly ever weakening to the auxiliary function of I *will* or *shall*. (4) *θέλω*, when accompanied by *ἵνα* or *νά*, is never equivalent to the future. (5) Were *θέλω* in former times used as a purely auxiliary verb, it would have of necessity attained an unusual frequency, whereas this is not borne out by the *P-B* compositions. (6) *θέλω* would figure as an already long established and normal auxiliary verb in the *M* popular compositions, where the regular future tense is entirely absent (pedantries are not taken into account), and where we meet instead the subjunctive either simple or strengthened by the prepositive particle *νά*, in conformity with the traditional practice. (7) Lastly *θέλω* in the abbreviated and corrupted form *θ[ε]ί* *νά*—*θά* makes its appearance as an auxiliary expedient not earlier than the XIII.<sup>b</sup> (supra 14). In these circumstances the particle *νά*, contained in (*θὲ + νά*) *θά*, is not a complementary adjunct to *θέλω*, but the reverse: *θέλω* or rather *θ[ε]ί* is a strengthening prefix resorted to only in recent times.

19. The various stages through which the future indicative has successively gone since classical antiquity may be illustrated by the following example: (I shall suffer): I *A-N* *πείσομαι*. II *P-B* *πάθω*; *G-B* *πάθω ἄν*; *ἵνα* *πάθω*; *ἔχω μέλλω* etc. *παθεῖν*. III *T-N* *νά* *πάθω, θέλω παθεῖν*. IV *M-N* *θὲ + νά* *πάθω, N* *θά* *πάθω*.

## APPENDIX V.

### THE MOODS CHIEFLY SINCE A TIMES

1. Syntactically considered, the four or rather three Greek moods (676-9), may be brought under two groups: the indicative on the one side, and the subjunctive and imperative on the other side. The cardinal difference between the two groups lies in the broad fact that the indicative may refer to all three divisions of time: past, present, and future, whereas the two (three) other moods refer decidedly to the future (cp. *ἄγωμεν, μὴ ἄγωμεν; ἄγετε, μὴ ἄγετε; γένοιτο, μὴ γένοιτο*; also combined *φέρε ἀκούσωμεν*, etc.). Hence we may call the indicative the *assertive* mood, and the subjunctive and imperative the *prospective* moods. As a matter of course the indicative of the future is also and above all a prospective mood. For primitive Greek cp. BDelbrück Synt.; then WWhitney §§ 573 ff., and WGoodwin pp. 371-389.

[Cp. Acta Tho. 59, 3 *εἰ ἀληθῶς καὶ βεβαίως ἀνέτειλεν ὁ κύριος εἰς τὴν ταύτην ψυχὴν καὶ προσεδέξατο τὸν καταβληθέντα σπύρον, οὔτε τῆς προσκαιροῦ ζωῆς φροντίδα ποιήσειεν οὔτε τὸν θάνατον φοβηθήσεται οὔτε Χαρίσιός τι ταύτην καταβλάψαι δυνήσεται.*]

2. Thus distinguished, the prospective moods have then one fundamental idea common: a *desire expressed*. But the expression of desire may be conceived in a threefold form, as an exhortation, a prayer, or a command, — the three notions being nothing but different shades of desire. (Cp. WGoodwin p. 384) *ἄγωμεν, μὴ ἄγωμεν, γένοιτο, μὴ γένοιτο, ἄγετε, μὴ ἄγετε. ἀκούσωμεν, μὴ ἀκούσητε. Φέρε εἰπώ. μὴ εἴπησ. εἰπέ, εἰπάτω. εἰποι, μὴ εἴπη.* Cp. Ar. Nub. 1352 *πάντως δὲ τοῦτο δράσεις* [= *δράσον*]. Men. Mon. 397 *ξῖνον ἀδικήσεις μηδέποτε καιρὸν λιβῶν.*

Pl. Euthyd. 296 D *οὐδ' αὐτὸς ἐπιστήσῃ καὶ ἅπαντα δὲν ἐγὼ βοῶλωμαι.* Ἄλλὰ βοῶληθῆιν. Symp. 212 E *μεθύοντα ἄνδρα δέξεσθε συμπίπτην ἢ ἀπίωμεν*; Euthyphr. 11 B *οὐκ ἔχω ὅπως σοι εἰπῶ ἂ νῶν.* Dem. 8, 32 *οὐκ ἔχετε, ὦμαι, ὅ, τι ποιήσετε.* Eur. Ion 758 *εἰπώμεν ἢ σιγώμεν ἢ τί δράσομεν*; — Isocr. 4, 44 *τοιοῦτον ἔθος παρέδωκεν ὥστε ἑκατέρους ἔχειν ἐφ' οἷς φιλοτιμηθῶσιν.* Pl. Symp. 194 D *οὐδὲν ἐπὶ διοίσει αὐτῷ ἢ μόνον ἔχη ὅτ' ἀπαλλάττεται.* Xen. Oec. 7, 20 *τοῖς μέλλουσιν ἔχειν ὅ, τι εἰσφέρειωσιν.* Pl. Ion 536 B *ἀπορεῖς ὅ, τι λέγῃς* beside *εὐπορεῖς ὅ, τι λέγῃς.*

3. We are wont to express these varieties of desire by means of verbal forms and draw a sharp distinction among such 'moods' from one another by grammatical technicalities. Thus we speak of an *imperative* because it expresses command (*εἰπέ, ἐλθέτω*); but the very same command, when expressed negatively, is styled *prohibition*, and

generally allotted to another mood called *subjunctive* (μὴ εἴπῃς, μὴ ἔλθῃ). Again we draw a distinction between Ζεῦ θεωρὸς τῶνδε πραγμάτων γενοῖ (Aesch. Cho. 246) and ὦ παῖ γένοιο πατρός εὐτυχέστερος (Soph. Ai. 550), and assign the former example to a mood styled imperative, and the latter to another mood called *optative*, although the real meaning and force of the two instances adduced actually call for the reverse name.

4. These conventionalities were fixed by grammarians and Atticists at a time when the ancestral vocabulary and diction were thought to be the only legitimate stock and standard to be considered (25 f.). But the masses felt that cognate or associated notions, whether affirmative or negative, should be expressed by associated or similar forms. And as this association was not always distinguishable from identity, it naturally led first to interchange, then to uniformity of expression. In other words, for each class of cognate or associated ideas popular instinct adopted by preference one form of expression—generally the simplest, the most familiar, or most forcible—and it was this form which sooner or later succeeded in supplanting all its previous associates from the living language. (Cp. 1487.)

5. In conformity with this principle, which applies to all sections of grammar, the leading features of the 'prospective' moods—wish, exhortation, command—being as they were mere varieties or shades of one fundamental idea (*desire*), could not fail to be, even in classical times, often mistaken for one another and thus pave the way for equalization. Such a levelling, however, was not the work of association only; it was due also, in a great degree, to the collateral agency of terminal homophony (779):  $\omega = \alpha$ ,  $\epsilon\iota = \eta = \alpha$ , as: γράψει = γράψῃ = γράψοι; ἀγομῆν = ἀγωμῆν; ποιῆτε = ποιήτε = ποιῶτε (cp. κοιμήθητε and κοιμηθήτε).

6. The first to be affected by these agencies was the *secondary subjunctive* [*optative*], and that as early as classical antiquity. For its shifting and interchange with the primary subjunctive or the indicative, when dependent on a secondary tense (1932), is nothing but an early manifestation of the influence of association and homophony.

[Cp. Pl. Crit. 43 β ἐπιτηδές σε οὐκ ἤγειρον ἵνα αὖτ' ἡδιστα διόλγῃς. Th. 3, 4 ἐπρασσον ὅπως τις βοήθεια ἦξει. 1, 57 ἐπρασσεν ὅπως πόλεμος γένηται. So too Xen. An. 2, 1, 3 οὗτοι ἔλεγον ὅτι Κύρος μὲν τέθνηκεν, Ἀριαῖος δὲ πεφευγὸς εἶν.]

7. But the early retreat of the secondary subjunctive from common speech is due not to the influence of association and homophony only. Compared with the other moods, it laboured under the disadvantage that it expressed a *modality*, that is an indeterminate and subtle thought. It was moreover used mainly in dependent sentences, that is in a periodic structure which involved reflection and mental strain, and so rendered it unsuitable for the plain and direct speech of the masses. These disadvantages become more perceptible when we descend from the period of A literature to P compositions. Here the secondary subjunctive appears signally retreating before the primary subjunctive or the indicative. In particular the so-called *consecutio modorum* (or *temporum*) applies no longer; instead of the secondary subjunctive, after an historical tense (1934), we now find in prospec-

tive clauses only the primary subjunctive, whereas in all declarative and causal clauses the indicative alone is employed (1942). In fact, all dependent clauses formerly expressed by the secondary subjunctive henceforward stand, when referring to the past or unconditional present, invariably in the indicative, and when referring to the future, invariably in the primary subjunctive or future indicative (supra 6 & 1934).

8. Thus in his first five books, Polybios employs in dependent sentences, that is in—

a. *Declarative clauses* (after *ὅτι διότι, ὥς*), the *indicative* only.

b. *Causal clauses* (after *ὅτι, διότι, ὥς, ὥστε, ὥστε*), regularly the *indicative*, rarely the secondary subjunctive.

c. *Temporal clauses* (after *ὥστε, ὥστε, ὥστε, ὥστε, ὥστε*, etc.), regularly the *indicative*, rarely the secondary subjunctive.

d. *Final clauses* (after *ἵνα, ὅπως*), invariably the primary subjunctive [the secondary subjunctive only in 3, 43, 3]. This is, however, the only construction found even in Aristotle and Theophrast. (WMüller, Theophr. 52.)

8<sup>b</sup>. As to Biblical Greek, there is not one authenticated instance of the use of the secondary subjunctive in dependent clauses. (However cp. 2039 f.)

8<sup>c</sup>. The four cases commonly adduced as dependent secondary subjunctives (Mark 14, 10 ἀπῆλθεν ἵνα παραδοί; ib. 11 ἵζηται πῶς εὐκαιρῶς αὐτὸν παραδοί; 9, 30 οὐκ ἤθελεν ἵνα τις αὐτὸν γνοί; and Acts 25, 16 πρὶν ἢ ἔλχαι) are obviously scholastic transcriptions of παραδῆ and γνῆ (οἱ=η), which latter are due to the analogy of other cognate forms. The same holds true of other G-B instances, as: Mitth. xix. 252 [III<sup>rd</sup> A.D., Athens] 59-60 ἐὰν (οὗτος) πρῶτον δοί τῷ ἱερεὶ τὸ ἰσχυρίσιον. ib. 254, 101-5 μέχρις ἂν ἀποδοί, ἐὰν τις μὴ διδοί, μέχρις ἂν ἀποδοί. Mart. Pauli 112, 10 μέχρις ἂν διαγνοί. (Cp. Bull. Corr. Hell. 1894 p. 145 [Pap. 240 B.C.], 4 μιθῆ for μισθῆ; CLeemans 15 [III-IV<sup>th</sup>], 3 ἵν' ἀποδοί. CWessely, Zaub. L [IV<sup>th</sup> A.D.] 17 ἀνταποδοί. In other words—

Just as ἵστην	σῶ	σῆς	σῆ—ἔβην	βῶ	βῆς	βῆ
„ „ ἔφην	φῶ	φῆς	φῆ—(ἔθην)	θῶ	θῆς	θῆ
so also ἔγων	γῶ	γῆς	γῆ—(ἔδων)	δῶ	δῆς	δῆ

9. On this principle, for the protasis of conditional and temporal sentences denoting a repeated or habitual occurrence in the past (1975), which A expressed through the past subjunctive (especially in the case of the aorist), P-N speech resorts to the past (imperfect or aorist) indicative, as :

Sept. Num. 21, 9 ὅταν ἔδακνεν ὄφεις ἄνθρωπον καὶ ἐπέβλεψεν ἐπὶ τὸν ὄφιν τὸν χαλκοῦν καὶ ἔζη. Ex. 40, 37 εἰ δὲ μὴ ἀνέβη ἡ νεφέλη οὐκ ἀνεξέγινυσαν. Tobit 1, 18 εἰ τίνα ἀπέκτενε . . . ἰθαυὰ αὐτοὺς κλέπτων. 7, 11 ὅποτε ἐὰν εἰσπορεύοντο πρὸς αὐτήν, ἀπέθνησκον ὑπὸ τὴν νύκτα. NT Mark 3, 11 ὅταν αὐτὸν ἐθεώρει, προσέπιπτεν αὐτῷ. Callin. 63, 1 εἰ τις ἦν πυρίδας τῇ χειρὶ ἀσυμφανῶς τὸν τίμον σταυρὸν ἐποίει. Apophth. 113 ο ὅτε ἔβλεπε πρῶγμα καὶ ἤθελεν ὁ λογισμὸς αὐτοῦ κρίναι ἔλεγεν αὐτῷ. JMoschos 2869 β εἶποτε ἔβλεπεν τίνα μὴ εὐποροῦντα σπείραι τὸ χωρίον τὸ ἴδιον, ἀπῆρχετο ἐν νυκτὶ καὶ ἐλάμβανεν τὰ ἴδια βοῦδια καὶ σπόρον ἴδιον καὶ ἔσπειρεν τὸ τοῦ ἑτέρου χωρίον . . . εἶποτε εἶδεν πινά ἀπονήσαντα, ἐβάσταζεν τὸ γομάριον αὐτοῦ. ἄλλοτε ἐκώσθητο τὰ σποδῆματα, εἰ ἐκόπη, ἀνδρὸς ἢ γυναικὸς ποῶν. More examples in 1975.

10. The only case where the secondary subjunctive lingered as late as *T*, is that of indirect questions and parenthetical clauses introduced by *εἰ* 'whether perchance,' in which it depends on some verb of interrogation expressed or implied (2039). In NT Greek the following list is nearly complete.

Luke 1, 29 *κελογίζετο ποταπὸς εἶναι ὁ ἀσπασμός*. 3, 15 *διαλογιζομένων μήποτε αὐτὸς εἶναι ὁ Χριστός*. So 1, 62. 6, 16. 8, 9 *ἐπηράταν αὐτὸν τίς εἶναι ἡ παραβολή*. 9, 46. 15, 26 *ἐπυνθάνετο τί εἶναι ταῦτα*. So 18, 36: 22, 23 (cp. 2 Macc. 3, 37). [Acts 2, 12 *ἄλλος πρὸς ἄλλον λέγοντες τί θέλοι τοῦτο εἶναι*, better *λέγοντες· τί θέλει τοῦτο εἶναι*;] Acts 5, 24; 8, 20; 10, 17; 17, 11; 25, 20 *ἀπορούμενος δὲ ἐγὼ ἔλεγον, εἰ βούλοιο, πορεύεσθαι εἰς Ἱερουσόλυμα* [not *εἰ βούλοιο πορεύεσθαι*]; 21, 23; 24, 19—Solitary and dubious is the case: Acts 25, 16 *οὐκ ἔστιν ἔθος Ῥωμαίοις χαρίζεσθαι πάντα ἄνθρωπον πρὶν ἢ ὁ κατηγορούμενος κατὰ πρόσωπον ἔχει τοὺς κατηγοροῦντας, τόπον τε ἀπολογίας λάβοι περὶ τοῦ ἐγκλήματος* [for *ἔχῃ . . . λάβῃ*, since *οἰ* is homophonous with *ῃ*]. 1 Cor. 14, 10 & 15, 37 *εἰ τίχοι*. Acts 24, 19 *εἰ ἔχοιεν* 27, 39 *εἰ δύναιτο*. 20, 16 *εἰ δυνατόν εἰναι* (Tdf. ἦν). 1 Pet. 3, 17 *εἰ θέλοι τὸ δοῦμα τοῦ θεοῦ*. 3, 14. Acts 27, 12 *εἰ πῶς δύναιτο παραχειμάσαι*. 17; 27. John 13, 24 *πυθέσθαι τις ἂν εἴη* (v. l. *τίς ἐστίν*) *περὶ οὗ λέγει*.

Gr. Urk. Berlin 243, 13 *εἰ δὲ φανείη*. Callin. 60, 1 *εἰ δὲ καὶ βούλοιο*.

10<sup>b</sup>. This retreat of the secondary subjunctive, coinciding as it does with the first appearance of professional grammarians, now explains why it received from them the inappropriate name of *optative* (*εὐκτιπῆ*). Were it still, at that time, current in its formerly preponderating, i. e. dependent functions as a living mood, it would doubtless have been termed rather *subjunctive* (*ὑποτακτικῆ*) than *optative*. But because it was lingering mainly or only as a wishing mood, it received the specific name of *optative* (677. 1924).

11. The retreat of the past subjunctive from dependent clauses was followed by its disappearance from principal clauses also. Here the first signal was apparently given by the sacrifice of its *potential* function (secondary subj. with *ἄν*) in favour of the primary subjunctive.

Sext. Adv. Gr. 4 p. 237 *οὐκ ὀλίγην δὲ ἂν ἔχη μοῖραν εἰς προτροπὴν καὶ ὅταν βλέπωμεν κτλ.* Cyrill H. Procat. 12 *ὅταν τῇ πείρᾳ λάβῃς τὸ ὕψωμα τῶν διδασκομένων, τότε ἂν γνῶσῃ*. Proc. ii. 135, 19 *οὕτω γὰρ ἂν ποιήσῃς*. 171, 19 *ἢν τι καὶ περὶ Καμπανίας ὑμῖν ἡ Νεαπόλεως εἴποιμεν, οὐκ ἂν δέξῃς*; 168, 11 *οὐδεὶς ἂν, οἶμαι, τοῦτο γὰρ οὐκ ὄντως ἀνέγχετο ἂν ἀντεῖπῃ*. 263, 12 *τῆς παρούσης αὐτὸν πρεσβείας οὐδὲν ἂν γένηται μαρώτερον*.

12. It appears then that before the close of *G*, the secondary subjunctive had lost, one after another, its various *A* functions and still lingered only as a mood of *wish* (infra 15). Now as wish or solicitation is very closely associated with exhortation (primary subjunctive), command (imperative or future indicative, 1890) (supra 2 f.), this function could not fail to cause occasional confusion among cognate representatives, and that even in *A*. Thus we find there—

a. In (*mid*) commands the secondary subjunctive instead of the imperative, usually with *ἄν* (WGoodwin, Moods 234): Pl. Euthyd. 296 D *σὺ αὐτὸς ἀπαντα ἐπιστήσῃς ἄν ἐγὼ βούλωμαι*. Ἄλλὰ βούληθεῖν. Soph. Ph. 674 *χωροῖς ἂν εἴω*. Xen. Mem. 2, 3, 11 *οὔκ ἂν φθάνοις λέγων*.—So too occasionally in P Atticistic imitations.

b. In prohibitions the imperative for the primary subjunctive, as: Pl.

Apol. 17 c μηδεὶς ὑμῶν προσδοκῆσάτω ἄλλως. (For more examples see WGoodwin, Moods 259 f.)

c. In *commands* and *prohibitions* the future indicative for the imperative (WGoodwin, 69 f.):—Ar. Nub. 1352 πάντας δὲ τοῦτο δράσεις. Men. Mon. 397 ξέρον ἀδικήσεις μηδέποτε καιρὸν λαβών. Eur. Med. 804 λέξεις δὲ μηδὲν τῶν ἐμοὶ δεδογμένων. Soph. Ant. 84 ἀλλ' οὐν προμηνύσεις γε τοῦτο μηδενί.—So too in *P-B*, as: Sept. Gen. 17, 9 σὺ δὲ τὴν διαθήκην μου διατηρήσεις. Ex. 20, 3 οὐκ ἔσονται σοι θεοὶ ἕτεροι πλὴν ἐμοῦ. ib. 13 οὐ φονεύσεις, οὐ μοιχεύσεις, οὐ κλέψεις, οὐ ψευδομαρτυρήσεις. Jos. Ant. 11, 6, 5 εἰ τινα θέλεις τοῖς ὑπηκόοις εὐεργεσίαν καταθέσθαι, κελεύσεις πρόρριζον ἀπολίσθαι. 12, 2, 4 ἐὰν οὖν σοι δοκῇ, βασιλεῦ, γράψεις τῷ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἀρχηγρῷ ὅπως ἀποστείλῃ κτλ. Phryn. passim.

d. This usage, suggested as it was by the familiar ten commandments, became still more frequent in post-Christian compositions, particularly Biblical imitations.

13. But it was in *P* that the confusion and interchange among cognate moods came to full manifestation. In particular, it was towards the 1<sup>st</sup> B.C. that it became so general that all four prospective moods could be almost indiscriminately used for one another, even in stylish composition. The presence then of many equivalents led to a struggle, with the inevitable result that the strongest soon prevailed (1487). This was the *primary subjunctive*, because it was the most regular and most familiar of all other prospective moods. It was the most regular, because of its homophony with the indicative (since  $\omega = \omega$ ,  $\epsilon = \eta = \eta$ ; in contracted verbs in  $-\omega$  it was even identical). And it was the most familiar because it occurred very frequently (in exhortations, after indefinite relatives, after *ἐάν*, *ὅταν*, *ἵνα*, *ἕως*, etc.). Consequently the primary (present or future) *subjunctive* came to be used:—

#### 14. A. For the *potential secondary subjunctive* with *ἄν*, as:

Polyb. 11, 6, 6 οὐτ' ἄν ὑβρίσειν ὑπομείνῃτε τοὺς ἐλευθέρους. 18, 18, 2 θάρρῃς ἄν ἀποφύγῃσθαι. Dion. H. ii. 1175, 13 οὐ γὰρ ἄν οὗτος ὀλιγαρχίας ὄνομα ἦται τῇ τῶν κρατίστων ἡγεμονίᾳ. v. 615, 13 οὐδὲν ἄν ὑπολάβῃ λέγεσθαι κατὰ τέχνην. Philo i. 69, 32 μὴ γὰρ οὐκ ὀνόματι οὐδ' ἄν διάλεκτος ἦ. Dioso. 2, 91 (p. 215) τὸ δὲ ὀρνίθειον καὶ χήνειον στέαρ οὕτως ἄν ἐγώ διασθῇ. Plut. ii. 556 β σκοπῶν ἄν εἴρη. 777 β οὐκ ἄν σοι προσδιαλέξωμαι. [Demetr.] 13, 14 μόλις ἄν ἀναγνῶ τις ἐν τοῖς δώτοις. Clement. 45 β τίς γὰρ ἄν ἀμαρτήσῃ. Gal. ii. 8 β ἐπαινέσῃ δ' ἄν τις καὶ τὸν Ἀθηναίων νομοθέτην. vi. 325 c οὐκ ἄν ποτε φάγωμεν τῶν ἐκείνοις ἰδωζίμων. Sext. 620, 28 οὐκ ὀλίγη δὲ ἄν ἔχη μοῖραν εἰς προτροπήν. Acta Xanth. 62, 32 ἴσως γένη μοι πρόφασις.

[14<sup>b</sup>. Hence, in instances like the following (EASoph. Lex. p. 132 f.), the 'future optative' is due to the misspelling of *οι* for its homophonous *η*: Philo i. 469, 36 τιθασσόν γὰρ καὶ χειρότερος εἰ γένοιτο ἡμιστὰ ἄν βλάβῃ. Tatian. 22 τίς οὐκ ἄν χλευάσῃ; Jos. 11, 15 οὐκ ἄν ἀρκέσῃ. Theod. iv. 368 β τοῦτις εἰκότας ἄν τις ἐφευρετὰς ὀνομάσῃ. Codin. 88, 9 ὅσον ἄν προστάξῃ ὁ βασιλεὺς, and elsewhere; also Conc. Quin. [692 A.D.] Can. 65 ὅστις οὖν ταούτων τι πράξῃ, εἰ μὲν κληρικὸς εἴη καθαυρεῖσθω κτλ.—and all similar cases. Cp. *infra* 15<sup>b</sup>.]

15. B. For the *secondary subjunctive* in wishes, thus dislodging it from its last entrenchment (1920), as:

Sept. Ruth 1, 9 δῶν (or δῶν, subj.) κύριος ὑμῶν καὶ εἴρητε ἀνάπαντι. Dion. H. iii. 1445, 4 συνέγερῃ (και ?) μὲν ταῦτα ὑμῶν καὶ γεινομένη ἐγὼ κακὸς εὐκαστῆς

τῶν ἐσομένων. Jos. B. J. 4, 3, 10 ἀπὴν δὲ ἡ πεῖρα τοῦ λόγου 'may it never come to pass.' Ignat. ad Polyc. 8 ἐρῶσθαι ὑμᾶς διὰ παντός ἐν θεῷ ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ εὐχομαι ἐν ᾧ διαμεῖνῃτε ἐν ἐνότητι θεοῦ. Orig. ii. 1016 A. Athan. i. 740 A ἄλλ' εἶθε κἀν ἀκουσῆς ἵνα καὶ σὺ πεισθῇς. Epiph. i. 428 A γένηται δύναμις ἐν τούτῳ τῷ ὕδατι. CIG 8649, 6 δ θεὸς αὐτὸν διαφυλάξῃ. Apophth. 397 A συγχωρήσῃ ὑμῖν δ θεός. Const. (†536) 1148 D ἀνασκαφῇ τὰ ὀστέα τῶν Μανιχαίων. 1209 E ἀναπαγθῇ τὰ ὀστέα τοῦ πατρὸς σου. Mal. 146, 17 εἰσακογῆ κύριος δ θεός σου τοὺς λόγους Ῥαββίκου. JMoschos 3105 B μὴ ποιήσῃ δ θεός.

[15<sup>b</sup>. So too in the following instances, among many others, where the endings -οι and -ει are misspellings for their homophonous -η (cp. 2040 and supra 14<sup>b</sup>): CIG 5760 γραῦ μεθύστρια, (ῥήσις (N νὰ (ῥήσις). Eus. ii. 891 A ὑγιαίνοντά σε δ θεὸς διαφυλάξοι. Protev. Jac. 9, 3 κύριός σε διαφυλάξῃ. Cyrill. H. Procat. 17 φυτεύσοι δὲ ὑμᾶς εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν καὶ στρατεύσοι ὑμᾶς ταυτῷ. Theophyl. 327, 9 δ θεός, αὐτοκράτωρ, δ καλέσας σε βασιλεῦεν, ὑποτάξοι σοι πάντα τὰ πολεμοῦντα τῇ βασιλείᾳ. Nic. ii. 744 B δ θεὸς φυλάξοι τοὺς εὐλαβεῖς βασιλεῖς ἡμῶν. Apophth. 124 A δ θεὸς συγχωρήσῃ ὑμῖν. Nic. ii. 700 B φυλάξῃ δ θεὸς τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτῶν! μακρυνεῖ (write μακρύνῃ) δ θεὸς τοὺς χρόνους αὐτῶν! ἐπὶ πλείστον δ θεὸς χαροποιήσῃ αὐτούς. CGL 648 ἐν νῷ ἔχοις, alongside with ἀμέριμος ἦς. 649, 6 ὅταν ἔλθῃ εἰπὸς αὐτῆς. Theoph. 182, 11 εἰ τις ποτὶ ἔσται, τὸν μόνον ποιήσῃ τοῦ Ἰουδαῖ δ θεὸς ἀναποδώσῃ αὐτῷ ἀδικοῦντι με διὰ τάχους. Porph. Cer. 217 δ θεὸς πλεονάσῃ, καταπέμψῃ, χορηγήσῃ, πολυχρόνιον ποιήσῃ, and elsewhere. (805 [1]; cp. EASoph. Lex. p. 47.)]

15<sup>c</sup>. Compare N: νὰ ῥήσις! δ θεὸς νὰ φυλάξῃ! δ θεὸς νὰ δώσῃ! νὰ χαρῆς τῇ (ῥῃ σου)! νὰ σε χαρῶ! νὰ σκάσῃς! (= A διαρραγείης). νὰ χαρῆς! (= A ἀπόλοις). —(See also below 19.)

16. C. For the imperative 3rd person which is fast retreating before the primary subjunctive; also for the 2nd person present chiefly in prohibitions, then in assertions also. This usage was presumably furthered by Latin influence (1919. 1928. cp. EASoph. Lex. p. 46):

a. Hippol. 804 A ἐκβλητός γένηται κλήρου ἀγίου. Eus. ii. 325 C ἐπὶ τούτῳ μόνον τραπέωσιν. Athan. ii. 701 A οἱ προειρημένοι ἔχθροί καθαιρεθῶσιν. 821 B δ μὴ εἰδὼς τὸν τῆς πίστεως λόγον μάθῃ παρὰ Ἀθανασίου. Basil. iv. 401 B ἐπὶ τοῖς λαϊκοῖς ἀπορριφῶσι. 753 C ἐξετασῶσι δὲ Πισίδαι. Alchem. 305, 13 ἔστω δὲ ὡς φεράσαντα, συγχωνεγῶσιν εἰς κάμνον. Pachom. 952 B μηδεὶς τὴν κεφαλὴν κείρηται. Epiph. i. 421 C ἐξελθε τὸ [ἐξελθέτω τὸ?] δαιμόνιον ἀπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ὑγιὲς γένηται. ii. 712 B δειξάτωσαν . . . εἰπῶσι. Carth. 19 ἐάν τις τῶν ἐπισκόπων κατηγορήται, παρὰ τοῖς τῆς αὐτοῦ χώρας πρωτεύουσιν δ κατήγορος ἀναγῇ τὸ πρᾶγμα. 83 δσα γὰρ δι' ἐννενίαν καὶ ματαίαν ἀποκαλίψαν ἀνθρώπων τινῶν ὅπου δήποτε καθίστανται θυσιαστήρια, παντὶ τρόπῳ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἀποδοκιμασῶσιν. Mart. Petri 80, 9 πεμφθῇ ἐπ' αὐτὴν τὸ παρ' αὐτῆς. 82, 25 συστή καὶ μὴ ἀποθάνῃ. Pallad. 1178 D. Ephes. 1000 B τούτῳ ὑμῖν μαρτυρηθῇ. Chal. 905 A ἔλθωσιν οἱ νοτάριοι καὶ εἰπῶσιν. 1012 B οὗτος ζῶν καὶ, οὗτος εἰς δύο γένηται. 1080 A ἐρωτηθῇ ἡ ἀγία σύνοδος. Apophth. 112 A δ θέλων ἐλθεῖν ἐλθῇ. 130 C ἕκαστος ὅπου θέλει ἀπέλθῃ.

b. Sept. Tobit 3, 3 μὴ με ἐκδικῆς. Sard. (†347) 11 μὴ καταφρονῇ ἐκείνου καὶ συνεχέστερον ὀμιλῇ. Cyrill. H. Procat. 2 μὴ τις μίξα πικρίας ἀνω φύνοσα ἐνοχλή. Nil. 552 B μὴ διακῆσαι. Eus. Alex. 324 C μὴ παραλείπῃς. 357 B μὴ ἀμφιβάλλῃς τούτῳ. 440 C μὴ προσδοκῆς. Cedr. i. 686 μὴ ἐπιχαίρῃς αἵμασι . . . μὴ ὑπερήφανος ἦς τοῖς ὁμοφύλοις, καὶ οὐχ ἀμάρτης. CGL 648 ἀμέριμος ἦς, ἔτοιμος ἦς (for ἴσο or ἴσθι). [So too in instances like the following: Sept. Sir. 11, 2 μὴ ἀνίστας. Hermas Vis. 4, 1, 4 μὴ διψυχῆσαι.



Apophth. 380  $\Delta$  *eis*  $\delta\alpha\upsilon\lambda$  *ἐν τῷ τῶπον ἀπέλθης μὴ μετράῖς ταυτὸν*—where the ending -εις is a misspelling for its homophonous -ης. Cp. EASoph. Lex. s. v. *μή*.—So probably also *φοβηθῆτε* (as Narr. Zos. 99, 18 & Theoph. 388, 2), *χαρήτε* (Acta Petri et Pauli 183, 8); *κοιμηθῆτε, σωθῆτε*, etc. (for *Α* *φοβήθητε, χάρητε, κοιμήθητε*, etc.; cp. 814.)]

17. That this construction had become the received form in Herodian's time, appears clearly from the fact that he deprecates it: Philot. 436 *τὸ μὴ ἀπαγορευτικὸν οὐ συντάσσεται ὑποτακτικοῦ ἐνεστώτι*. So too Thom. Mag. 233 *οὐκ ἐρεῖς ἐπὶ ἐνεστώτος μὴ τύπτῃς, ἀλλὰ μὴ τύπτῃ*.

17<sup>b</sup>. So now regularly in *N*: *μή φωνάζῃς! μὴν τρέχῃς! μή γελᾷς! μή φοβᾷσαι! μή σε ροιάζῃ!* etc.

18. D. For the independent *future indicative* which is by this time retreating before the primary subjunctive and present indicative. For examples see App. iv. 8-11.

19. Having thus obtained the ascendancy over its fellow-moods, the independent primary subjunctive appropriated one after another also their functions (wish, exhortation, command, duty, etc.). Now these functions, however significant and characteristic in themselves, were after all only few as compared with those which the primary subjunctive already performed in *dependent* or subordinate sentences. Its very great frequency in such cases can be gauged by remembering that by this time it had established itself as a more or less regular concomitant of *μή, ἵνα, ὅπως, ὥς, ὥστε, εἰάν, ἂν, ὅταν, ὅπῃ, ὡπῶν*, also *ὅτε* or *ὅποτε, ὡς* or *μέχρις (ἂν or οὐ), πρίν (ἂν), προτοῦ, ὅμα*, besides the indefinite relatives in prospective clauses, and had moreover appropriated the functions of nearly all infinitives (App. vi), and the majority of participles (2164-70), by regularly substituting itself for them mostly in company with *ἵνα*. This peculiarity was of great moment in that in consequence of its too frequent presence, *ἵνα* had become so familiar with the masses as to be felt as an essential concomitant of the subjunctive in the absence of any other subordinating conjunction or relative (1786). Accordingly the primary subjunctive now becomes the *κατ' ἐξοχήν* prospective mood, in both dependent and independent clauses.

a. For examples see supra 11 and the sections dealing with the above particles (19), the infinitive (App. vi), and the participle (2100-70), and cp. Orig. iii. 297 *ο* *περὶ ποῖον ἄγρον ἵνα καταγενώμεθα*; Macar. 545 *β* *πῶς τις ἵνα αὐτοὺς ἐξεύρῃ καὶ διακρίνῃ καὶ ἐκβάλῃ ἐκ τοῦ ἰδίου πυρός*; Chrys. i. 613 *α* *πῶς ἵνα μὴ ὑστερήσωμεν ἀπὸ τῶν δούρων κυρίου*; Epict. 1, 29, 16 *Σαυκράτης οὖν ἵνα πάθῃ ταῦτα ὅπ' Ἀθηνάϊων*; 3, 4, 9 *ἀγε ἵνα στεφανωθῇ*. Acta Pil. B 5, 2 *τὴν ἀλήθειαν τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἵνα παραλάβῃς καὶ μέρος ἵνα ἔχῃς μετ' αὐτοῦ*!

b. So too now: *ποῦ νὰ καθίσω*; 'where shall I sit?' *τί νὰ κάμω*; 'what shall I do?' *ἐγὼ νὰ σωπάσω*; 'I shall hold my tongue?' *νὰ περιμένω ἢ νὰ μὴν περιμένω*; 'shall I wait or not wait?' (Cp. 1909 & App. iv. 12 f.)

20. To sum up briefly, the primary *subjunctive* displaced one after another—

A. In *dependent* sentences:—1. The secondary subjunctive in final clauses (1952-3, 1956. App. v. 8 ff.).—2. The future indicative first in final clauses (1962-3), then in conditional protases with *εἰ* (1986).—3. The

participle to a great extent (2170).—4. The infinitive almost entirely (App. vi. 15-19).

B. In *independent* clauses :—5. The future indicative preceded by *νὶ μῆ(ν)* (1825).—6. The (prohibitive, then the hortative) imperative beginning with the 3rd person (1918. 1930).—7. The secondary subjunctive of wish conceived as a hortative mood (1924).—8. The future indicative wholesale, so far as it had not been already replaced by the present indicative (App. iv. 2-12).

## APPENDIX VI.

### THE INFINITIVE CHIEFLY SINCE A TIMES.

1. *Remark.* In view of the dual character of the infinitive, I have deemed it expedient to examine separately either function, under the respective heads of *verbal* infinitive and *substantival* infinitive. I might have adopted the current designation of *anarthrous* and *articular* respectively, but this distinction appeared to me purely mechanical. For οὐ βῆδιον ζητεῖν τὴν ἀλήθειαν is manifestly different from οὐ βῆδιον τὸ ζητεῖν τὴν ἀλήθειαν, in that ζητεῖν is conceived mainly as a verb and emphasized accordingly, while τὸ ζητεῖν is conceived mainly as a substantive (= ἡ ζήτησις τῆς ἀληθείας) and emphasized as such. Even if considered in themselves, the terms ζητεῖν and τὸ ζητεῖν are not sufficiently discriminated by the mechanical designation of *anarthrous* and *articular*. It is a distinction which appeals, it is true, to the eye, but does not satisfy the mind.

#### I. VERBAL INFINITIVE.

2. When we remember that the characteristic feature of the Greek *finite* verb in *A* was wealth of forms (249 in all, as against 94 in Latin, and 38 in Gothic; GCurtius The Greek Verb p. 3 ff.), a fact which lent it a unique perspicuity and precision, the conditions of the *infinitive* compared with it very unfavourably. For the latter expresses neither number nor person, in many cases not even time. Thus γράφειν means to *write* or *writing* without specification of person, number, or time (*infra* 25). Another serious disadvantage of the infinitive lay in the circumstance that neither its nature nor its meaning was clearly defined except when taken in connexion with the governing word. In short the infinitive was an imperfect instrument of the language, and was serviceable only as the complement of a leading word. Now in this complementary function, it served either to complete a *declaration*, *statement* or *opinion*, as: λέγει γράφειν=λέγει ὅτι γράφει, ἀγγέλλει γεγραφέναι=ἀγγέλλει ὅτι γεγράφη;—or to imply also a certain futurity from the standpoint of the governing word (βούλεται γράφειν, ἐκέλευσε γράψαι, ἐλπίζει γράψαι).

3. We have then, broadly speaking, two leading functions of the infinitive: the complement of a statement, and the notion of a more or less definite prospect (futurity, purpose), either of which is determined by the character of the governing word. Thus after verbs of *saying* or *thinking*, *perceiving*, and their synonyms, frequently also after verbs of *hoping* or *expecting*, *promising* and *swearing*, the infinitive serves mainly as the complement of a declaration, and is therefore

conventionally called *declarative*. It is equivalent to  $\delta\tau\iota$  or  $\acute{\omega}\varsigma$  with a finite mood. (2078.)

4. In all other cases—and they form the by far greater majority (infra 7)—the infinitive serves to complete the notion of the governing word with a more or less distinct connotation of *futurity* or *purpose* (*prospective result*). This infinitive, when resolved to a finite mood, comes near a final clause with  $\delta\pi\omega\varsigma$  ( $\acute{\alpha}\nu$ ),  $\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ ,  $\acute{\iota}\nu\alpha$ . Hence it may be conveniently called the *prospective* (or *final*) infinitive.

5. To these introductory and general remarks we must add another consideration of cardinal importance: the genius of all languages, as they are actually spoken by the masses, is *simplicity*, *clearness*, very often also *emphasis*. Now of these characteristics of popular speech only simplicity or brevity may be claimed for the infinitive. A Greek, then, who aimed particularly either at precision, or emphasis, or both, was often compelled to resolve the infinitive into a finite mood with the appropriate particle, and thus obtain the desired effect with regard to the precise meaning, person, number, or time. The particle (conjunction) suggested in this circumlocution was naturally determined by the nature of the individual case: in declarative clauses the infinitive was resolved by means of  $\delta\tau\iota$  or  $\acute{\omega}\varsigma$  'that'; in prospective or final clauses by means of  $\delta\pi\omega\varsigma$  ( $\acute{\alpha}\nu$ ),  $\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ , or  $\acute{\iota}\nu\alpha$  'in order that.' In some final clauses also, notwithstanding that emphasis was aimed at, the infinitive was retained, but then it was strengthened by placing before it the redundant particle  $\acute{\omega}\sigma\tau\epsilon$  (rarely  $\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ ), 'in order to,' a case which must not be identified with the consecutive function of  $\acute{\omega}\sigma\tau\epsilon$  (infra 8 & 15).

6. That the infinitive was, even in 4, resolved into a declarative or final clause, and that this clause was equivalent to the infinitive simple, appears from the following three facts:—

a. Verbs or kindred expressions regularly complemented by an infinitive are often found with a declarative or final analysis without any perceptible difference of meaning (infra 7, a. 12, B, a).

b. The infinitive and its analysis often alternate (infra 7, b. 12 B, b).

c. Declarative clauses sometimes begin analytically (with  $\delta\tau\iota$ , rarely  $\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ ) and yet close with an infinitive (infra 7, c).

## A. CLASSICAL PERIOD.

### 1. DECLARATIVE INFINITIVE.

7. Since declarative verbs (*verba declarandi et sentiendi*) form but a small minority (supra 4), the scope offered for resolving the declarative infinitive was naturally limited. Nevertheless a considerable number of instances may be adduced from even 4 writers. The following specimens and references may suffice for our purpose:—

a. *Declarative infinitive resolved by means of  $\delta\tau\iota$  or  $\acute{\omega}\varsigma$* : Th. 5, 9  $\epsilon\lambda\pi\acute{\iota}\sigma\alpha\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma$   $\acute{\omega}\varsigma$   $\acute{\alpha}\nu$   $\epsilon\pi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\lambda\theta\omicron\iota$   $\tau\iota\varsigma$   $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\iota\varsigma$   $\epsilon\varsigma$   $\mu\acute{\alpha}\chi\eta\eta$ . So too 3, 38. Eur. El. 916. Xen. An. 7, 1, 5. Mem. 3, 3, 16  $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$   $\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ . Cyr. 8, 3, 40. Hell. 6, 3, 7  $\acute{\upsilon}\mu\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma$   $\phi\alpha\tau\epsilon$   $\acute{\omega}\varsigma$   $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\nu\omicron\mu\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$   $\tau\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$   $\pi\acute{\omicron}\lambda\epsilon\iota\varsigma$   $\chi\eta\rho\acute{\iota}$   $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\alpha\iota$ . Pl. Phaed. 87 c  $\pi\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$   $\acute{\alpha}\nu$   $\acute{\upsilon}\pi\omicron\lambda\acute{\alpha}\beta\omicron\iota$   $\delta\tau\iota$   $\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\theta\eta\varsigma$   $\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\epsilon\iota$   $\delta$   $\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron$   $\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\omega$ . Apol. 35 A. Gorg. 487 D. Lach. 200 A. Lys.

7, 19 φησὶν ὥς.—Even οἶμαι ὥς, Isocr. 15, 311. νομίζω ὥς, Th. 3, 88. 3. νομίζω ὅτι, Xen. Hell. 5, 4, 62 (see WSchmid ii. 58; cp. *infra* 11).

b. *Declarative infinitive alternating with its analysis* (2030; cp. Kühner ii. 876 A. 3): Hdt. 6, 63 ἐξαγγέλλει ὥς οἱ παῖς γέγονε (but 65 δεῖ οἱ ἐξηγγεῖλαι παῖδα γεγονέναι). 3, 75 ἔλεγε τὸν μὲν Κόρου Σμείρδιν ὥς αὐτὸς ἀποκτείνει, τοὺς μάγους δὲ βασιλεῖν. Cp. 8, 118. Th. 1, 98 εἶπον ὅτι σφίσι μὲν δοκοῖεν ἀδικεῖν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, βοῦλεσθαι δὲ κτλ. 3, 3 ἐσηγγέλθη αὐθις ὥς εἴη Ἀπόλλωνος Μάλοῦντος ἱερτὴ . . . καὶ ἐλπίδα εἶναι κτλ. 80 3, 25. 8, 78. Lys. 10, 15 ὑμᾶς πάντας εἰδέναι ἡγοῦμαι ὅτι ἐγὼ μὲν ὀρθῶς λέγω, τοῦτον δὲ σκαῖον εἶναι. Xen. Cyr. 1, 13, 13 ἀπεκρίνατο ὅτι βούλοιτο μὲν . . . νομίζειν μέντοι κτλ. (Op. also 2031.)

c. *Declarative conjunctions ὅτι and ὥς with the infinitive* (2031): Xen. Cyr. 1, 6, 18. 2, 4, 15 ἀκούω ὅτι καὶ συνθηρεντάς τινας τῶν παίδων σοὶ γενέσθαι. 5, 4, 1. 8, 1, 25. Hell. 2, 2, 2. 3, 4, 27. 6, 5, 42. 7, 5, 14. Pl. Phaed. 63 c. Legg. 892 d εἶπον ὅτι πρῶτον ἐμὲ χρῆναι πειραθῆναι κατ' ἐμαυτόν. Rep. 470 d. Lys. 13, 9. Isae. 6, 10 προσδιαμεμαρτύρηκεν ὥς υἱὸν εἶναι γνήσιον τοῦτον.—Compare also Polyb. 31, 20, 4. Diod. 4, 76. Acts 27, 10. See also 2031.

## 2. PROSPECTIVE INFINITIVE.

8. The tendency for analysis shown in the case of the declarative infinitive is far more marked in prospective infinitives. Here, however, the transition from the infinitive simple to its periphrasis is sometimes effected through the intermediate stage of placing before the infinitive the particle ὥστε (supra 5. *infra* 15), which then merely emphasizes the final force of its attendant. This practice is, moreover, uncommon in *A*, the general tendency being, in cases of emphasis or precision, or both, simply to resolve the infinitive into a final clause, that is into a finite mood with ὅπως (δν), ὥς, or ἵνα<sup>(1)</sup>.

9. a. *Final infinitive with ὥστε*: Hdt. 4, 145; 6, 5; 7, 6 ἀνέπεισε Πίεττα ὥστε ποιεῖν ταῦτα. 1, 82; Th. 5, 17 ψηφισαμένων ὥστε καταλύεσθαι. 8, 79; 8, 63. 2, 10 ἀναπίθεται ὑπὸ Σεύθου ὥστ' ἐν τάχει ἀπελθεῖν. Xen. Cyr. 6, 3, 9. Soph. Phil. 656. Eur. Hipp. 13, 27.

b. *Final infinitive resolved through ὅπως (δν), ὥς, ἵνα* (A 558; θ 344; β 316; γ 9; γ 327 λίσσομαι ἵνα beside Δ 174 λίσσομαι μένιν. Hdt. 9, 117 ἰδόντο τῶν στρατηγῶν ὅπως ἀπάγοιεν σφίς ὑπίσω. So 6, 133. 7, 161 ὥς στρατηγίῃς τῆς Ἑλλάδος γλίχεται. 8, 15): Soph. Ai. 556; Phil. 54. Ar. Ach. 536; 1060; Eq. 1256 καὶ σ' αὐτῷ βραχὺ ὅπως ἐκομαι σοὶ Φανός. Crat. Fr. 108. Th. 2, 99 παρεσκευάζοντο ὅπως ἐσβαλοῖσιν ἐς τὴν κάτω Μακεδονίαν. 5, 36 ἰδόντο ὅπως παραδώσοις. 3, 15. Xen. An. 3, 2, 3; Oec. 20, 8; Hell. 2, 3, 13 ἐπεμελήθη ὥς γίχοιεν πάντων τῶν καλῶν. Cyr. 1, 2, 6; 2, 1, 3 (beside infin. in Mem. 4, 7, 1 and Th. 6, 14, 54). Pl. Rep. 339 Δ ἐμοὶ γὰρ ἀπηγόρευσαι ὅπως μὴ τοῦτο ἀποκρινοίμην; Phaed. 59 κ; Rep. 549 κ; Antiph. 112, 41 αἰτεῖσθαι ὅπως μὴ καταψηφίσθῃ. 114, 1. Dem. 18, 155 ἀφίουν ἵνα βοηθῇ. Lys. 31, 17; 10, 29. Lysurg. 165, 40. Isae. 66, 14.

## B. H-G TIMES.

10. But, while in *A* the analysis of the verbal infinitive into a finite clause constitutes the exception, and was for each individual writer a matter of convenience and taste, in *P* the practice met with steadily

<sup>(1)</sup> In *A* inscriptions final ἵνα occurs very rarely, ὥτ never, whereas ὅπως with δν is the regular representative. (KMeisterhans<sup>2</sup> 212 f.)

increasing popularity, so that, towards the beginning of our era, almost every infinitive could be replaced by its analysis (cp. AButt-mann 238). In particular it may be taken for granted that the declarative infinitive had almost entirely retreated before its analysis with *ὅτι*<sup>[1]</sup>, or the direct discourse (1701. 1932), while the final infinitive on the whole still resisted the tendency for analysis (cp. 2031-2). The tenacity of the latter may be to a certain extent attributed to the custom, very popular by this time, of placing before it the redundant particle *ὥστε* (supra 5. infra 15)—frequently confounded with *εἰς τὸ* owing to their partial homophony: *ὥστε ἰστο* (infra 22)—behind which the prospective infinitive sought as it were shelter (cp. GBWiner 400). The other final conjunction, *ὥς*, which in A was admissible before the infinitive, had by this time fallen into disuse, at all events in the non-Atticistic and unsophisticated language<sup>[2]</sup>.

Among other numerous instances note: Sept. Gen. 15, 7; 1 Mac. 4, 2 & 28; 10, 3; 2 Mac. 2, 6 *καὶ προσελθόντες τινὲς τῶν συνακολουθούντων ὥστε ἐπισημῆσθαι τὴν ὁδόν*. NT Luke 9, 52 *πορευθέντες εἰσῆλθον εἰς πόλιν Σαμαριτῶν ὥστε ἑτοιμάσαι αὐτῶν*. 4, 29. Matt. 27, 1 *συμβούλιον ἔλαβον ὁ δὲ ἀρχιερεὺς κατὰ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ὥστε θανατώσαι αὐτόν*,—and so on down to B times (cp. GBWiner 400), as: Euseb. H. F. 3, 28, 3. Theod. ii. 528 *εἰπεῖν τῇ Ἱερουσαλὴμ ὥστε σαλπῆσαι*. 620 A. Acta Pil. i. A 1, 2 *ἀξιούμεν τὸ σὸν μέγεθος ὥστε αὐτὸ παραστήσαι τῷ βήματί σου*.

11. On the whole, however, the analytical spirit in this case had already so thoroughly pervaded popular feeling that almost every verb, even those formerly constructed invariably with the infinitive (such as *βούλομαι*, *θέλω*, *όλομαι*, *δεῖ*, *χρή*, etc., though cp. supra 7, a), now began to yield to analysis.

12. By this time, however, another parallel factor had operated on the particles at large (1487 ?) and thus affected the declarative and final conjunctions also (1753-5. 1761-2. 1776). I refer to *ὅτι*, *ὥς*, *ὅπως* (*ἀν*), *ὥς*, *ἵνα*, which previously were used both as adverbs and conjunctions, each in more than one function. These particles then had by this time been gradually specialized and restricted to certain fixed usages. Thus *ὥς*, formerly current both as declarative and final conjunction (= *ὅτι*, *ὅπως*), had now altogether retreated from the common language before *ὅτι* and *ἵνα* respectively. Similarly final *ὅπως* had lost ground considerably before *ἵνα*<sup>[3]</sup>. On the other hand, *ἵνα* had lost its adverbial force (= *ὥσπερ*, *ὅπου*), and limited itself to the final function 'in order that.' In this way, the number of declarative and final conjunctions formerly current side by side (*ὅτι*, *ὥς*—*ὅπως*, *ὥς*, *ἵνα*) had been by this time reduced to three items (*ὅτι*, *ἵνα*, *ὅπως*), or rather two (*ὅτι*, *ἵνα*), and these three or two particles had to be instrumental in all cases of analysis of the infinitive. Accordingly the infinitive had to be resolved, when declarative, by means of *ὅτι* (now often amplified to *καὶ ὅτι*, 1753 f.) with the indicative; when prospective,

[1] Even such zealous Atticists as Lucian, now often resolved the infinitive with *ὅτι* in cases where A admitted only the infinitival construction, i.e. after *οἴομαι* (Alex. 265; Dem. 385; Asin. 587; Adv. Ind. 106) and *νομίζω* (D. Syr. 474) (cp. WSchmid i. 242).

[2] At least it never occurs in the NT writings, for the solitary instance cited (Acts 20, 24) *οὐδὲ ἔχω τὴν ψυχὴν μου τιμῆν ἑμανθῶ ὥς τελεωῶσαι τὸν δρόμον μου μετὰ χάρις* is an obvious corruption of *ὥς ΤΕ ΤΕΛΕΩΣΑΙ*.

[3] Among numerous other instances where *ὅπως* had yielded to *ἵνα* note Polyb. 2, 8, 2 *φροντίζεν ἵνα*; 5, 2, 8; 11, 27, 2; 5, 104, 9 *σπουδάζειν ἵνα*; 12, 22, 1; 23, 9, 12 *προνοεῖν ἵνα*; 11, 9, 5 *περιβλέπειν ἵνα*; Hrdn. 2, 2, 10; 8, 9 (p. 387). Epiph. 1376 D.

by means of *ἵνα*, or, less popular, *ὅπως*, with the primary subjunctive (the secondary subjunctive having already disappeared from the common language, App. v. 6-16). This fact, besides its own significance, shows further that the conjunctions *ὅτι* and *ἵνα*, having appropriated the functions of all former declarative and final particles, had become very common.

A. Declarative infinitive resolved by means of *ὅτι*, now often amplified to *διότι* (also *καθότι*). Examples are found in every writer, and that in great numbers. Here a few references and instances of *διότι* for *ὅτι* may suffice: KMeisterhans' 211 (III<sup>d</sup> B.C.) *ἔπειδ' Ὀνασος ἐμφανίσει . . . διότι καὶ κοινῇ δὲ δῆμος τὴν εὐνοίαν ἀποδίδεικται*. Polyb. 23, 2; 9 ἀνύκρισιν ἔδωκε διότι περὶ πάντων καὶ τῶν ἐιρημένων καὶ τῶν ἀνεγνωσμένων Δημητρίῳ πιστεύει διότι τὰ μὲν γέγονε τὰ δ' ἔσται; 1, 10, 7; 4, 25, 2; 16; 12, 3; 18, 34, 7; 18, 35, 2 (cp. FKaelker in Lpz. Stud. iii. 243-5; WSchmid iii. 80 f.).

B. a. Prospective infinitive resolved by means of *ἵνα*, rarely *ὅπως* [1]. Instances are very common in every writer. E.g. Louvre Pap. 51 (160 B. C.), 36 λέγω πρὸς τὸν δαίμονα ἵνα προσκυνήσῃς αὐτόν. 49 (164-158 B. C.), 11 ἀξιώσαντός με ὅπως, ἔδν ἐνέγκῃ τρίτονον, μεταλάβωσιν. Polyb. 4, 26, 3; 5, 9, 2; 6, 35, 8; 18, 4, 8; 31, 15, 3; 39, 7, 10 [2]. Diod. 10, 549, 23 παρακάλεσαν αὐτὸν ἵνα διῇ τοὺς ὁδόντας. Dion. H. i. 215; ii. 666 f. Plut. Mor. 183 A. Dio Cass. 51, 10, 7. Ael. N. A. 383, 3 ἰδεῖσθαι Πομπιλίου ἵνα αὐτὴν διατάγῃ τὸν πορθμῖον. —Sept. 2 Macc. 2, 8 ἤξωσεν ἵνα δὲ τύπος καθαγιασθῇ; Esdra 4, 16; Sirach 37, 15. NT Mark 3, 9; 5, 18; 6, 25 θέλω ἵνα; 7, 26; 8, 22 (so too Ignat. ad Tral. 3, 1); Mark 9, 30 οὐκ ἤθελεν ἵνα τις γνῶι (rather γνῇ App. v. 8<sup>c</sup>). Matt. 4, 3; 7, 12; 10, 25; 16, 20; 18, 6. Luke 4, 3; 7, 34; 8, 31; 9, 40; 10, 40. Acts 27, 42. 1 Cor. 1, 10; 2 Cor. 12, 8; Col. 4, 16. (Cp. ABUTtmann 236 f. & GBWiner 420-6.)

b. Prospective infinitive alternating with its analysis. NT 1 Cor. 9, 15 καλὸν γάρ μοι μάλλον ἀποθανεῖν ἢ τὸ καύχημά μου ἵνα τις κενώσῃ. ib. 14, 5 θέλω δὲ πάντας ὑμᾶς λαλεῖν γλώσσαις, μάλλον δὲ ἵνα προφητεύητε.

c. As to John, it would be superfluous to adduce any examples, seeing that he employs the analysis of the prospective infinitive more frequently than any other writer of the time. Indeed it may be even questioned whether in his ordinary conversation and preaching he ever used any verbal infinitive, except after *δύναμαι*, occasionally also after *θέλω* and a few other expressions, chiefly impersonal verbs [3]. At

[1] By this time *ἵνα* had become almost the only means of expressing purpose, for it had taken the place not only of the object infinitive in all cases except after verbs of 'saying, thinking, hoping, seeing, hearing' (where *ὅτι* had established itself), but also of the future or final participle (*ἔλθεν ἵνα ἴδῃ* for *ἄ ἔλθεν διόμμενος*; 2157).

[2] Cp. FKaelker Lpz. Stud. iii. 290: praeter cetera adnotandum est Polybium etiam iis locis interdum malle uti ἵνα, quibus Attici soleant scribere infinitivum.

[3] The following table is a fairly complete list of the verbal infinitives occurring in the Gospel of John. It stands with the following expressions:

δύναμαι (always), 1, 47. 8, 2, 3, 4, 4, 5, 9, 27. 8, 19, 30, 44. 6, 44, 52, 60, 65. 7, 7, 34, 36. 8, 21, 22, 43. 9, 4, 16, 33. 10, 21, 20, 35. 11, 37. 12, 39. 18, 33, 36, 37. 14, 5, 17. 16, 4, 5. 16, 12 = 37 times.	μίλλω (always) 4, 4. 6, 6, 15, 71. 7, 35, 35, 39. 11, 51. 12, 4, 33. 14, 22. 18, 32 = 12 times.
θέλω 1, 44. 8, 8. 8, 6, 21, 35, 40. 6, 11, 21, 67. 7, 1, 17, 44. 8, 44. 9, 27, 27. 12, 21. 16, 7. 16, 19. 21. 22, 23 (beside θέλω ἵνα 17, 24; so Matt. 7, 12. Mark 6, 25. 10. 35. Luke 6, 31) = 20 times.	δεῖ (always) 8, 7, 14, 30. 4, 4, 20, 24. 9, 4. 10, 16. 12, 34. 20, 9 = 10 times.
	ἔγω 8, 18. 7, 1, 4, 19, 20, 25, 30. 8, 37, 40. 10, 39. 11, 8. 12, 12 (in particular ζητῶ ἀποκτείναι 6, 18. 7, 1, 19, 20, 25. 8, 37, 40.—πιάσαι 7, 30. 10, 39. Cp. ζητῶ ἵνα 1 Cor. 14, 12) = 12 times.
	δίδωμι (πεινῶ) 4, 7, 10. (φαγεῖν) 6, 34.

all events it is very striking that on almost every occasion where a prospective infinitive was expected, we meet with its analysis by means of *ἵνα* and the primary subjunctive. A comparison of the four Gospels shows that *ἵνα* with the subjunctive occurs in Mark 58 times, in Matthew 34 times, in Luke 38 times, whereas in John it occurs no less than 125 times, notwithstanding that this Gospel is much shorter than either that of Matthew or Luke.

## C. POST-CHRISTIAN TIMES.

### 1. DECLARATIVE INFINITIVE.

13. We have now arrived at a stage which marks a distinct transition from the infinitive to its analysis. This change particularly applies to the declarative infinitive, which is now regularly resolved by *ὅτι* (also *ὥσῳτι*) with the indicative (cp. supra 7). It is very doubtful indeed whether, after verbs of *saying, thinking, believing, seeing, hearing*, and the like, popular speech admitted of any other verbal complement than *ὅτι* with the indicative<sup>[1]</sup>. However, with the opening of *T*, if not earlier, another particle made its appearance, and soon began to dispute the hitherto absolute dominion of *ὅτι*, and the more successfully as *ὅτι* acted also as a causal conjunction ('because'). This novel particle was the adverb *πῶς* (probably suggested by *ὥς*), naturally acting as a proclitic; it figures even in *T* popular compositions (1751. 1756).

Clem. R. ad Cor. 21, 3 *ἴδωμεν πῶς ἐγγύς ἐστιν καὶ ὅτι οὐδὲν λήλθην αὐτόν*. Ignat. ad Smyrn. 6, 2 *καταμάθετε τοὺς ἑτεροδοξοῦντας πῶς ἐναντίοι εἰσὶ τῇ γνώμῃ τοῦ Θεοῦ*. Barn. 14, 6 *γέγραπται γὰρ πῶς αὐτῷ ὁ πατὴρ ἐντέλλεται*. 16, 1 *ἐρῶ ὑμῖν πῶς ἤλπισαν*. Acta Xanth. 59, 11 *ὁρᾷς, ἀδελφέ, τὰ ξόανα τῶν δαιμόνων παραττόμενα πῶς οὐ φέρουσι τοῦ λόγου τὴν δύναμιν*. 80, 34 *ἰδὼν πῶς ἡ μέριμνα αὐτοῦ πᾶσα ἦν εἰς τοὺς πτωχοὺς*. 82, 27 *νῦν ἔγνω ἀκριβῶς πῶς φθορεῖ ὁ διάβολος τῇ παρθενίᾳ*. 85, 23 *ὁρᾷς δὲ πῶς διὰ πολλῶν προφάσεων σφύζει ὁ Θεός*. Vita SA. 10\* *ἂ βλέπει πῶς ἐτάχυνα τοῦ βοηθῆσαι σοι*; 15\* *Ἦ διηγήσατο αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἐπιφάνιος πῶς ἐκάλεσεν αὐτόν*. Acta Pil. ii. 1, 2 *γογγύζουσι κατ' αὐτοῦ πῶς τοσαύτης τιμῆς τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἤξιώσεν*. ib. *ἰδὼν Ἰούδας πῶς ἤγαγον τὸν Ἰησοῦν*

52.—*ἐξουσίαν* 1, 12. 5, 27. 19, 10, 10 = 8 times.

*ἔχω* 8, 22. 16, 12.—*ἐξουσίαν* 10, 18, 18. 19, 10, 10.—*χρεῖαν* 18, 10 (beside

—*χρεῖαν* *ἵνα* 2, 25. 16, 30) = 7 times.

*ὀφείλω* 18, 14. 19, 7 = 2 times.

*δοκῶ* 5, 39. 16, 2 (cp.—*ὅτι* 5, 45.

11, 13, 31, 56. 18, 29. 20, 15) = 2 times.

*ἀφετε* *ὑπάγειν* 11, 44. 18, 8 (beside

*ἀφ' ἑς* *ἵνα* 12, 7) = 2 times.

*ἔξεστι* 5, 10. 18, 31 = 2 times.

*ἔθος ἐστι* 19, 40 = 1.

*συμφέρει* 18, 14 (beside—*ἵνα* 11, 50.

16, 7) = 1.

*αἰτῶ* 4, 9 (so *αἰτοῦμαι* Acts 7, 46. 18, 28. Eph. 8, 13) = 1.

*ἔρωτῶ* 4, 40 (beside—*ἵνα* 4, 47. 17.

15. 19, 31, 38) = 1.

*ἔρχομαι* 18, 5 = 1.

*ὑπάγω* 21, 3 = 1.

*πορεύομαι* 14, 2 (beside—*ἵνα* 11, 10)

= 1.

*πέμπω* 1, 33 = 1.

*ποιῶ* 6, 10 = 1.

*πρίν* 4, 49. 8, 58. 14, 29 = 3 times.

*πρὸ τοῦ* 1, 49. 18, 19. 17, 5 = 3

times.

Total: 129 times.

On the whole then John employs the verbal infinitive about 129 times, 57 of which come to *δύναμαι* and *θέλω*, 10 to *δεῖ*, and 12 to *μέλλω*.

[1] Thus *ὅτι* stands after *ἀκούω*, even in John 14, 28; *βλέπω* 2 Cor. 7, 8; Heb. 3, 19; Jas. 2, 22; *θεῶμαι* John 6, 5; *ὁρῶ* Jas. 2, 24; *γινώσκω* Matt. 21, 45; Luke 10, 11; John 4, 53; 2 Cor. 13, 6; John 4, 53; 5, 6; 6, 15, 69, etc.



ἐνώπιον Πιλάτου. 16, 3 ὁ οὖν Ἰωσήφ ὡμολόγει ὅτι ἐκήδευσεν καὶ ἔθαψεν αὐτὸν μετὰ τοῦ Νικοδήμου, καὶ πῶς ἐστιν ἀληθές ὅτι ἠγγέθη. Narr. Josephi 3, 3 θεωρῶ γὰρ πῶς ὁ διάβολος χαίρων τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ λαμβάνει. Apophth. 249 Α οὐ βλέπεις τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς πῶς εἰσιν ὡς ἀγγελοι εἰς τὴν συναγωγὴν ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ; Dorothe. 1629 Α λέγω πῶς αἱ ἐντολαὶ πᾶσι τοῖς Χριστιανοῖς ἐδόθησαν. 1832 Β λέγω ὑμῖν πῶς ἡ ψυχὴ, ὡς λέγει ὁ ἅγιος Γρηγόριος, τριμερὴς ἐστι. Leont. Near. V. J. 5, 21 καὶ εἰπόντος πρὸς αὐτὸν πῶς Διὰ τὴν ἀγάπην ὠφέλησον με. IMoschos 2992 C ἀρέσκει σοι πῶς ἡ ἀδελφὴ αὐτῇ ἐπὶ τοῦ δαίμονος ἡδικεῖται καὶ ἀσχημονεῖ.

14. For a time both ὅτι (or ὡσὶτι) and πῶς were current side by side, but eventually πῶς gained the ascendancy and became the received declarative conjunction to the gradual elimination and almost total exclusion of ὅτι and ὡσὶτι from popular speech. As a consequence, N speech now hardly knows ὅτι except as a causal particle (= διότι, 'because')—and this use is even obsolescent—while πῶς is the universal declarative conjunction (1755).

## 2. PROSPECTIVE INFINITIVE.

15. As to the prospective infinitive in post-Christian popular Greek, it may be averred that, little used as it already was, it still lingered for a time chiefly as a complement of a few incomplete verbs, like δύναμαι (now δύνομαι 774), εὔπωρῶ, ἔχω (2091. App. iv. 6), θέλω, βούλομαι, πρέπει, etc. (1894), also with the final (not consecutive) conjunction ὥστε, now often associated and confounded with εἰς τό (2082 & supra 10).

SOCR. 7, 37 παρακαλῶ ὥστε. 581 Α ὀρίζω ὥστε . . . ἵνα διακῇ (!). Theod. ii. 528 Β εἰπεῖν τῇ Ἱερουσαλὲμ ὥστε σαλπίσαι. 620 Α εἰσηγεῖσθαι αὐτῷ ὥστε δικαίως δικάζειν. i. 476 Β νομοθετεῖν τῷ Ἰσραὴλ ὥστε δέξασθαι. Mal. 435, 7 δέόμενος τοῦ βασιλέως . . . ὥστε λαβεῖν αὐτὸν ἐπίτροπον. 437, 5 ἐπεμψε κατὰ πόλιν ὥστε τὸν ἀρχοντα . . . μὴ κτίζειν οἶκον. 439, 12 εἰπὼν ἐν τῇ διαθήκῃ ὥστε τὸν εὐσεβέστατον Ἰουστινιανὸν παρασχεῖν κτλ. 449, 6 ἐθέσπισε δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς ὥστε μὴ πολιτεύεσθαι τοῖς ἐλληνίζοντας. 466 γράψας . . . ὥστε πεμοθῆναι αὐτὸν πρὸς αὐτόν. 385, 21 ἐβουλευσαντο ὥστε λοῦσασθαι (so too 121, 7; 113, 19). 112 ἀναγκάζουσι τὸν Ἀντήνορα ὥστε ἐξελθεῖν (so too 195, 13). 385, 20 γράφω ὥστε. Theoph. 180, 18 ἐθέσπισεν ὥστε μὴ πολιτεύεσθαι.

15<sup>b</sup>. For the frequent construction, at this period, of ἔχω and εἶχον with the infinitive see App. iv. 6-7.

16. In all other cases which formerly gave it the widest scope, the prospective infinitive had been, by this time, replaced either by the imperative or, much more commonly, by the primary subjunctive with ἵνα (soon reduced to νά). This construction is very commonly found in T-B unscholarly compositions, after the following verbs and other expressions, taken from among many others (1762<sup>b</sup>):

αἰτέω	ἀρετόν ἐστιν	διασφείω	ἐξορκίζω
ἀναγκάζω	ἀποπόν ἐστιν	διδάσκω	ἐπικαλέομαι
ἀναγκάων ἐστί	βεβαίως	δίδωμι	ἐπιτιμῶ
ἀνέχομαι	βουλεύομαι	δικαίον ἐστι	ἐρωτάω
ἀξίός οἱ ἀξίον ἐστι	βούλομαι	δογματίζω	εὐλαβέομαι
ἀξιώω	γίνεται	δυσωπέω	ἐύχομαι
ἀπαγγέλλω	γράφω	ἐάω	ζητέω
ἀπειτέω	δεῖ	εἰπεῖν	θέλω
ἀποστέλλω	δέομαι, δέον	ἐγορκέω	θεσπίζω
ἀρέσκει	διαγορεύεται	ἐντέλλομαι	ἱκετεύω
ἀρκεῖ	διαλέγομαι	ἐξαιτέομαι	καίρως ἐστι

κακόν ἐστι	παραγγέλλω	προσέχω	συγχαυρίζεται
καλόν ἐστι	παρανέω	προσπέμπω	συμβουλευόν
καλῶς ἔχει	παρακαλέω	προστάσσω	συμφέρει
κελεύω	παραχωρίζω	προστίθημι	συνήθειά ἐστι
κωλύω	πεῖθω	προτρέπω	τηρίω
λαλέω	περιβλέπω	σημαίνω	ὑπομνήσκω
λέγω	περιμένω	σπουδάζω	φοβέομαι
ὀρίζω	ποιέω	στοιχείται 'it is	φυλάσσω
ὀρίκω	πρόαγει <i>prodeat</i>	stipulated'	χρεῖαν ἔχω
ὀφείλω	προπέμπω	στοχάζομαι	ὥρα ἐστί.

For examples in each individual case see EASoph. Lex. s. vv. and Gloss. pp. 106-112.

17. Moreover, the retreat of the infinitive is clearly indicated also by its frequent misapplication in *P* compositions. For here we often find it used sometimes even with the article (cp. *infra* 23)—

a. For the predicative participle after *εἰμί*, *τυγχάνω*, *φθάνω*, and the like (2117 ff.), as: Sept. Num. 10, 2 *καὶ ἔσονται ἀνακαλεῖν τὴν συναγωγὴν καὶ ἐξαίρειν τὰς παρεμβολάς*; 2 Reg. 10, 11 *ἐκόμεθα τοῦ σώσαι σε*. Tobit 5, 15. More examples in 2117-21.

b. For the final (future) participle (2158) (which is rare even in the NT) [Acts 8, 25; 24, 11], after verbs of motion, as: Louvre Pap. 22 (II<sup>nd</sup> v. c.), 24 & 23, 21 *κατάγουσαν ἡμᾶς πενθεῖν τῷ θεῷ*. 26, 4 *ἀναβάσι θυσίας*. Sept. Is. 61, 1 f. *ἀπέσταλκέν με ἰάσασθαι, κηρύξαι, καλέσαι*. Matt. 2, 2 *ἠλθομεν προσκυνῆσαι αὐτῷ*. 11, 7; 20, 23; 28, 1; Hebr. 9, 24; 1 Cor. 16, 3 *τούτους πέμψω ἀπενεργεῖν τὴν χάριν ὑμῶν εἰς Ἱερουσαλὴμ*. Rom. 10, 6; 1 Cor. 10, 7 *ἐκάθισεν ὁ λαὸς φαγεῖν καὶ πιεῖν καὶ ἀνέστησαν παίειν*. Luke 9, 52. IGS 1093 *ἐνθάδε ἤλλα ἀγῶνα ἰδεῖν, βουλευόντι Ξεβήρω*. Ael. V. H. 3, 8 *εἰλοντο αὐτὸν στρατηγεῖν*. 10, 1 *τὸν υἱὸν ἦγεν εἰς Ὀλύμπια ἀθλεῖν*. Frg. 27 *οὐ δεῦρο ἀφίγμαι κεκφῆναι*. 86 *ἀφίκετο ἀκοῦσαι*, and often (WSchmid ii. 56; iii. 79). Hermas Sim. 9, 9, 1 *ἦλθε κατανοῆσαι*. Mart. Petri 88, 7 *εἰσέρχομαι εἰς τὴν Πρώμην σταγρωθῆναι*. Acta Petri et Pauli 186, 14 *ὅπερ ἀπῆει ποιῆσαι*.

c. For the interrogative subjunctive after *ἀπορίω*, *οὐκ ἔχω*, *σκοπέω* and the like, associated with some interrogative or relative word (2093), as: Acts 25, 26 *περὶ οὗ ἀσφαλές τι γράψαι τῷ κυρίῳ οὐκ ἔχω ὅπως σχῶ τι γράψαι*. Josephi Narratio 2, 2 *οὐκ εἶχον τὸ πῶς τὸ πάσχα ποιῆσαι*. Apoc. Mar. 125, 27 *τί ἀποκριθῆναι οὐκ εἶχον*. Callin. 57, 12 *ζητούντες τοῦ εὔρειν*. 113, 11 *τί ποιῆσαι οὐκ εἶχον*. Apophth. 85 *βασκύνει τί ποιῆσαι*. 92 *οὐ μὴ ἔχωσιν ὅθεν ἀγοράσαι*. 433 *β ἀπορῶν τί ποιῆσαι*. Theoph. 435, 4 *ἀπορούντες τί εἰπεῖν πρὸς τοῦτο*. 333, 11 *ἠπόρουν τί πράξαι*. 265, 17 *ἠπόρει τί δράσαι*. 30, 270, 4. Theoph. Cont. 559, 11; 599, 4; 505, 16 *οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως ὑπεκκλῖναι τὴν μνήμην*; 511, 10. Prodr. 5, 158 *οὐκ ἔχω τί φορεῖν*. 162 *οὐκ ἔχω τί φαγεῖν*,—and so on in other *M* compositions. Theophyl. 130, 19 *ὅποι στήναι οὐκ ἔχοντες*.

18. The instances, many though they are, of the verbal infinitive in *M* compositions, do not prove its use in the popular speech of the time, but merely testify to the pedantic zeal and mannerism of the scribes. Similarly, *N* combinations like *θέλω φάγει* 'I shall eat,' and *ἔχω φάγει* 'I have eaten,' in which *φάγει* is alleged to represent the infinitive (hence the current misspelling *φάγαι*, App. iv. 16 f.) are, as the accentuation plainly shows, mongrel formations (future subjunctives acting as infinitives) due to scholastic influence, their parallel and genuine popular forms being *θὰ φάγω* (formerly *νὰ φάγω* App. iv. 12-18) and *ἔχω φαγαμένα (-ν)*. It has been already explained elsewhere (App. iv. 19) that *ἔχω φάγει*, used as a perfect, is a comparatively modern formation, coined by scribes after the pattern of the Romanic languages by contamination of *ἔχω φαγών* 'I have eaten' and *ἔχω φαγεῖν* 'I have to eat, can eat, shall eat.' See also App. iv. 16 f.

19. That *N* combinations like the above θέλω φάγη, ἔχω φάγη and θέλω γράψῃ, θέλω γράφῃ are not infinitives, but misapplied (future and present) subjunctives, is borne out by two more considerations: the passive form is θέλω ἔρχομαι, θέλω διγῆθῃ (i.e. διγηθῇ), ἔχω κοιμηθῇ (never θέλω ἔρχεσθαι, θέλω διγῆθηναι, ἔχω κοιμηθῆναι); and then the accent is always identical with that of the (future or present) subjunctive. The latter criterion is very conclusive, especially in the case of futures formed from the strong or 2nd aorist stem (τύχω, λάβω, μάθω, etc.) which are barytone, whereas the corresponding *A* infinitives are perispomena (τυχεῖν, λαβεῖν, μαθεῖν.) The only exceptions are three: (ἔχω or θέλω) εἰπῆ, εὔρη, ἰδῆ, commonly pronounced πῆ, βρῆ, δῆ. But even these exceptions are only apparent (912 ff.).

## II. SUBSTANTIVAL INFINITIVE.

### 1. CLASSICAL ANTIQUITY.

20. The substantival or articular infinitive (τὸ γράφειν), though generally assumed to be the primitive form, cannot be clearly traced in early (Homeric) Greek owing to the absence or ambiguous character in it of the article (2072). The articular infinitive therefore appears at a later period—unmistakably first in Theognis and Simonides—and thence spreading gradually obtains a general popularity in *A* literature<sup>[1]</sup>. Its full development and establishment in the language of the time is reflected above all in Thucydides, the orators, Plato, and Xenophon, where it already performs nearly all the functions of a regular substantive. In fact, it stands in all cases of the singular and may be governed by almost every preposition<sup>[2]</sup>.

(Cp. Men. Mon. 378 νείεις τὸ σιγᾶν κρείττον ἐστὶ τοῦ λαλεῖν. Pl. Gorg. 512 ε αὐτὸ τὸ ἀποθνήσκειν οὐδεὶς φοβεῖται. Xen. Mem. 4, 8, 2 ἔθναυμάζετο ἐπὶ τῷ εὐθύμῳ ᾤον. Th. 7, 28 ἀπὸ τοῦ πόλις εἶναι φρούριον κατέστη.)

20<sup>b</sup>. But though substantivized by means of the article, the articular infinitive distinctly preserves its verbal character, and thus admits of all kinds of adjuncts, be they single words or short expressions, or even lengthy clauses<sup>[3]</sup>, as: Th. 1, 141; 3, 1; 2, 37. Xen. Ages. 5, 4. Mem. 1, 2, 4; Oec. 13, 6. Dem. 19, 55; 24, 111.

[1] According to FBirklein's statistic researches (in MSchanz vii. 90 ff.), the gradual development of the substantival infinitive is indicated by the following order of classical authors, divided into three groups:—

Group I: Homer 1; Hesiod 2; Hymns—; Pind. 9; Lyrics 9;

„ II: Aesch. 51; Soph. 97; Eur. 93; Ar. 65. Hdt. 49;

„ III: Th. 298; Antiph. 26 (including the spurious writings 36); Andoc. 18; Lys. 36 (44); Isocr. 271 (306); Isaa. 36; Lyc. 26; Dem. 784 (1130); Aeschin. 61; Din. 33; Hyp. 42; Pl. 1680 (2032); Xen. 1306 (1310).

In group I the infinitive occurs only in the nominative (τὸ). In group II, it occurs chiefly in the nominative and accusative, but also in the genitive and dative preceded or not by a preposition (τῷ, τῇ). In group III, it is equally frequent through all the cases with or without a preposition.

[2] On the whole, classical writers make use of the prepositional construction of the substantival infinitive about 2000 times. (FBirklein, in MSchanz vii. 102.)

[3] That the verbal nature of the substantival infinitive was sometimes completely lost sight of, appears from the following instances: Xen. An. 7, 7, 24 γυνέσκει τὰς τοῦτων ἀπελάς οὐχ ἦντον σωφρονιζούσας ἢ ἄλλαν τὸ ἥδη κολάζειν. Dem. 19, 269 ἀλλὰ τὸ γ' εὖ φρονεῖν αὐτῶν μμείσθε. id. 19, 289 εἰ τῆς πόλεως τέθηγε τὸ τοῖς ἀδικούντας μισεῖν καὶ τιμωρεῖσθαι. (For P Greek cp. BGildersleeve in Trans. Amer. Phil. Assoc. 1878, p. 7.)

2. *H-G* TIMES.

21. The above *A* use and force of the substantival infinitive holds on the whole good also for *P* writers, notably the Atticists. At the same time a close comparison of *A* with *P* unsophisticated compositions shows that, while in *A* the substantival nature of the articular infinitive still recedes into the background, *P* conceives it more as a substantive and employs it as such. Hence the substantival infinitive now assumes an increasing popularity, and so extends beyond its former limits. For it now often stands also in the room of a simple verbal infinitive, and that not only at the beginning of a sentence—in which case instances might be adduced even from *A* writers (as Th. 2, 5, 3; Xen. Mem. 4, 3, 1)—but also, and very frequently too, after the governing word. This distinct substantivation naturally rendered it inconvenient to detach too far the article from its infinitive by inserting between them cumbrous adjuncts or complicated clauses<sup>[1]</sup>. In like manner, lengthy infinitival constructions involving a separate clause as subject of the infinitive are now avoided in the common and unconventional language.

Polyb. 1, 41, 6 *περὶ τὸ βοηθεῖν ἐγίνοντο καὶ παραβάλλεσθαι καὶ πᾶν ὑπομένειν ὑπὲρ τῆς προειρημένης πόλεως διὰ τὸ μηδεμίαν ἀφορμὴν καταλείπεσθαι σφίσιν, πάσης δὲ τῆς ἄλλης Σικελίας ἐπικρατεῖν Ῥωμαίους.* 1, 4, 4 *ὑπέλαβον ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι τὸ μὴ παραλιπεῖν μηδ' ἰᾶσαι παρελθεῖν ἀνεκιστάτως τὸ κάλλιστον ἅμα καὶ ὠφελιμώτατον ἐπιτήδευμα τῆς τύχης.* 1, 39, 8 *χάριν τοῦ τὰς ἀγορᾶς κομίζειν.* 3, 42, 2 *χάριν τοῦ κολλεῖν τὴν τῶν Καρχηδονίων διαβασιν.* 2, 47, 1; 3, 107, 2; 1, 7, 9 *διὰ τὸ συνέχεσθαι τοῖς προειρημένοις πολέμοις.* ib. 11 *διὰ τὸ προσάσθαι τὸ μέλλον.* So further 1, 49, 8; 1, 50, 2; 1, 62, 5; 2, 32, 11; 6, 46, 6; 1, 2, 8; 1, 50, 15; 1, 51, 9; 1, 62, 5<sup>[2]</sup>.

Louvre Pap. 27, 5 (B. c. 162) *ἐπεδύκαμέν σοι ὑπόμνημα ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ εἰληφέναι παρὰ τῶν ἱερειῶν.* ib. 34 (B. c. 146) *φάσκοντος καταβεκηκέναι εἰς Μίμφιν χάριν τοῦ ἄρτους ἀγοράσαι.* ib. 6, 7 (B. c. 158) *μετὰ τὸ γράψαι τὴν πρὸ ταύτης ἐπιστολήν.* Plut. G. Grac. 19. T. Grac. 15, 3 *πρὸς τῷ (or τὸ?) πᾶσαν ἀρχὴν ἔχειν.* G. Grac. 14, 2 *ἐπὶ τῷ (or τὸ?) ἀνελεῖν.* (So too Mal. 469, 17).—NT Rom. 13, 8 *μηδενὶ μηδὲν ὀφείλετε εἰ μὴ τὸ ἀλλήλους ἀγαπᾶν.* 14, 3. 2 Cor. 2, 1. —ἐν τῷ Matt. 13, 4; Acts 11, 15; Luke 10, 35. Acts 8, 6; Luke 1, 21. (See also 1561 & 1601).—μετὰ τὸ Matt. 26, 32; Mark 1, 14.—πρὸς τὸ Matt. 6, 1; Luke 18, 1; Matt. 26, 12; Acts 3, 19.—πρὸ τοῦ Matt. 6, 8.—ἀντὶ τοῦ Jns. 4, 15.—ἐνεκα τοῦ 2 Cor. 7, 12.—διὰ τὸ Hebr. 7, 24. Clem. R. ad Cor. 51, 5 *διὰ τὸ σκληρυνθῆναι αὐτῶν τὰς ὑσνέτους καρδίας μετὰ τὸ γενέσθαι τὰ σημεῖα καὶ τὰ τέρατα.* See also 1522 and infra 24.

22. The construction *εἰς τὸ* with the infinitive is peculiarly common, notably in Biblical and post-christian compositions (supra 10), as an

[1] As a matter of course, there are exceptions sometimes even unnatural, as: Acta Xanth. 75, 7 *Πέτρος ἦν παράγων ἐν πλοίῳ ἐπειγόμενος ὑπὸ δράματος γενέσθαι εἰς Ῥώμην διὰ τὸ ἐξελεύσθαι Παύλου ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰστανίαν εἰσελθεῖν ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ πλάνον τινα καὶ μάγον ὀνόματι Σίμωνα καὶ διαλύσαι τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἣν συνεστήσατο ὁ Παῦλος.* But such complicated cases merely testify to the effort of scribes to rise as far as possible above the plain speech (os. 07. 019).

[2] In his first five books Polybios uses this prepositional construction of the substantival infinitive about 273 times (S. Brief i. 8-10; cp. F. Kaelker in Lpz. Stud. iii. 252: 'si quis vel paucas historiarum Polybii paginas perlegerit, intellegit malle hunc scriptorem sententias additis articulo et praepositionibus, quam enuntiatibus secundariis aut simplicio infinitivo').

equivalent to the simple infinitive—emphatic or unemphatic—of prospect, purpose, often also to a final clause with *ἵνα* (1542; cp. AButtmann 264 f.).

Polyb. 1, 74, 14; 3, 59, 4—NT Matt. 20, 19 παραδώσουσιν αὐτὸν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν εἰς τὸ ἐμπαῖξαι; 26, 2 παραδίδοται εἰς τὸ σταυρωθῆναι (Vulg. ut crucifigatur; cp. John 19, 16 ἵνα σταυρωθῇ); Heb. 8, 3; 1 Cor. 11, 22 οἰκίας ἔχετε εἰς τὸ ἰσθίειν καὶ πίνειν. 11, 33, Acts 7, 19; Rom. 15, 16; 1 Thess. 3, 10 δεόμενοι εἰς τὸ ἰδεῖν ὑμῶν τὸ πρόσωπον. Phil. 1, 23 τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν ἔχων εἰς τὸ ἀναλῦσαι καὶ σὺν Χριστῷ εἶναι. 2 Thess. 2, 2. Clem. R. ad Cor. 34, 7 εἰς τὸ μετόχους ἡμᾶς γενέσθαι.

23. Another peculiarity of the articular infinitive in *P-B* is its unusual frequency in the genitive without a governing preposition. It stands in a loose construction, which originated in *A* (2076 f., infra 24), has a decidedly final force (frequently preceded by *μή*), and so performs the work of a final clause or final participle ('in order to,' 'in order that'; 2097, supra 17).

Polyb. 1, 12, 6 ἀναδραμόντες ἔτι τοῖς χρόνους τοῦ μηδὲν ἀπὸρῆμα καταλιπεῖν. 2, 34, 1 ἔσπευσαν οἱ κατασταθέντες ὑπάτοι . . . τοῦ μὴ συγχωρηθῆναι τὴν εἰρήνην αὐτοῖς. 2, 55, 4 παρ' ὀλίγον ἦλθε τοῦ μὴ μόνον ἐκπεσεῖν ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ὅλοις κινδυνεύσαι (beside 1, 4, 3, 7 παρὰ μικρὸν ἦλθον ἀπολέσαι τὰ πράγματα). 5, 102, 6; 7, 16, 7; 9, 36, 1.—Sept. Gen. 1, 14, 16, 2; 18, 7 ἐτάχυνε τοῦ ποιῆσαι αὐτό. 12, 20 σπεύσον τοῦ σωθῆναι ἐκεῖ. 18, 25; 19, 21; 20, 6; 24, 21; 38, 9; Ex. 2, 18; 7, 14; 8, 29; 9, 17; 14, 5; Joshu. 19, 48; 22, 10; 22, 26; 23, 13; Ps. 38, 1 φυλάξω τὰς ὁδοὺς μου τοῦ μὴ ἁμαρτάνειν ἐν γλώσσῃ μου. 39, 13 οὐκ ἰδυνάσθη τοῦ βλέπειν. 118, 57 εἶπα τοῦ φυλάσσειν τὸν νόμον σου. 1 Par. 21, 30; 2 Par. 5, 14; 1 Macc. 6, 27; 6, 59. (For more examples from the Sept. see GBWiner 441.)—NT Matt. 2, 13 μέλλει γὰρ Ἡρῶδης ζητεῖν τὸ παιδίον τοῦ ἀπολέσαι αὐτό. 11, 1; 13, 3; 24, 45; Luke 2, 27; 12, 42. Acts 3, 2; 7, 19; 15, 20; 20, 30; 26, 18; 27, 1 ὡς δὲ ἐκρίθη τοῦ ἀποκτεῖν ἡμᾶς εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν. Rom. 6, 6; 11, 10; Gal. 3, 10; Hebr. 11, 5;—CIG 486, 11 f. κινδυνεύειν ἡμᾶς τοῦ μὴ ἔχειν τὰ νομιζόμενα—Strab. 15, 1, 66 τὸν δ' ἄλλον ἐμπιπράναι τοῦ ἔχειν εἰσαυθὺς ἐργάζεσθαι καὶ μὴ ἀργὸν εἶναι. Arrian. Alex. 2, 21, 8.—Diod. 17, 42, 4 παρ' ὀλίγον ἦλθον τοῦ πάντες ἀπολέσθαι. Gr. Urk. Berlin 164 (+ II-III<sup>rd</sup>) 24, 27 παρακαλῶ σε ἥδη ποτὲ πείσαι αὐτὸν τοῦ ἰλθεῖν. Acta Petri et Pauli 183, 1 οἱ τοπάρχαι ἐφύλαττον τοῦ πιάσαι καὶ ἀποκτεῖναι αὐτόν. Acta Xanth. 59, 26 οὐκ οἶδα τοῦ εἰπεῖν.

23<sup>b</sup>. In *A* prose this loose infinitive of design is found: 12 times in Thucydides (1 in Lysias), 6 in Demosthenes (besides 6 in the spurious writings), 3 in Plato, and 5 in Xenophon. These authors use for it more frequently *ἕνεκα* τοῦ (chiefly the philosophers), *ὕπερ* τοῦ (orators), and *ἐπὶ* τῷ. Thucydides however uses only once *ἕνεκα* τοῦ. 9 times *ἐπὶ* τῷ [1. 34, 1; 38, 1 (ter): 70, 5; 74, 3; 121, 5 (bis). 3, 42, 5], against 12 times simple τοῦ. (FBirklein in MSchanz vii. 101.)—Also Polybios in his first five books uses τοῦ 6 times, all negative.—'Of the NT writers John, in consequence of his decided predilection for *ἵνα* [supra 12, c], makes no more use of this construction than of *εἰς* τῷ, either in his Gospel or his Epistle. Matthew employs it often, but Luke the most frequently and with the most varied application (25 times in the Gospel and about as often in the Acts). In Paul's and the other epistles, it recedes somewhat before the other final constructions with *εἰς* τῷ. In Mark and the Revelation we are almost in doubt whether it occurs.' AButtmann 266.—See also 2077.

### 3. *T-B* TIMES.

24. The subsequent *T-B* vicissitudes of the substantival infinitive cannot be traced step by step. This much however is certain, that it lingered through *B* times. Its striking frequency at least—chiefly

in the simple genitive (supra 23), or with a preposition, especially in the combinations *εἰς τό, ἐν τῷ, μετὰ τό, διὰ τό, πρὸ τοῦ, ὑπέρ τοῦ, περὶ τοῦ*—shows that it was a favourite mode of expression, particularly among writers trained in Biblical diction.

Among many others, compare Apophth. 140 *ἄ ἦλθεν ὁ ἥλιος εἰς τὸ δύναι*. ib. *ο ἐν δὲ τῷ ὑποστρέφειν ἡμᾶς*, et alibi. Eus. Alex. 365 *Α*, etc. Narr. Josephi 2, 4 *ἐπὶ τὸ πιάσαι αὐτόν*, etc. Leont. Neap. V. J. 1, 11 *εἰς τὸ φωτίζειν*. 2, 5 *εἰς τὸ δεῖλαι καὶ . . . ἀναδειχθῆναι καὶ . . . διοδεῦσαι καὶ . . . ἐμφράσαι*. 3, 9 *εἰς τὸ δύνασθαι*. 4, 2 (*ἐπὶ τό, ἐν τῷ*). 11, 20 *σπεύδομεν τοῦ γενέσθαι*. *ἐκ τοῦ* 25, 22; *ἐν τῷ* 45, 16. 45, 17. 86, 1. 57, 11.—Malal. 7, 9. 18, 9. 35, 5. 50, 13. 53, 18. 56, 2. 80, 6; 15. 87, 23. 229, 2. 243, 5. 440, 11 *κελεύσας τοῦ δοθῆναι*. 440, 20. 440, 2 *δηλώσας αὐτῷ τοῦ μὴ δέξασθαι*. 463, 1. 467, 4 et passim.—Theoph. 43, 16 *προετρίψατο δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ τοῦ γενέσθαι σύνδοον ἐν Σαρδικῇ*. 71, 6 *ἐξωπλίετο τοῦ κατελθεῖν*. 216, 9 *παρακαλῶν αὐτὸν τοῦ εἶναι αὐτὸν σύμμαχον*. ib. 21 *πρὸς τὸ ἐκχησθῆναι καὶ βοηθῆναι*. ib. 23 *παρίδωκεν Ἰουστινιανὸς τοῦ ψάλλεσθαι*, et passim. Porph. Adm. 132, 6 *δέδοικα τοῦ μὴ παρ' ἡμῶν κατὰδεῖον γενέσθαι*. 268, 14 *παρεκάλουν αὐτὸν πολλὰ τοῦ ἡσυχάσαι καὶ παραχαρῆσαι αὐτοῖς τὸ πταίσμα*. (Cp. EASoph. Lex. p. 45 f.)

25. But whether the belief generally held that the articular infinitive was popular with the masses rests on firm ground is very questionable. For all evidence points to the probability that it had retreated from the common speech with the close of *T*. At least it is uncommon in St. John (cp. supra 23<sup>b</sup>), scarce in the unlearned papyri and inscriptions of the *B* period, disputable in *M* popular compositions, and totally absent from *N* speech. This is moreover indirectly borne out by the parallel spread of abstract nouns (neuters in *-μα* and *-ιον*, masculines in *-μός*, and feminines in *-σις* and *-σία*) which ever since *H* increase in proportion as the articular infinitive retreats (1021. 2063), thus indicating that the latter was being superseded by the above nouns. It will be further remembered that the substantival force and form of the articular infinitive (*τὸ γράφειν*)—as it was distinctly conceived since *T*—and the absence in it of inflection and endings, rendered it odd and foreign to the genius of the Greek language, which at no time admitted of a noun or verb without inflectional properties (2063)<sup>[1]</sup>. The articular infinitive, therefore, could not resist any longer the tendency of the time, whether it was conceived as a noun or as a verb. For as a noun it had no case-endings or plural form; as a verb, it was still more indefinite, since it indicated neither person, number, nor even precise time (supra 2). Under such conditions and limitations, it naturally could not outlive long the verbal or anarthrous infinitive, but had to make room for its analysis to *τὸ ναί*, as: Span. 143 *οὐ βούλεσαι τὸ ναὶ το φανερῶσης*. Callim. 863 *πρὸς τὸ ναὶ το δηλώσῃ*. 2491 *πικρὸν ἡγούμην τὸ ναὶ ζῶ*. (2072.)

26. All instances adduced to prove the existence of traces of the infinitive in *N* speech point to the influence of scholastic mannerism. For examples like *τὸ φαγεῖν, τὸ φιλεῖν, τὸ πρεπεῖν, τὸ εἶχειν, τὸ λέγειν, τὸ ἰδεῖν, τὸ πιεῖν, τὸ φανεῖν, τὸ λύσειν καὶ τὸ δέσειν*, current in *N* popular speech and commonly cited as relics of the substantival infinitive, rest on mere fallacy. Some of them are regular substantives, some finite verbs fossilized to substantives.

[1] Such ancient instances as: *ἡ περὶ* (sc. *πρόθεσις*), *τῆς περὶ, τὸ ἄλφα, τοῦ ἄλφα* (cp. *N* *ἄλφις ἢ βῆτα*, 131), *ὁ καὶ* (sc. *σύνδεσμος*), *τοῦ καὶ*, and all other articular or substantivized particles (1221 ff.), or foreign (Hebrew names like 'Αδάμ, 'Ιακώβ (cp. 'Αδαμος 'Αδάμης, 'Ιώσηπος, 218<sup>b</sup>), prove nothing to the contrary, since they were mere technical and religious terms, alien to popular speech.

26-28.] APP. VI.—INFINITIVE SINCE 4 TIMES.

Thus τὸ φαγεῖ, 'cooked food,' 'dish,' is a normal abbreviation of the ancient φαγίον (Aporphth. 408 Β ὅσα ἐποιήσατε φαγία.—τὸ φαγὶν as early as Cyrill. Scyth. V. S. 283 c), of which also a compound τὸ προσφάγιον, 'anything eaten with bread,' 'by-meat' (the German *Zukunft*), occurs even in the NT John 21, 5; also in Moschion 55, 26; Hippol. Haer. 476, 42; Pallad. 1131 c; cp. Moeris 251 ὕψον Ἀττικῶς, προσφάγιον [v. l. -φάγημα] Ἑλληνικῶς, and is still common in the form τὸ προσφάγι; so too ἀποφάγι, usually in the plural form ἀποφάγια, 'scraps,' 'odds and ends.' Hence the current spelling φαγεῖ should be given up for the correct φαγί.—Similar to φαγί is the case of τὸ φιλί (not φιλεῖ) 'kiss,' though φιλίον has not yet been noted, as far as I know, in ancient texts. But that both φαγί and φιλί are real and normal substantives, appears also from the fact that they are declined like regular diminutives (τοῦ φαγίου, τοῦ φιλίου—τὰ φαγιά, τὰ φιλιά—τῶ φαγιῶ, τῶ φιλιῶ.) Were they infinitives, they would remain indeclinable. (See also the following section 27.)

27. As to the remaining instances, cited above, τὸ ἔχει (also in the plural τὰ ἔχει), 'what one has,' 'possessions,' 'property' (German *Habe*); τὸ ἰδεῖ, 'looks'; τὸ φανεῖ, 'appearances'; τὸ λέγει, 'what one says,' 'statement,' 'account' (*Aussage*); τὸ λύσει καὶ τὸ δώσει, 'unlimited power,' *carte blanche*;—they are one and all simple relative clauses gradually crystallized to substantives, τὸ here being a post-positive article (607. 1438). Thus τὸ ἔχει = (ἐκεῖνο) ὃ ἔχει, τὰ ἔχει = (ἐκεῖνα) ἃ ἔχει, τὸ λέγει = (ἐκεῖνο) ὃ λέγει, τὸ ἰδεῖ—write τὸ ἰδῆ—= ὃ ἂν ἰδῆ (for the accent see above 19) τὸ πιῇ (not πειεῖ) = ὃ ἂν πιῇ, τὸ φανῇ [more commonly ὅ, τι φανῇ].—So too τὸ λύση καὶ τὸ δώσει is identical with the more common ὅ, τι λύση καὶ ὅ, τι δώσει (always used personally, ὅ, τι λύσω καὶ ὅ, τι δέσω, ὅ, τι λύσῃς καὶ ὅ, τι δέσῃς, etc. cp. τὴν ἀγαπῶ = τὴν ἀγαπητικὴν μου, i. e. ἐρωμένην, whence ἡ ἀγαπῶ = ἡ ἀγαπητικὴ μου).—Analogous to these crystallized constructions are some substantival imperatives (that is again a *finite* verb) occurring since T, as: τὸ ἀνάβα Epiph. Mon. 272 A), now τὸ ἀνέβα (1222), 'going up,' τὸ κατὰβα (Porph. Cer. 495, 8), now τὸ κατέβα, 'coming down,' τὸ διάβα (Prodr. 4, 114, so still now) 'passing,' EGeorg. Θαν. Ρόδου 84 ἀπὸ τοῦ πᾶ καὶ κλάψε; 531 's τὸ πέσε καὶ τὸ γείρε;—τὸ φάγε, 'food,' τὸ πείε, 'drink,' τὸ ἀμε κ' ἔλα, 'go-and-return,' τὸ δῶσε καὶ πάρε, 'give-and-take,' etc. [1]

28. For τὸ with fut. subj. or with past indic. in the sense of a temporal participle, see 1795.

[1] The only case, as far as I know, bearing real resemblance to an infinitive occurs in a popular distich at Siphnos (which I owe to my friend Dr. J Valetta, a native of that island): ἐξώφλησ' ἀπ' τὸν ἔρπα κ' ἤσκησα τὰ χαρτιά του, | οὕτε τὸ ἰδεῖν του θέλω πλεῖδ' οὐτε τὴν ὀμιλιά του.

## I. INDEX OF NOTABLE GREEK WORDS.

All figures refer to the sections, in particular 01-033 to the Introduction, 1-1157 to the Morphology, and 1158-2170 to the Syntax. — App. refers to the Appendices.

References in square brackets [ ] point to the footnotes.

Double-accented words are used either way, as ταχύτης = ταχύτης or ταχυτής, Ν φιλία = φιλία or φιλιά, κλείω = κλείω or κλειώ, κάκία = κάκια, κακία, κακιά.

For other explanations see p. xiv.

N.B. For the sake of convenience and perspicuity, contracted verbs are given here mostly in the open form of the present indicative.

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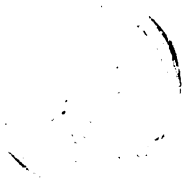
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